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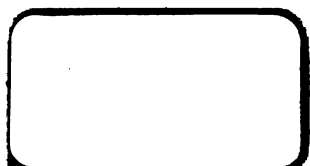
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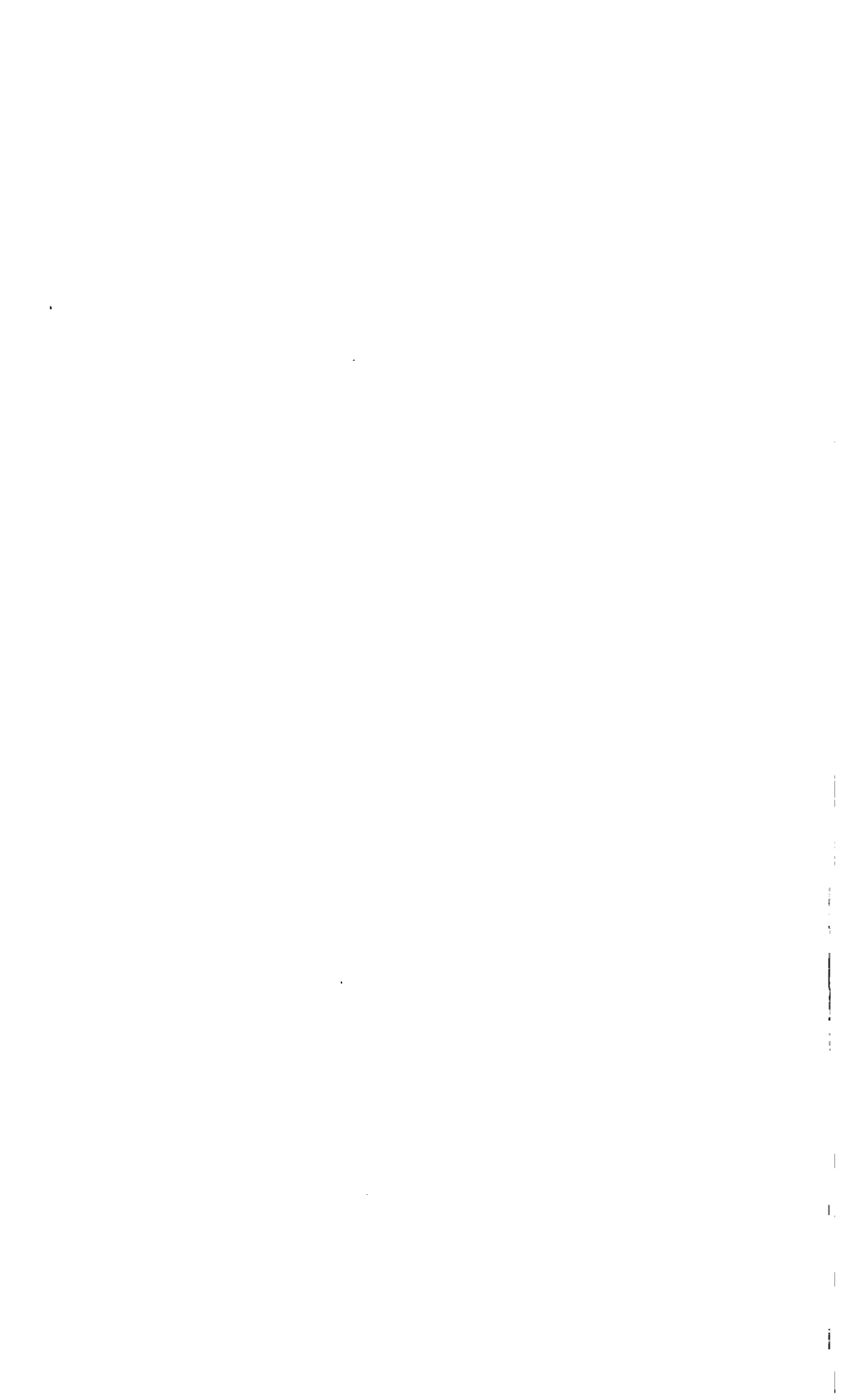
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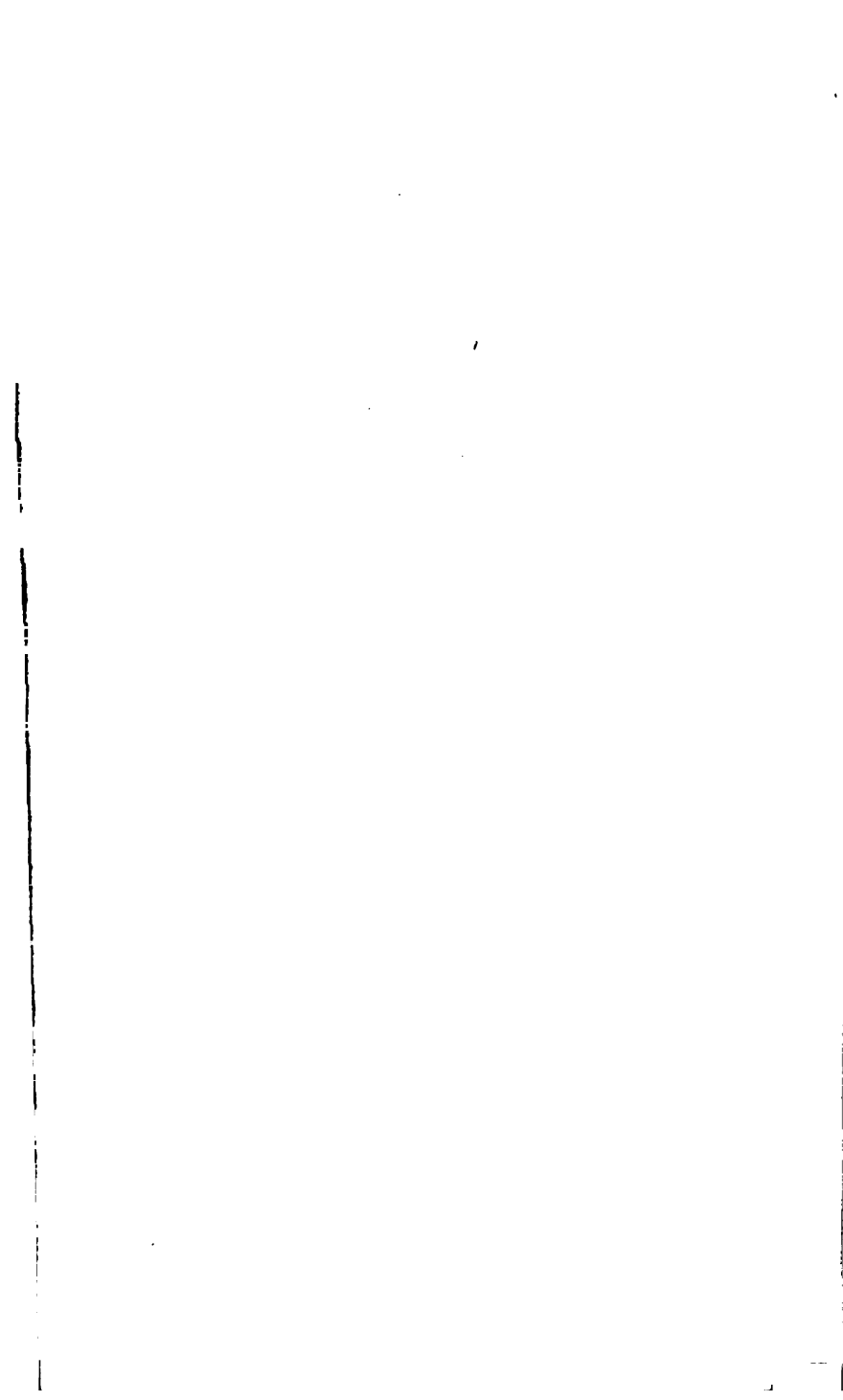


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T H E
PRESENT STATE
O F
EUROPE;

EXPLAINING

The INTERESTS, CONNECTIONS,
Political and Commercial

V I E W S
Of its Several POWERS,

COMPREHENDING Also,

A clear and Concise History of each COUNTRY,
so far as to shew the Nature of their

PRESENT CONSTITUTIONS.

The FOURTH EDITION.

Revised, corrected, and continued by the AUTHOR.

Campbell (John)

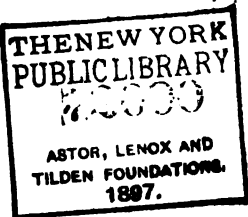
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MDCCLIII.

M. 17

1753



P R E F A C E.

THE same Indulgence which the Public vouchsafed to this Performance at its first Appearance, has brought it in a very short Time to a Fourth Impression, which requires not only the most grateful Return of Thanks, but our utmost Endeavours to render it worthy of their Favour. We hope the Alterations and Additions with which it now appears, will in some measure acquit us of that Duty; and it would have given us infinite Pleasure, if the Systems of the several Courts mentioned therein could have been rendered more perspicuous than they are.

We were in hopes, when we first began to revise it, that we should have been able to have pronounced clearly as to the State of Things in the North, which notwithstanding remains still in a great Degree of Obscurity. In this, however, we have Reason to think ourselves happy, that nothing has fallen out in those Parts, either contrary to, or inconsistent with the Conjectures that we advanced.

Nor is there any great Probability that they have any such Tendency at present. The Change of Kings in Sweden has made no Alteration in the System, and the Diet which sat last Year was of the same Complexion, but more unanimous than those that went before it.

In Germany there is no great Alteration, notwithstanding many long and laborious Negotiations. We were, when this Book appeared last, in Expectation of a great Event, and we are yet filled with the same Expectation. In this the Princes of the Empire act slowly, and with great Sagacity; for the very Consumption of Time, while it contributes to keep Things in Peace and good Order, answers a very important End. But beside all this, it attracts the Eyes of Europe, as well as the Attention of all Ministers, and becomes by this means productive of Measures not unprofitable to particular Interest, or inconsistent with the common Good.

In speaking of France we should have been glad to have found ourselves more at Liberty to express our Sentiments than the present Situation of Things, Motives of Prudence considered, will allow. But we may well bring ourselves to submit to some Restriction in that Respect, when it is evident, that
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those who have superior Lights art not altogether unembarrassed. It is more than probable that the Time is at hand when these Clouds will be dispelled, and we shall find ourselves once more in a Condition to see and speak freely.

Spain still remains in possession of her old Character for tedious Negotiations. That which suspended our Judgment in the last Edition is half adjusted, and we once flattered ourselves that a little Delay would have furnished us with the Result of the supplemental Treaty, which has been so long upon the Carpet; but perhaps that, which was denied to this, may be reserved for the Embellishment of the next Edition.

Whenever that shall happen, we shall be likewise in a better Condition to judge of the future State of Italy, where Things are still subject to those Apprehensions, the Causes of which have cost us no small Labour to explain.

There is another Point upon which we must more particularly insist, to prevent the Reader's censuring us without Grounds. As our Alterations and Additions were made while the Book was in the Press, we may be thought chargeable with some Omissions in the first Chapters, from the mention of more recent

cent Facts in the latter Pages of the Work: But when the Reader considers, that what was already printed was out of our Power, he will in Justice acquit us of any Neglect. This is a Circumstance unavoidably incident to every Undertaking of this Kind, which in representing Transactions of a fluctuating Nature, can only give a true Picture of Things for the present; and tho' ever so happily executed, must, like those that have preceded it, become gradually out of Date from the very same Causes that constitute its immediate Value. Almanacks last but for a Year, Political Present States claim a longer, and yet not a much longer Existence; but notwithstanding this hard Circumstance, both are very necessary, to prevent common Men and common Politicians from making Mistakes.

That such a Work was very far from being inexpedient, will appear sufficiently to all who have perused and considered the Treatises of the same Nature formerly written by the Duke of Rohan, Mr. Bethel, Baron Puffendorff, and the later Endeavours of such as have republished, continued, or augmented these Pieces in Holland; and we hope it will sufficiently appear, that we have also made a proper Use of their Performances, without transcribing them; which to say the Truth was impossible,

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considering that the following Sheets have been composed upon quite another Plan, without any Bias in favour of a particular System, or the least View of recommending it to the Favour of any Party, the Satisfaction of the Public being our sole Aim, as the Protection of the Public is that alone upon which we depend. This perhaps might have been in some measure bespoken by a large Display of Authorities, and the Facts contained therein might have been supported by a pompous Train of Citations; but as we have dealt very little in secret Histories, and have founded most of our Observations upon Transactions of public Notoriety; this, whatever it might have appeared, would in reality served rather for Show than for Use, and therefore was omitted, to save the Reader as much Trouble and Expence as possible.

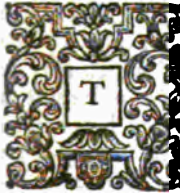
After professing a Desire to avoid wasting the Reader's Time in perusing this Work, it would be preposterous to tire him with a long Preface; and therefore let us conclude with this Reflection, that it is from Events, and the public Occurrences that shall hereafter happen, the Value of a Book of this Kind must be known; for it is not arguing right or wrong in the Opinion of any Set of Men whatever, which can give either Merit or Reputation to a Work that pretends to represent the Political State

State of Europe. He who will think justly upon this Subject, must form his Thoughts from the mature Consideration of Facts; and how far he has performed this, can appear from Facts only; for as in Law, so in Politics, the Worth of an Opinion does not consist in its being happily expressed, or handsomely maintained, either by logical Deductions, or Authorities learnedly quoted, but in its Conformity to Truth: If it fails in this, the Lawyer is mistaken, and the Politician deceived, let the Parts of the one, or the Abilities of the other, be what they will. And tho' in these Cases it is a great Hazard that a Man runs, yet there is this Comfort attends it, that there is a certain Criterion which decides with regard to the Rectitude of his Notions beyond all Dispute.



THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

 HERE is nothing clearer to such, as have taken the Pains to make themselves Masters of the History of Learning, than that every Age has its peculiar Taste; perhaps a Writer, like *Montaigne*, would call it Humour; from whence it follows, that Authors who are the Objects of Admiration in one Age, become the Ridicule of the next. In that which preceded the present, SYSTEMS were in great Esteem, and nothing recommended a Writer more, than his being very copious, and very methodical. From this Spirit proceeded voluminous *Systems* of History, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, and Divinity; but the very Learning which this kind of Writing furnished, being sufficient to discover its Imperfections, and to enable the Readers to see that it was contrived rather to circumscribe, than to extend his Views; there can be no Wonder that it grew into Discredit, or that after being thoroughly and warmly exposed, People run by Degrees into the opposite Extrem, were for banishing Systems, and for contracting as much as possible, so as to bring the Elements and first Principles of Knowledge into a narrow Compass, by which the *Folio's* of

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the last Age were in the Beginning of this reduced into *Du-decimo's*.

It has been since found, that this way of Writing has also its Inconveniencies, that these *Abridgments* were not always made with that exquisite Judgment, that it required to render them useful; that some Things false or uncertain were retain'd, and others of great Weight and Importance omitted; which obliged such as were desirous of being thoroughly Master of a Subject, to have recourse to those larger Works, that had been so much decry'd, in order to extract from them such Particulars as were truly valuable, and served to explain and elucidate those Principles of Learning that were obscure and unintelligible without them. For the facilitating this, Men of great Industry, and who had Time upon their Hands, began to collect and range these Passages in a new Order; and from hence arose the modern Invention of DICTIONARIES, I mean not such as explain Words, but Things, which are now become very numerous. These, without doubt, are convenient Tools in the Hands of able Workmen; but there is one SCIENCE which is very important, indeed absolutely necessary towards forming the Mind of an accomplished Gentleman, in which neither the *Compendium* nor the *Dictionary* can be of any use at all.

The SCIENCE I mean is POLITICKS; by which I understand a comprehensive Knowledge of the fundamental Maxims of Policy, grounded upon the actual and real Interests of the several Governments of EUROPE; and this is not only a polite as well as useful kind of Learning, the Study of which may be therefore recommended without Pedantry, but is in Reality a Point of great Consequence; because without this Knowledge it will be a Thing very difficult, if not impracticable, for a young Gentleman to qualify himself for the Service of his Country; in the present Times more especially, when to be able to have a thorough Notion of the Interests of Great Britain, it is not barely expedient, but absolutely necessary to have a clear Insight into the Concerns of all the European Powers.

Those certainly are much in the Wrong who pretend to treat this as a *Misfortune*, and would persuade us, that it would be at least much to the Advantage, if not for the Credit of our Country, if our Affairs were drawn into a narrower Compass, and our Attention strictly confined to our own Concerns. This never was, indeed never can be the Case of a great, a free, and a trading Nation, and more especially of a Maritime Power, which is, and I hope will ever be, the Characteristicks

sacrifices of the BRITISH PEOPLE, as long as they continue a PEOPLE. While we are in this State, we must be respected, courted, and applied to upon many Occasions by Foreigners; and therefore it must be as I have stated it, absolutely necessary that at least such as manage our Affairs, and while we continue to enjoy our *Liberties*, this will take in a very large Number, should be thoroughly conversant with *Foreign Interests*, that from thence on certain Occasions, they may have a right Notion of their *own*. Without this they will be liable not only to be outwitted by their Enemies, but to be the Dupes also of their Allies; they may be drawn into Quarrels in which they have no Concern; and where they have a Concern they may very possibly mistake it, and engage very improperly, if not on the wrong Side.

One might easily illustrate this by many Examples; but perhaps that would be an invidious Task, because it would engage a Man either to espouse, or to oppose the established *Doctrine of Parties*, which is not only contrary to my own Inclinations, but to the very Design of this Work, in which I hope there will appear no Leaning or the smallest Bias of that kind; for such Doctrines are of the Nature of Systems in Physick, and Philosophy, they serve to establish a popular Reputation upon the Ruins of Justice and Truth. The great Business in this Case, is to distinguish where *Right* lies, and then to embrace it, let it lie where it will. The latter is not without its Difficulties; but the former is embarrassed with them in a much greater Degree; for to acquire just Sentiments of the political Views, and real Interests of foreign Nations, is no easy Matter, nor are the Helps to it readily found.

It may be expected that the Foundation of this sort of Knowledge, ought to be laid from the Perusal of Books relating to the Constitutions, Laws, and Government of the respective Countries, not without an Insight also into their Antiquities. But if we consider first how laborious as well as how tedious an Undertaking this would be; and next how very little those Men are, generally speaking, skilled in the political Interests of their respective Countries, who are best versed in their Laws and Constitutions, or deepest read in their Records and Antiquities, we shall very easily discern, that as this Method would be in a great measure impracticable; so allowing it to be never so easy, it would nevertheless be very wide of answering the Purpose. Yet I am very far from asserting, that it ought to be totally disregarded; so far from it, that if a Man has Leisure, Opportunity, and Abilities, to look into these Things, he will hardly have Occasion to complain, that his Time has been mis-spent,

or that Nations are so much altered in a long Course of Ages as to become quite a different sort of People ; for in general I believe the contrary of this will be found true, and that the Climate, the Soil, the Customs, and Examples of their Ancestors, have a very strong Effect upon most Nations ; but this is a Philosophical Refinement upon Politicks, which it requires a very nice Judgment to apply, tho' by such it may be sometimes very happily applied even in respect to modern Transactions, as well in the Cabinet as in the Field.

Reading the general Histories of all Nations, but more especially those that are most in Esteem, is a readier, an easier, and a much better Help than the former ; but this must be used with Caution. It will indeed serve to give us tolerable Notions of great Events, distinguished Characters, important Revolutions, and their Consequences. But we must always remember, that the Historian has a natural, and perhaps a laudable Partiality for his Country ; and that to be clearly Master of the Truth, one ought to compare his Accounts with those that are given by the Writers of other Nations, which is likewise a Work of much Labour and Fatigue. We should likewise reflect, that in general Histories the Compass, with respect to Time and Facts, is so large, that the Springs and Motives, which is what a Politician chiefly looks for, are seldom set down ; and that where they are, it requires much Skill and great Circumspection to discern whether they are wholly, or if not, how far they may be depended upon. Yet this Way has its Uses ; and there is in Reality no better Method of forming a right Idea of the Spirit, Genius, and Temper of a Nation, than by perusing their Histories ; for by knowing what a Nation has done or suffered, when that comes to be the Point under Consideration, we may best judge what they can atchieve, or to what Degree they will bear.

The private Memoirs of able Statesmen and illustrious Captains is another Source from whence this Sort of Knowledge, in the Opinion of most People, is likely to be drawn ; yet here again great Penetration is requisite, and much Caution is to be used. For Persons of that Rank being so deeply engaged in Affairs themselves, endeavour for the most part to represent Things as much as possible in a Light the most favourable for their own Reputation ; and if, upon particular Occasions, they give us evident Marks of their Sincerity, we cannot conclude from thence that they are always conducted by the same Spirit ; for sometimes these very Strokes are intended to surprize our Confidence, and to engage us in an implicit Belief of all they say. Besides, even these great Men, being but Men, are

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liable to be deceived, and consequently may deceive us, without designing it, which makes it necessary for us to get the best Lights we can as to the Temper, Views, and particular Foibles of such Writers. For want of being acquainted with these, we may be carried into a wrong Road, and bewildered at the very Time when we imagined we were near our Journey's End. It is however right to make use of this Sort of Reading, provided we are very attentive, reflect upon what we read, and set up a Resolution not to be borne down by the Credit of our Author; since in reading the Memoirs, as well as in conversing personally with great Men, we are naturally apt to receive Impressions from them, which we cannot easily shake off; and the greater their Abilities, the greater our Danger is in this Respect, an Ascendency once established being very hardly if ever shaken off, by the most vigorous Understanding.

The Perusal of Polemical Writings upon Points of high Consequence, is another, and indeed a very considerable Help, more especially, if the Controversy be between Nations; for then not only the ablest Writers are usually employed on both Sides, but we are pretty sure of having the Truth in some Measure struck out between them. Thus in the Writings of SELDEN and GROTIUS, we see almost all that can be said upon that famous Question of the *Dominion of the Sea*; in the Pieces published upon the late French King's claiming, in Right of his Queen, the most valuable Provinces in the *Low-Countries*, and the Answers to them, the Doctrine as to *Successions* and *Renunciations* is fully explained; and the Paper-War between the late CZAR and his Rival CHARLES XII. let us into many Secrets that otherwise would never have been known. All Collections therefore of this Kind, are highly valuable; and provided we can but preserve a steady Attention, and are secure of our own Impartiality, we have a very fair Opportunity of reaping much Improvement by this Sort of Study. In Domestick Disputes between Factions it is quite otherwise; for very often the Case is misrepresented alike by both Parties; and tho' we are ever so well versed in the *Controversy*, it is a very great Chance, whether we ever get Sight of the *Truth*, at least if we have not a Hint of it some other Way.

GAZETTES and NEW-PAPERS, in respect to the Story of present Times, are not to be neglected; it is true they are but indifferent Evidence, but generally speaking they are all the Evidence we have, and with much Attention and a reasonable Degree of Sagacity, we may discover Truth from Falshood, even in them. Indeed it is chiefly with regard to the Uses that are to be made of these, that the ensuing Work was composed; for

by having a general Knowledge of the System of Affairs in *Europe*, and of the political Views and Interests of the particular Kingdoms and States therein, we may be enabled to make a right Application of that Kind of Reading, and to form a just Notion of what is passing in the World, notwithstanding the Disguises under which Facts appear in some Papers; and which is a commoner Case, the Incorrectness with which, for want of having proper Lights, they are related in others. Almost every Country in *Europe* has its GAZETTE, or Paper by Direction, in which we are sure to find every thing set forth with such Colourings as may best suit the Interests of that Power from which the Paper derives its Authority. The PARIS GAZETTE, for Instance, has been very well characterized by a Writer of that Nation, that *it is the best written, and the least read of any in Europe*. The Language is very correct and pure, the Facts are well told, and ranged in their proper Order; but we may be sure that nothing finds a Place there injurious to the Interest, or repugnant to the Sentiments of the *French Ministry*. We may sometimes learn from it Things of Consequence, with regard to other Countries; but as to those of *France*, nothing appears but the News of the *Court*, without either Reasoning or Reflection. The latter Part of this Character belongs to most other GAZETTES by Authority; that is to say, we can depend upon nothing in them but the Dates and Facts, nor upon the Circumstances of the latter, if they are of any Importance; but by the Comparison of these GAZETTES with each other, and a due Attention to the Partiality of each, we may, generally speaking, collect the Truth. In respect to other Papers of Intelligence, a very short Acquaintance with them will let us into the Character, Spirit, and Views of their Writers; and from thence we are to judge of the Credit due to their respective Relations.

To facilitate this critical Kind of Reading, by which alone we can be enabled to judge of what passes in *our own Times*, and what Alterations happen in the Power, the Influence, the Connection, the Interests, and the Views of the several STATES of EUROPE, we must constantly keep in Mind the general Scheme, and the particular Plan before mentioned. To furnish the Reader with which, is the simple and sole Design of the following Sheets, in which they are as fairly and as succinctly set down as possible. One must however allow, that general *Collections of Treaties*, and a *Tincture of the Law of Nations*, which may be collected from GROTIUS and PUFFENDORF, and a general Notion of the *Geography and History* of Countries, are also necessary; but these making al-

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ways a Part of polite Education, which is a Structure we suppose already raised, and by no Means undertake to lay within so narrow a Compass; what we have to offer is accessory only; and this it was necessary to premise, that Things might not be taken in a wrong Light, or more be expected from the following Treatise than it was ever intended to contain. It is infinitely better to keep our Promises within Bounds, and to perform them strictly, than to endeavour to raise vast Expectations in the Reader; and then frustrate those very Expectations we have been at so much Pains to raise. Arts like these are sometimes used, in order to make Way for Sequels or second Parts, which is not at all in our Intention, as they flow from the Vanity of a Writer, whose Affection for his own Abilities magnifies to himself alone, the Merits of his Performance; and of this too it is hoped, that nothing will appear in this Treatise, since we are equally sensible of the Difficulty of the Task, and of our own Deficiencies; but to break the Ice, and to give an Opening to what may be made useful and valuable, ought to stand us in some Stead with the Publick, and defend from Censure what was never meant to acquire Applause. The being serviceable to Mankind gives infinitely more Satisfaction to an honest Mind than either Admiration or Praise.

To set this Matter in a still clearer Light, it may not be amiss however to observe, that there is a wide Difference between a *Geographical* Description, or an *Historical* Account of a Country, and a *Political View* of its *State* and *Interests*. The latter cannot indeed be known, without having some Idea of the former; but this may be brought within much narrower Limits than is commonly imagined. The Manner at present in Use for conveying the Principles of these Sciences, is much more expanded, and consequently more tedious and troublesome than is necessary; and may very well be reckoned one of the chief Causes, why so few apply themselves to the Study of them with that Steadiness and Attention, which is requisite to become Masters of what is practicable and useful; that is, what every Day's Occasions call for, and which may be as speedily applied. But it is one Thing to endeavour the setting these Matters in such a Light as is requisite for those who are wholly unacquainted with them, and quite another to range the Heads requisite to such a *Political Introduction* in their natural Order, so as to refresh the Memories of such as are already acquainted with them, and enable the Reader to connect Events with each other, and with the general System of Things, in the gradual Progress of his own Inquiries and cursory Observations on the Course of publick Affairs.

In order to make the general Method of this Discourse evident as well as the Dependence of its Parts upon each other, it is requisite that we should acquaint our Readers with the Rules observed therein. In the first Place then, we take Notice of those principal and leading Parts in POLICY, that are, as it were, the Keys by which Men of Penetration unlock the Cabinets of Princes, discover the true *Maxims* of their Politicks, and thro' the Varnish of outward Colourings pierce into their most secret Resolutions, and distinguish their pretended from their real Views. We proceed next to the *General State of EUROPE*, and give, as near as we can, a clear and concise Detail of the relative Force of its several Parts, of the Ties by which some of these are united one to another, of the complicated Powers arising from thence, with the Proportion between them, and whatever else regards the Title of the Chapter, and extends to the Powers of *Europe*, collectively considered. The Way being thus paved for setting out the present State and particular Interests of its several Powers respectively, we begin with the Northern Potentates, and proceeding in the plainest and most natural Manner possible, we speak of each Kingdom and State, its Forces, Interest, and Maxims, as they stood upon the Conclusion of the late Treaty, by which the *Peace of EUROPE* has been so far restored, as to enable the judicious Reader to gain a rational Prospect of what may ensue during the remaining Part of the present Century.

C H A P. I.

Of the Universal Principles of POLICY, or General Interests of every GOVERNMENT.

IT is a just and sensible Remark of a great *Spanish* Writer, that "as the Motives of Submission are the same in all Societies whatever, so from thence certain *Principles* arise, from the various Combinations of which, according to the Nature of Times and Tempers of Men, different Systems of Rule, and various Methods of administering these Systems, become necessary, or at least expedient." If, therefore, we are well acquainted with these, and accustom ourselves to reflect on the Manner in which they have been or may be combined, what at first Sight, for Want of this Consideration, appears

appears mysterious and inexplicable, becomes by Degrees intelligible and familiar. It is the Notion that the governing Part of any Community has of this kind of Science, that in one Sense is properly stiled INTEREST, and in this Sense it is that an illustrious and able *French* Politician says truly, and with great Spirit, that Kings govern Nations, and Interest governs Kings: *Les Princes commandent aux Peuples, & l'Interest commande aux Princes.*

According to the Form of Government that prevails, this *Maxim* is to be understood. In absolute Governments, if the Monarch has real Abilities, his *Sense* of publick Affairs is the *Interest* of the Body Politick, of which he is the Head; and if he wants Abilities, it is, generally speaking, the Sentiment of his Prime Minister that occupies that Place. In limited Governments, *Interest* depends upon the Notions of those, who according to the Constitution are vested with supreme Power; and in such Governments their Notions may be very easily known, because their first Maxim is, that what is for the general Benefit should be generally understood. In *Aristocratic* States, or Commonwealths governed by the Nobility, their Sense of Things is looked upon as the *Publick Interest*. In free States again, where the People, or all who have a certain Degree of Property, are considered as the supreme Power, the *Genius* of the Nation, by which I mean their general Temper and Disposition, is the Index that points out their *Interest*. The first Thing therefore that is requisite to be understood in practical Politicks, is the true State of the Government subsisting in any Country. I say the true State; for the exterior and nominal Constitution is to be found in every Compendium of Geography or History. But if an arbitrary Monarch confides in a *Junto*, his Government is, in effect, an *Aristocracy*. If a limited Prince either governs, or is governed by the *Heads* of a *Party*, the Constitution becomes from that Moment an *Oligarchy*; and this is also the Condition of a *Popular State*, where by any sudden Revolution, or by the gradual working of a deep-laid *Intrigue*, the like Change is brought about.

But this is to be considered only as the *accidental* Interest of any Country; for besides this, there is a *real* Interest which arises from the Principles before mentioned; and the wise or weak, the good or ill, the steady or fluctuating Administration in every Government, is owing to the Harmony or the Opposition between its actual and its real Interests. The former we have shewn is no otherwise to be discovered than by In-
for-

formation, as to the Hands in which Power is intrusted; and this may be derived either from Intelligence from those who have lived long under, or had an Opportunity to be well acquainted with, any Government; or it may be the Fruit of Observation. For if we consider the Conduct of any Nation, in respect to a few capital Points, and compare it with the real Interest of that Nation, we shall very speedily, and with great Certainty, discern the true Spirit of its Government. And this in most Cases will be found the safest Way of judging, or at least it will enable us to correct the other Mode of Information, by shewing us what Part of our Intelligence is worthy of Credit, and what ought to be rejected, let it come from what Authority it will. We know this is an infallible Maxim, *Ye shall judge by their Fruits.*

But we come now to the great Point of all, which is that of separating and distinguishing the Principles upon which the *real* Interests of all Nations are founded; and this, as in the other Art of decyphering, depends upon five great Points, which may be metaphorically stiled *Political Vowels*. Of each of these in their Order we will speak as succinctly as possible, because we are aware, that to some Readers this Part of the Work may seem tedious, which is common to the elementary Parts of all Sciences; and yet without due Attention to them, no Branch of Learning can be fully or thoroughly understood. To these there is a frequent Necessity of having recourse; and no Man is ever Master of any Kind of Study, till he feels the Advantage, and is fully satisfied as to the Use of its fundamental Principles. For then, to resume the former Comparison, he first spells with little Trouble, and at length reads fluently and without Hesitation, what one would have thought him an *Oedipus*, who should have been able to unriddle.

The *first* Principle tending to demonstrate the *real* Interest of a People, is their RELIGION; for that will always have its Weight. It is true, that the Reality and Importance of this appeared stronger in the last Age than in the present, when perhaps there was a sincerer Sense of it in most Countries; but it is still of Consequence enough to maintain its Post. For how moderate soever Men may be in their Professions, how lukewarm soever in their Practices, yet either from Principle, from worldly Motives, or from Custom, they will have a Readiness to unite with such as declare themselves of the same Belief, and an Eagerness in opposing those who differ from them. In short, Infidel, Bigot, and Heretick, remain still
Terms

Terms of Enmity; and though they have not the same Strength as heretofore, each of them has yet its Meaning, and carries a large Proportion of Resentment with it.

Next to *Religion*, the *natural Grounds* of Friendship, Alliances, or Amity, is a leading Principle. In Monarchies this sometimes arises from Nations being governed by the same Family. As for Instance, in *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*, we have seen, and in all Probability we shall see, that this has a great Effect; and that the Measures of the Head of the House will be, generally speaking, acquiesced in by all its Branches. Sometimes it arises from Intermarriages; but very little Stress is to be laid upon this, where the Princes are equal, but a very great Weight where it is otherwise. For a great King, or his Heir apparent, marrying a Princess, Daughter to an inferior Prince, attaches the latter to his Interest: And this without Doubt was the Motive to a late Match, that need not be mentioned. Sometimes it proceeds from an Identity of Interests, as between the Maritime Powers, whom Respect to mutual Safety keeps closely united. At other times it arises from having like Views; which was formerly the Case between *Sweden* and *France*, and has been of late that of *France* and another Power, as in Reason it ought to be between the Empress *Queen* and the King of *Sardinia*. There is also a Kind of Connection that springs from the Similarity of Government; whence we sometimes hear of the common Cause of Kings, and the joint Interest of Republicks; but this seems rather for a Colour than a Principle.

The *third* general Head is, that of *Situation*. Our own is a pregnant Instance of this; a great Part of our Politicks are, or at least ought to be, dictated to us from our Position as an *Island*, which makes a martial Spirit universally diffused amongst our People, and a great maritime Force, our natural Strength; as Commerce, not Conquest, is our true Principle of Acquisition; As to the Effects of Situation upon the Continent, they will be naturally explained in that Part of the following Work, where we speak of the *Balances of Power*, I mean of the Inferior Balances which arise chiefly from Vicinity, and that Necessity which weaker Neighbours feel of living in Union, to prevent their being oppressed or swallowed up by some superior Power, that can be only kept in Awe by such an Union.

The *relative State* of a Nation is the *fourth* Principle, by which is meant its being in a better or a worse Condition than formerly. For if any People are flushed with Success in War, in Commerce, or from the Change of their Government to a milder from a severer Form; their Courage naturally rises, their

respect to Arts, Arms, and Trade, by very far the most considerable Portion of the Globe.

After settling this Point, it is natural to descend to those general Heads, whence the Grandeur, and, which is of no less Consequence, the Stability of the Government of *Europe* arise, and on which the Power and Safety of its several Parts depend; which, that we may not multiply such Articles beyond what is necessary, we shall confine to those Heads, viz. Religion, Trade, and the Union of Political Interests; and when we have treated particularly of these, the general State of *Europe* may be thoroughly and perfectly understood, and a right Judgment formed of the Views and Force of the several Parties therein, and of the Nature of those Controversies which from Time to Time arise amongst them, and which, as Experience will shew, may be easily refer'd to one or other of these Subjects.

To begin then with Religion: Tho' it is true that there are some *Pagans* in the *Swedish* and *Muscovite Lapland*, a vast Multitude of *Jews* scattered through almost every Country, and that the *Mahomedan* Religion has the Sanction of publick Authority in the Grand Seignor's Dominions; yet the prevailing Religion is Christianity, divided indeed into a great Number of Sects, but falling under the three following capital Distinctions; viz. Christians of the *Greek Church*, Christians in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, and Protestants. I must confess it has always appeared to me in the Light of the most difficult Talk, to settle the Weight and Proportion of these different Interests; and yet this is a Point that ought not to be hurried over; because the supporting, promoting, and extending their several religious Systems, makes a great Part of the Business, and is a principal Point in the Policy of most of the *European* Powers; and without a competent Understanding of the Question I proposed, as to the Strength or Weight of each Party, the State of *Europe* can never be thoroughly or justly understood; and therefore how thorny or perplexed soever this Point may be, it is incumbent upon me to discuss it.

As to the Christians of the *Greek Church*, they have for their Head whoever wears the Imperial Diadem of *Russia*: The Princes of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* are also of this Religion, and so are the greatest Part of the Christians subject to the Grand Seignor, besides Multitudes that are scattered through *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and some Parts of *Germany*. On the whole, after the strictest Computation, and most mature Reflection, I am apt to believe that the People of this
Persuasion

Perfuation are at least equal in Number to the Papists. If any one should object, that there are many great Kingdoms, the Inhabitants of which are in Communion with the Church of *Rome* : I must reply, that the Extent of their Dominions taken together, is not more than half of the Territories possessed by the Czarina in *Europe* only ; and though it be true, that those are thinly inhabited, and that her *Russian* Majesty's Subjects are of all Religions, yet surely the *Greek* Christians under the Yoke of the *Turk*, if they were removed into her Countries, would go near to render her Empire as populous as any of the Kingdoms governed by Popish Princes.

I might add some other Considerations upon this Subject, such as, that we are less acquainted with the Countries inhabited by the Christians of the *Greek* Church, than with those inhabited by Papists, which may render us less capable Judges of this Question. But the Reason of the Thing, when strictly considered, will overcome all these Prejudices, and convert every competent Judge to my Opinion. The Importance of this Enquiry will be the better understood, if we reflect a little on the Disputes that so frequently happen between the *Russians* and *Turks*. The former are certainly by much the most dangerous Enemies that the *Ottoman* Empire hath to fear, because the best Part of its *Christian* Subjects are naturally inclined to the *Russians*, whereas they are much better pleased to live under the Power of the *Turks* than to fall under that of the *Austrians*, merely because the latter are Papists, which implies a Disposition to persecute, restrained by nothing but the Vicinity of so formidable a Power as the *Turk* ; but when the domestick Affairs of the *Muscovites* are once settled, and the House of *Holstein* in peaceable Possession of the Imperial Throne, as well as of that of *Sweden*, it is very easy to discern the first fair Opportunity that offers will endanger the Fall of the *Turkish* Empire, or at least the Loss of her Dominions in *Europe*, chiefly from the Crown of *Russia's* being considered as the Remnant of the old *Constantinopolitan* Empire, and the ancient and natural Head of the *Greek* Church.

We come now to examine the Strength and Power of the *Romanists*, which is certainly very great, and the common Opinion is, that it daily gains Ground. If there be any Truth in this, it must be principally owing to their having a visible Head, I mean the *POPE*, clothed with that Sort of Authority, which is fittest to support and extend the Tenets of Religion. The Reformation, though it has much weakened the spiritual Power and temporal Strength of the Holy Father, has, notwithstanding,

withstanding, furnished him with many Advantages of another kind ; or rather the Policy of the Church of *Rome* hath turned the Views of Protestants to her own Advantage, by affecting a paternal Care for the Princes and States of her Communion, assisting the Authority of the State in Times of Peace, and interpoling her Authority as a common Mediator whenever Wars break out amongst them. This is certainly a Benefit to them ; and from their being convinced of this, springs the Respect paid to his Holiness by the wisest Administrations in all Popish Countries. It is from the same Principles that the Propagation of the Popish Religion is looked on by them as the highest Point of Policy, from which they are sure never to depart ; and therefore we need not wonder that they have made, and continue still very likely to make, considerable Acquisitions.

It may be look'd upon however as a Thing certain, that notwithstanding all the Endeavours that have been used, during the last two Centuries, to weaken the Protestant Interest, it is still very considerable, very able to support itself against the Force, at least, if not the Frauds, of all its Enemies ; neither, after all, is it so much weakened as some out of Fear, and others from worse Intentions, have asserted ; for we are to consider, that the Countries in which the Reformed Religion is professed, are most of them very populous, carry on a great Trade, and have many Colonies ; by which means they propagate their religious Sentiments almost without attending to it.

We must confess however, that the Want of a Head, the disclaiming the Doctrine of Persecution, and the maintaining the opposite Sentiment of the Right of private Judgment, are great Disadvantages to the Protestant Cause, consider'd in a political Light. We are the more sensible of this of late Years, because the Zeal and Spirit which formerly appeared in several Princes and States for the Support and Encouragement of Religion, is in a manner lost from the prevailing of a Spirit of Licentiousness, not more dangerous to the Concerns of the Church than of the State, which, by Degrees, may revive the old Spirit, especially as the Encroachments of Popery become more and more visible. The famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, owed all his Power and Grandeur to his assuming the Character of *Protector of the Protestant Interest in Germany* ; and when he comes thoroughly to consider his Situation, there is great Reason to believe that the present King of *Prussia* will fix also on that Character at last, as the most proper to preserve the Dominions and Power he has already obtained, as well as to extend them ; and while the Protestant Interest is effectually secured in *Germany*,

may, it is certain that it never can decline in other Parts of *Europe*. We shall next enter into a short Comparison of the Weight of these two Interests, and then proceed to another Subject.

In computing the Strength of the *Papists*, it is usual and indeed proper to reckon the Emperor first, because he precedes all the Princes of that Communion, and adds somewhat to the Credit of this Religion by his Authority in *Germany*: Yet having few or no Subjects as a Monarch, he ought not to be considered as having, in this respect, any Weight comparable to the lofty Title of Emperor of *Germany*, and King of the *Romans*. The next Popish Power is *France*, then *Spain*, and next *Portugal*; though the King of *Poland's* European Dominions are more extended than *Spain* and *Portugal* taken together. After them follow the King of *Sardinia*, the *Pope*, the Princes and States of *Italy*, with such of the *Swiss* Cantons as are *Papists*; and this brings us back again to *Germany*, where we find all the Dominions of the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, together with the Electors *Bavarian* and *Palatine*, besides the Spiritual Electors, and other Princes and States of the same Communion.

Of the Protestant Powers WE are without Doubt the most considerable. Next follow *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia*, the *United Provinces*, the *Swiss* Cantons and their Confederates; then the Subjects of the Elector of *Saxony*, though their Prince be a *Papist*; the Elector of *Hanover*, the Duke of *Courland*, and all the lesser Princes and States of *Germany* of our Communion. According to the nearest Computation that can be made with respect to Territory in *Germany*, the Proportion between *Papists* and *Protestants* may be as Ten to Eight, but in Point of Number of People, I apprehend the *Protestants* are at least equal; and throughout the rest of *Europe*, I conceive the Proportion in Point of Territory to be as Eight to Seven; but as to People, I think there is good Reason to believe that the *Protestants* are rather more numerous than the *Papists*, because the Protestant Countries are incontestably much fuller of People.

In the North, for Example, though *Poland* be very populous, yet it is certain that one half of the People are not *Papists*, and at least one third of them *Protestants*, whereas in *Sweden* and *Denmark* there are few or no *Papists*; in *Germany* again all the great trading Cities, tho' crouded with Inhabitants, are *Protestants*. In *Italy* indeed the *Papists* are in a Manner without Mixture; but this is ballanced by the Number of People in *Great Britain*. In order to cut the Matter short, and to set this Point in the clearest Light possible, I shall here present the Read-

er with a very curious Table, which will serve to regulate his Judgment not only in respect to this, but with regard to many other Subjects of Importance.

The Proportion of the several Powers in Europe to Great Britain.

<i>Russia</i>	10,	13	<i>Portugal</i>	9,	36
<i>Germany</i>	3,	53	<i>Spanish Netherlands</i>	9,	18
<i>Sweden</i>	3,	63	<i>United Provinces</i>	9,	11
<i>Poland</i>	3,	39	<i>Switzerland</i>	9,	17
<i>France</i>	1,	7	<i>Denmark</i>	1,	49
<i>Spain</i>	1,	81	<i>Italy</i>	1,	19
<i>Turkey</i>	3,	18			

In order to explain this, I need only say, that the Proportion between *Russia* and *Great Britain* is as 10—13, to 1; that is, *Russia* is ten times as large as *Great Britain*, and 13 Parts of 100 more; and at the same time it points out the comparative Strength of *Britain* to other Nations, it also shews the Proportions of all these Countries to each other.

The next Thing to be considered is the Trade of *Europe*, which has undergone in the Course of Ages very great Alterations. Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire it seemed to be in some Measure extinguished, but very soon revived again among the *Saxons*, who, when they became Masters of this Island, established a vast Maritime Power here, which however did not continue very long, the *Danes* making themselves Masters of this Country by their Superiority in this respect. After some Ages, Commerce and Maritime Power retired Southward, and were, in a Manner, wholly possessed by the *Italian* States, particularly the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*, who had shared between them the Traffick of the East, which enabled them to draw the Wealth of all other Nations to themselves.

But in the thirteenth Century, several free Cities in *Germany* began to combine together for the Support and Maintenance of their Trade, and soon made their Confederacy known to the World, by the Title of the *Hanseatic League*: But as their Commerce brought them in immense Wealth and Power, so this rendered them haughty and insolent, which, by Degrees, brought on their Ruin, to which, however, other Circumstances

~~States~~ also contributed; for in the fifteenth Century the *Portuguese* perfected a new Route to the *East Indies* by the Cape of Good Hope, and about the same Time the *Spaniards* discovered *America*, which threw the Trade of *Europe* and its chief Naval Power into the Hands of those Nations, who, if they had known how to cultivate it with Skill, and to use it with Moderation, might have raised it much higher, and have made it much more lasting than it proved, especially when both the Trade of the *East* and *West Indies* was in the Hands of the Subjects of the same Prince, which happened by the Accession of King *Philip II.* of *Spain* to the Crown of *Portugal*.

But as almost all Evils point out and in time produce their own Remedies, so the boundless Ambition and cruel Oppression of the *Spaniards*, constrained the *United Provinces* to throw off their Yoke, and engaged their Inhabitants, and the *English*, to endeavour by their Expeditions into both *Indies* to share in those Riches, which were the great Source of the *Spanish* Tyranny, and this raised up those that are now called the Maritime Powers. The Progress of the *Dutch* was amazingly quick; for in the Space of little more than half a Century, from having hardly any Ships at all, they came to have more than all the rest of *Europe* put together.

But since that Time the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, by extending their Commerce, and especially by cherishing and augmenting their Colonies, have certainly raised their Maritime Force to an Equality at least in every respect with the *Dutch*, as all intelligent Writers, and particularly Foreigners, agree. And this of late induced the Partizans of the *French* Court to suggest to the *States*, that they are in more Danger from the growing Trade and Naval Power of *Great Britain*, than from the ambitious Designs of any of their Neighbours besides.

Yet the *French* themselves have of late Years laboured with great Diligence not only to raise a Maritime Force, but to extend their Trade into all Parts of the World, in which they have been very successful; for though the two last general Wars in a great Measure ruined their Navy, yet their Commerce is even at this Juncture, or was at least before the breaking out of the last War, in a better Condition than ever. So that the Maritime Affairs of *Europe* have in this last Century suffered a very great Change, though very probably they may suffer still a greater before its Period.

The like Attention to Commerce and Maritime Power has, within this fifty Years, appeared in almost every other Nation in *Europe*: The *Swedes* and *Danes* have set up *East-India* Com-

panies; the *Russians* have opened a new and advantageous Traffick, as well on the *Caspian* as on the *Black Sea*. The House of *Austria* shewed a great Desire of reviving the antient Commerce of the *Low Countries*; and when that was found impracticable, made some excellent Regulations in Theory at least at *Trieste* and *Fiume*. The *Genoese* have within these few Years erected a Company of Assurance, on purpose to encourage their Subjects to venture upon long Voyages, and, if possible, to recover their old Reputation as a Maritime Power. Nay, even the *Spaniards* themselves, who in this respect have slept for such a Number of Years, have at last opened their Eyes, erected some, and have under Consideration the erecting several other Companies, for the Encouragement and Extension of Trade through their *European* and *American* Dominions.

We may, I think, safely infer from these Instances, that the Navigation and Shipping of the *Europeans* in general, is, within the last fifty Years, greatly increased; and, as a farther Proof of this, we need only consider the numerous Fleets and great Embarkations of different Powers, such as the *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes* in the North, the Invasion of *Sicily* and *Africa* by the *Spaniards*, and many others. Sir *Walter Raleigh* made a very ingenious Calculation of the Maritime Power of *Europe* in his Time; and Sir *William Petty*, from better Lights, gave us another Calculation, which has been considered as the Standard ever since. He thought the *Dutch* had about 900,000 Ton in Shipping, *Great Britain* 500,000; *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the trading Towns in *Germany* 250,000; *Portugal* and *Italy* 250,000 likewise; and *France* about 100,000. But since that Time, Things have alter'd very much, both with respect to us and other Powers, insomuch that I am fully persuaded, that our Shipping was, before the breaking out of the last War, at least double to what it might be at the Conclusion of the Peace of *Utrecht*. It is, I must freely acknowledge, a very difficult thing to pretend to give, with any Degree of Exactness, the present Proportions of Maritime Power; however, till a better can be formed, I flatter myself the following Table may have its Use.

If the Shipping of *Europe* be divided into *Twenty* Parts, then

<i>Great Britain, &c.</i> hath	- - - - -	6
<i>The United Provinces</i>	- - - - -	6
<i>The Subjects of the Northern Crowns</i>	- - -	2
<i>The trading Cities and Sea Ports of Germany and the</i> <i>Austrian Netherlands</i>	- - - - -	1
<i>France</i>	- - - - -	2
<i>Spain and Portugal</i>	- - - - -	2
<i>Italy, and the rest of Europe</i>	- - - - -	1

The Grounds upon which this Calculation stands, would require a great deal of Room to explain. And after all, it might prove no easy Thing to persuade such as are acquainted with the Commerce only of this or that particular Country, to admit that the Computation is fairly made; but however, it will, I dare say, be found, that such as are concerned for any particular Country, will allow the Table to be right enough as to the rest, which is as much as any one can well expect. Besides shewing the State of Commerce at this Day, there is another great Use to which this Computation may be applied, and that is by way of Standard, to see how far one Power rises, or another sinks in this Respect; for if ever it should come to pass that these Proportions should vary considerably, it is plain that this must produce very great and sensible Alterations in the general State of Affairs.

Thus, for Instance, if the House of *Bourbon* should ever acquire as great a Proportion of Trade and Naval Force as either of the Maritime Powers, it would be an Acquisition of much more Consequence than any they have hitherto made in Point of Territories or Dominion; but at the same time we must be aware of another Thing, which is this, not only the Proportions, but the Total of Maritime Power may alter, and in that Case the Growth of any particular State, though advantageous to itself, would not render it more formidable to others.

This Computation likewise shews how much it is the Interest of the Maritime Powers to sustain their Characters in that respect at all Events; since by this Means only they can pre-

attributed to this Part of the World over the rest. In a Word, it is to Commerce that the People of *Europe* owe their Freedom and Independency, their Learning and Arts, their extensive Colonies abroad, their prodigious Riches at home; and above all, that Naval Power, which so much surpasses any thing of the same Kind in other Parts of the World, and whatever was attempted in that Way in former Ages.

But there's one thing more, with respect to Trade, which I have not yet observed, and which, for any thing I know, has not hitherto been considered by any political Writer. It is this: That the reciprocal Connections resulting from Trade, have quite altered the State of Things, and produced within these two, or at most these three Centuries past, a kind of new System in *Europe*, or in the Christian Parts of *Europe* at least, by which every State is led to have a much greater Concern than formerly for what may happen to another: an Instance will make my Meaning perfectly intelligible.

In former Ages, a Quarrel in the North could only have affected the North, but in the last Century Things were totally altered. Both the *Dutch* and we sent our Fleets into the *Baltick*, upon the Quarrel that happened between the *Swedes* and *Danes*, a little before the Restoration of King *Charles II.* Not long after this, the Crown of *Sweden* became a contracting Party in the famous Triple-Alliance for maintaining the Peace of *Europe*, preserving the *Spanish Low Countries*, and setting Bounds to the Power of *France*. After the Revolution, towards the Close of the Reign of King *William*, both the Maritime Powers sent their Fleets again into the *Baltick*, with the same View and the same Success, and the like has been done more than once since. The Pretence in all those Cases was, the Love of Justice, and an exact Performance of Treaties, in which also there was somewhat of Truth; but the great and real Design was, to prevent those Inconveniencies which must have befallen the Maritime Powers, if either *Sweden* or *Denmark* had been entirely undone by those Wars. We may therefore safely say, that the *Balance of Power* (in the strict Sense of that Phrase) was created by Trade, and must continue to be the Object more especially of Trading Countries, so long as they preserve their Commerce and their Freedom.

It is from a Sense of this, that whenever any Power attempts to oppress another, or betrays a visible Design of heightening its own Strength by attacking or conquering its Neighbours, other Potentates are ready to interpose; from a quick Sense, not only of the Inconveniencies that must arise from the Incroachments made by such a Power, but from the just Apprehensions that this may, and

and indeed must, prove extremely prejudicial to Commerce in general, and to that of several Nations in particular ; who, to prevent this, will not scruple to take up Arms, as was the Case in the two general Wars against *France*, as well as in this last. Thus it appears, that the *Ballance of Power* is not an empty Name, or an idle Thing, but a very just and significant, though a new and figurative Expression.

By it we mean the preserving the several Governments of *Europe*, as far as may be, in their present Condition, and the hindering any Potentate whatever from acquiring such a Degree of Grandeur, as may be dangerous or fatal to those reciprocal Interests beforementioned, which as they took Rise from, are absolutely necessary to the Continuance of Commerce ; and any Attempt upon which, is consequently felt by every Nation that has any Share of Trade, and in the highest Degree as they have most Trade, and make the most of their Trade, by the *Maritime Powers*. This, when he has attentively considered it, the ingenious and judicious Reader will allow to be a fair as well as free Account of a Matter of great Importance ; which, unless thoroughly, clearly, and perfectly understood, no View of the present State of *Europe* can be exhibited worthy of Credit, or capable of answering that End which we propose.

But notwithstanding we have shewn, without any great Difficulty, how this Political Ballance arises ; yet it is not quite so easy to explain wherein it truly consists. For with respect to this, it is very certain that even the ablest Writers find it a very hard Thing to divest themselves of their Prejudices. As for Instance : A *French* Politician takes it for granted that this Ballance ought to be held by the King his Master ; and never so much as suspects that this will, or ought to be disputed. At *Vienna* again, there is nothing clearer than that the Right of holding the Ballance is in the Imperial Court, and he who should treat this as chimerical, would be thought as deficient in Sense, as in good Manners. The most judicious and sensible Authors that I have met with upon this Subject, are the *Italians*, and particularly the *Venetians* ; for do but grant them that the Sea as well as Land is subject to Dominion, and that their Republick has an indubitable Right to the Sovereignty of the *Adriatick*, and they will very readily grant you all that can be desired in Favour of other Princes and States.

The Struggle therefore for the *Ballance of Power*, is in reality a Struggle for Power ; and such as from the different Methods of treating this Question, presume to shew their Sagacity by doubting whether there is any such Thing at all, rather shew their Weakness ; for though it be true, that in learned Disputes Men often

C H A P. III.

The present State and Political Interests of the RUSSIAN EMPIRE, truly and succinctly represented.

THERE is nothing more natural in a Work of this Nature than to begin with the Northern Kingdoms of *Europe*; for in treating of these we shall have an Opportunity to explain thoroughly, and to enforce fully, those Considerations that have been already mentioned, and the political Principles that have been laid down, as well in regard to Nations in general, as to that particular *Balance of Power* which has been for several Ages, and which is like to continue the System of the Northern Crowns. Amongst these, as the Imperial Diadem of *Russia* is by far the most considerable, so there can be nothing more just than to allow it Precedence.

It is not at all requisite that we should enter into the ancient History of this Empire, and, in truth, this is a Circumstance much in our favour; for nothing was ever covered with deeper Obscurity than that Period of Time amongst the *Russians*. All we know with Certainty is, that about *Eight hundred Years* ago they were converted to Christianity, when their Sovereign married the Sister of one of the *Greek Emperors*; but after this, they fell under great Difficulties, were absolutely subdued by the potent Monarchs of the *Tartars*, and were scarce heard of or known in *Europe* as a considerable Nation, 'till about the middle of the *fifteenth Century*.

They were then governed by *John Basilowitz*, a Prince justly stigmatized for his Tyranny, but at the same time a Prince who wanted not either a Head or a Heart: he found himself acknowledged the Sovereign of a very large Tract of Country, tho' at the same time the Exercise of his Authority was confined within very narrow Bounds; for absolute Power has been in all Times, and in all Places, a Thing so terrible, that many different Methods have been used, even in Countries where it is the acknowledged Constitution, to keep it within some Bounds. Amongst the *Russians*, the *Czar*, or supreme Lord, was treated with a Degree of Reverence that favoured not a little of Divine Honour; but, notwithstanding this, the hereditary Governors of Provinces retained the essential Exercise of Power in their own Hands, and except those extravagant, shameful, and, at the same time, useless Marks of Submission, they left very little more to the supreme Monarch, than the Revenues of the Territory

tory of *Moscow*, for the Support of his Household ; whence he was stiled by Strangers *Grand Duke of Muscovy*, a Title never owned by, and indeed hardly known to his Subjects.

But *John Basilewitz* was not of a Disposition to be satisfied in any Degree with this fantastick Greatness ; and therefore, having begun by sowing Jealousy and Discord among these inferior Princes, he, by Degrees, reduced them all, and, at length, made an Irruption into *Livonia*, pretending it was held of him by the Knights who were in Possession of it, which had terrible Effects. It was in order to cover themselves from the Oppression of so dreadful a Power, that Part of this Country submitted to the *Swedes*, and the Grand Master *Gotsfred Kettler*, renouncing that Title, submitted to the Republick of *Poland*, and accepted as a Fief the *Dutchy of Courland*, which he had before held in Sovereignty.

We may form a tolerable Idea of the Loftiness, and ridiculous Pride of this Conqueror, and some of his Successors, from the following Circumstance ; that they would not vouchsafe to treat with the Kings of *Sweden*, or to have any Intercourse with them whatever directly ; but left all Transactions with that Power to the Governor or *Novogorod* ; upon which strange Piece of Vanity, even the late Czar *Peter I.* valued himself not a little, in the Manifesto's which he published against *Charles the Twelfth*, during the long War that subsisted between them.

In the sixteenth Century, the Troubles in the *Russian Empire* gave great Advantages to the *Swedes*, who made themselves Masters of several of the Districts nearest to their own Dominions, as well as extended their Conquests in *Livonia*, which, at last, humbled the Pride of the *Russian Monarchs* so much, that towards the Close of that Century, they were glad to conclude a Peace with *Sweden* ; by which all Pretensions were given up to *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, the *Swedes*, at the same time, quitting the Province of *Carelia*, which, together with *Ingria*, they expressly acknowledged to be dependent upon the Government of *Novogorod*.

But this Peace lasted not long ; for intestine Divisions breaking out again in *Russia*, the *Swedes* made their Advantage of them, as before ; and at last, having the Czar in a Manner at their Mercy, they were with much ado prevailed upon, by an *English Minister* sent by King *James I.* to listen to Terms of Accommodation, which produced a Peace signed *February* the twenty-seventh 1616, in the Village of *Stolbova*, by which the *Russians* not only quitted all Claim to *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, but likewise gave up the Provinces of *Ingria* and *Carelia*, together with all the adjacent

Heir Male of his Family, and in the Hands of an ambitious Statesman, Prince *Menzikoff*, the Favourite of *Peter*, and no less so of the late Czarina *Catharine*.

We may easily conceive that the Czar *Peter I.* had laid the Foundations of the *Russian* Monarchy deep, when we see, that it not only continued to subsist, but to flourish also, notwithstanding these Accidents, than which none could be more dangerous in their Nature to a new-raised Government. Prince *Menzikoff* was a Man of boundless Ambition, and at the Time of the young Emperor's Accession, had the whole Power of the Empire in his Hands. He had framed a Design of raising his Daughter to the Rank of Empress; and it is not improbable that he might have succeeded in this View, if he had not by an Act of Insolence incurred the young Emperor's Displeasure, who tho' he was but twelve Years old at his Accession, yet had so much Sense and Spirit, that he disgraced and banished this too powerful Subject, and confiscated all his Estate. He afterwards raised the Princes *Dolgorouki* to the highest Employments in the Empire, and actually espoused the Princess *Catharine*, Daughter to Prince *Alexis*, and Sister to the Princes *Sergius* and *John*; but before the Marriage was consummated, he was seized with the Small-Pox, of which he died on the 19th of *January 1730*.

The History of the Imperial Family is, in this Country, the History of the Empire; which is the Reason that we insist upon it; and from thence alone the Reader may collect what is of greatest Consequence towards understanding the publick Occurrences in *Russia*. Upon the Death of the Emperor *Peter II.* the regular Succession in that Empire was at a stand. According to the Will of the Empress *Catharina*, her eldest Daughter *Anne Petrovna*, Dutchess of *Holstein*, ought to have been called to the Throne, but she died the Year after her Mother, and left behind her a Son, who was at that Time about two Years old; and therefore the Senate and Nobility of *Russia*, to avoid so tedious a Minority, resolved not to adhere to this Will; for which they established this Pretence, that it was vacated by the Declaration of the late Emperor upon his Death-bed, who had appointed another Successor, though at first they could not agree among themselves who they should declare this Successor to be; by which it was very manifest, that notwithstanding their Assertions, the young Emperor in reality made no such Declaration.

It has been reported, that some of the principal Nobility had Thoughts of changing the Government into a Republick, but that finding this would be impracticable, they framed a new Scheme of Rule, which was, to govern the Empire themselves.

selves, allowing only the Name and Ensigns of Sovereign Authority to one of the Imperial Family. The next Consideration was, who this Person should be, and after some Debate, they cast their Eyes upon the Princess *Anna Iwanowna*, Dutchess of *Cairland*, of the Imperial Line indeed, but out of all the Rules of Succession. She was the second Daughter of the Emperor *Iwan* or *John*, elder Brother to *Peter the Great*, and who, as we before observed, was for some time his Associate in the Empire; but then she had an elder Sister *Catharine Iwanowna*, who was married to the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, to whom, if the Succession was to devolve first on the Daughters of the elder Brother, the Imperial Crown should have come, but her Husband was engaged in a kind of Civil War with his Nobility; and therefore it was given out, that for securing the Peace and Tranquillity of his Subjects, the young Emperor *Peter II.* passing her by, had called her younger Sister to the Succession, which, soon after his Death, she was invited to accept.

The Princes *Dolgorouki* and their Faction, who took upon them the Management of this Affair, assigned the new Empress a Council, framed a new Constitution for the Empire, and limited her Authority as they thought proper; to which Regulations she readily consented. But as soon as the *Czarina* was fixed upon the Throne, she cancelled all these Limitations, and banished the Authors of them. She made choice of grave and wise Men for her Ministers, and gave the Command of her Armies to very able and experienced Generals, which enabled her to govern with great Reputation, and to maintain the Credit of her Empire, with regard to the rest of *Europe*, in as high a Degree as any of her Predecessors. She afforded the late Emperor of *Germany*, *Charles VI.* powerful Succours against the House of *Bourbon*; she seated the present King of *Poland* upon the Throne of his Father, notwithstanding all the Arts, and in Spite of the Arms of *France*; she made War against the *Turks* with great Success, and in the Course of the War totally ruined the Power of the *Crim Tartars*. In a Word, she made her Government as much revered as from the Power of her extended Dominions it ought to be, and concluded such Alliances with Foreign States, as were most proper for maintaining that System of Government, which she laboured to establish.

She brought to her Court her Niece, the Princess *Ann* of *Mecklenbourg*, the Daughter of her eldest Sister, and married her to Prince *Anthony Ulric* of *Brunswick Beveren*, resolving to call the Issue of this Marriage to the Succession. The only Error in her Government was, the confiding almost wholly in Strangers, and particularly

particularly *Germans*, with whom she filled her Councils and Armies, which raised a strong Spirit of Envy and Resentment in the *Russian* Nobility, who could not bear with Patience, living in a State of Subjection to Foreigners. This Disposition began to shew itself with great Vehemence towards the latter End of the Life of the Empress, who in order to extinguish it, had recourse to extraordinary Acts of Severity, which were so far from having the desired Effect, that they highly increased it, insomuch that the *Czarina* became very apprehensive of the Consequences, for defeating of which she made the best Provision that was in her Power.

The Princelss of *Mecklenbourg* was delivered of a Son, on the Twelfth of *August*, whom the *Czarina*, according to the *Russian* Constitution established by *Peter the Great*, named her Successor, and directed that the Prince his Father, and the Grand Dutches his Mother, should be his Guardians; she likewise appointed a Council about the young Emperor, whom she thought the most capable of sustaining the Weight of Affairs, and of preserving Things in that Condition wherein she intended to leave them. At the Head of this Council, with the Title of Regent, was the then Duke of *Courland*, her great Favourite, whom she had raised to that Dignity, and who had the principal Direction of Affairs in her Reign. Baron *Osterman*, High Chancellor of *Russia*, had the Rank of Prime Minister, a Person of great Experience, and through whose Hands, whatever related to Foreign Affairs, had passed for many Years. Count *Munich*, who had served with so much Reputation against the *Turks*, was at the Head of the Army, with the Title of Field-Marshal; so that there seemed no great Reason to doubt the Government might be carried on as well as in the former Minority; and flattered with these fair Hopes, the Empress *Anna Iwanowna* died in *October 1740*.

The Emperor was immediately owned by the Senate and People in his Cradle, and the Marquis *de la Chetardie*, the *French* Minister, made his Imperial Majesty a long Speech upon the Occasion, in which he assured him of the sincere Friendship of *Louis XV.* to *Iwan*, or *John*, Sovereign of all the *Russians*. But as if Professions of *French* Friendship were ominous to all Princes, it was not long before it appeared, that this Government could not subsist in the Form in which it stood by the late Empress's Will. The Prince of *Brunswick* and the Grand Dutches themselves ventured upon a great Alteration; for they thought fit not only to remove from his Share in the Government, but to seize on the Person of the Duke of *Courland*, and to banish him and his Family into *Siberia*. This was a great Stroke, and yet

yet it was managed with so much Address and Dexterity, as not to occasion any great Stir of Bloodshed in the Execution, and hardly any Noise or Tumult in its Consequences, which tho' at that Time regarded as a very favourable Circumstance, served, if not for a Precedent, at least for a Prelude to a Revolution of far greater Importance, with a succinct Account of which we shall conclude our Historical Memoirs of this Empire.

Peter the Great left behind him a Daughter, whose Name was *Elizabeth Petrovna*; a Lady of distinguished Accomplishments, and now about thirty-eight Years of Age. She had lived at Court, during the last Reign, in a Manner and under Circumstances far enough from being suitable to her Birth: and the Prudence of her Behaviour, joined to that Magnanimity with which she had supported her Misfortunes, had such an Influence on all who beheld her, that she had long reigned in the Hearts of her People, while others reigned upon the Throne. At last, the whole *Russian* Nation, Princes, Nobility, Senators, Soldiers, and even the Populace, testified such an Affection for her, that some who had served her Father with Fidelity, and now enjoyed the Rewards of their Services, resolved to hazard all for her Deliverance, and to risque every thing to recover her just Rights. They attempted it, and Providence gave a Blessing to the Attempt; this Revolution happened in a single Night. On the fifth of *December* the Princess *Elizabeth* was a kind of Prisoner in the Imperial Palace, and on the sixth she was seated on the Imperial Throne, and, the Tongues of her Subjects being set at Liberty, saluted Empress of all the *Russians* by the unanimous Voices of all the People.

The Empress *Elizabeth* was no sooner possessed of the Crown of her illustrious Ancestors, than she gave the highest Marks of those Virtues which render'd her worthy of that Elevation, and which her former Circumstances had conceal'd. She rewarded beyond their Expectations such as had contributed to this great Revolution, and she suffer'd those who had persecuted her under the former Reign, to escape much better than they had Reason to expect. She caused many of the Abuses that had been committed in the Management of the Affairs of the Empire to be redressed. She restored the great Families of *Russia* to their just Ranks, and entrusted them with the principal Employments in the Government. As to the Conduct of Foreign Affairs, they suffered little Alteration; for the Empress did not affect to change all, but only such Measures of the preceding Government as were not calculated for the Benefit of her Subjects; and by this wise and moderate Behaviour, she secured Respect to

her Government abroad, as by her Tenderness and maternal Affection for her People, she diffused the most perfect Serenity through all her Dominions.

But her Conduct appeared in nothing more wise and amiable, than in the Care she took for settling the Succession, which she knew must be fixed, before she could hope to see her Government firmly established. She therefore resolved to send for her Nephew, the young Duke of *Holstein*, who was the presumptive Heir to the Imperial Crown, under the original Establishment of the Emperor *Peter the Great*. The Name of this young Prince is *Charles Peter Ulric*, born the Tenth of *February*, 1728, who soon after his Arrival at *Petersburgh*, was declared Grand Duke of *Russia*, and Heir Apparent of the Empire, in which Quality he has been acknowledged by the Senate, as well as by all the Nobility of that great Empire, with the utmost Chearfulness possible.

This Deduction will give the Reader a clear Idea of the present Situation of Things in *Russia*, and of the Motives which have induced the *Czarina* to provide with so much Diligence for the Establishment of the House of *Holstein*; which will very soon occupy all the Thrones in the North, and consequently appear one of the most considerable Families that has been known in *Europe*. The House of *Oldenbourg*, of which are the present Royal Family of *Denmark*, is the same with that of *Holstein*. The King of *Sweden*, who certainly owes his Dignity to the Interposition of the *Czarina*, is the near Relation, and as such was Administrator of the Dominions of the Duke of *Holstein*, now Grand Duke and Heir of *Russia*. Prince *Augustus* of *Holstein* may possibly obtain the Dutchy of *Courland*, and if that should ever happen, this House will be truly formidable; and if all its Branches unite their Interests, must necessarily have a great Influence on the general Affairs of *Europe*. Such an Influence as our modern Politicians seem not to have sufficiently consider'd, but which I conceive will daily display itself more and more.

The History of *Russia* thus dispatched, we come next to the Government of this great Empire; a Subject very little understood, but which may be, however, explained in a very few Words. The Czar, *Peter the Great*, was the Legislator of his Dominions; and though no Prince was more absolute than himself, yet it is certain that he aimed at setting some Bounds to the Power of his Successors; and for this Reason he established a Senate, in which it is thought that he had the Government of *France* in View, and that he meant this should resemble

resemble the Parliament of *Paris*, which it does in many Respects, and in none more than this, that it serves to sanctify and give the Form and Authority of Laws to Acts that spring from the Will of the Prince.

But still the old Constitution prevails, and the true Government of *Russia* is what it always was, despotic. In Minorities indeed, and in other Conjunctions, such as in the late Revolutions, there seems to be an actual Power attributed to the Senate, which to People at a Distance may represent the Form of Rule in *Russia* as a limited Government; but when we come to examine it more closely, we shall perceive so strict a Conformity between the Will of the Prince and the Decrees of this Assembly, as must sufficiently convince us of the Truth of what has been before laid down, *viz.* that the Imperial Power is rather strengthened than controuled by their Proceedings. As to the several Colleges, as they are stiled in *Russia*, or as they are called by us, Boards; to which the various Branches of the Administration are assigned; though the Form is *German*, yet the Thing is *French*; and *Peter the Great* contrived them after the Model of the several Councils in *France*. The High Chancellor is generally considered as the Prime Minister, and the Vice Chancellor as his Coadjutor. The present Chancellor is the Count *de Bestucheff*, a Man of moderate Views, indefatigable in Business, and very easy of Access. The Vice Chancellor is Count *Woronzoff*, who spent some time in making a Tour to the principal Courts in *Europe*.

The Political Interests of *Russia*, with respect to foreign Nations, are not either so many, or so complicated, as might be expected, considering the Extent and Situation of the Empire, which gives a Right to its Monarchs, of being considered as *Asiatic* as well as *European* Powers. The Northern Parts of the Empire, from the Frontiers of the *Swedish* Dominions to those of *China* and *Japan*, are guarded in such a Manner as to be secure not only from Danger, but from Apprehensions; having on that Side a Sea, hitherto impenetrable, and through which, if any Passage could be found, it must turn to the Benefit, but can never prove of any Disadvantage to the Subjects of *Russia*; which is a Point of great Consequence, and, as I take it, is a Blessing scarce known to any other Country than this. The Frontiers of the Empire towards *China* are also inaccessible, as consisting of Defarts impenetrable by Armies, but which yield a tolerable Passage for Caravans; so that the *Russians* may always reckon on the Friendship of the *Chinese*; and whenever they apply themselves seriously thereto, may

Expressions, I might, in all Appearance, guard better against the Danger of Contradiction. But, in Answer to this, let me observe, that in the very same Proportion an Author shews his Tenderness for his Character in this Respect, he shews a Disregard for his Readers. The Value of political Principles must appear, by their Comparison with future Events; for, if they give us no Light into these, where is their Use? It is very certain, that the great Power of the *Russian* Empire, and her close Connection with the House of *Austria*, has excited a Spirit of Suspicion and Jealousy in the North, to which also the particular Views of several Powers have not a little contributed; but notwithstanding this, what has been before laid down remains not at all the less certain.

It does not follow, that because both Sides have armed and entered into Alliances, in case of a War, that therefore a War must necessarily ensue; or, even if that should fall out, that it must create an extraordinary Alteration in the State of Things either one way or the other. In reference to the first, it must be evident to all competent Judges, that the Scales are pretty even, and therefore, notwithstanding these terrifying Appearances, it is so far from being impossible, that it is very far from being improbable, a pacifick Negotiation may yet dissipate these Clouds, and once more procure fair Weather in the North. But if, all Negotiations failing, a War should actually break out, the Turn of that War must remain very uncertain, since the Force of the *Russian* Empire is really much greater than is commonly imagined, and would be found so in such a Case.

We may add to this, that as Winds are necessary to purge the Air, and as the Emotions of Human Passions, provided they are not too violent, exhilarate the Spirits, and contribute to bodily Health; so in great States, more especially when there is an Appearance of bad Humours, Wars are so far from being inconvenient, that on the contrary, they are both salutary and expedient. We may from hence form a Judgment of the Abilities of those Ministers, who direct at present the Councils of this Empire, and who, by shewing an unshaken Steadiness in pursuing that System which they have established, have at least raised the Credit of their Government to a very high Degree, and for some time made this Empire not only the Arbitrer of all Differences in the North, but have likewise extended its Influence to the most distant Parts of *Europe*; since it is universally confessed, that the March of the Auxiliaries was the Measure that contributed most to the Conclusion of the Definitive Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle*.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it will be proper to put the Reader in mind of some things that regard the future State of this Empire. If the Imperial Prince should have Issue, there is very little Reason to doubt, that sooner or later the present King of *Sweden* will consider the Interests of the House of *Holstein*, and the great Advantages that may result from pursuing them with Steadiness and Vigour, as shall be more fully shewn in its proper Place. On the other hand, if the Imperial Prince of *Russia* has no Issue, it may open a Way to the settling the Succession of this Empire in a Method very agreeable to the natural Laws of Hereditary Monarchies, and to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties: Neither can it be supposed, that political Points so obvious in themselves, and so important in their Natures, should not be taken into the Views of all the Potentates, who interest themselves in the Affairs of the North; and tho' for a Season, and in consequence of the Humours of reigning Princes, accidental Interests may direct all things; yet, in process of Time, and in consequence of the Alterations that must necessarily make, the real and permanent Interests of every Government will prevail. By the Way, it deserves the Reader's Notice, that in the present State of Things, the true Interests of this Empire will certainly be the Rules of the reigning Czarina's Government; for remaining single, and having no particular Desires or Designs to gratify, the Peace and Prosperity of her Government can depend on nothing else.

In consequence of this, a constant and firm Adherence to that System, best calculated to promote the Good of her Subjects, and the Glory of the Empire, will be the standing Maxim in the Czarina's Councils. As such a Conduct cannot fail of having a strong Tendency to promote Peace and Satisfaction at home; and to secure the Attachment of the Allies of *Russia*, by maintaining the Credit of the Administration abroad; there are no Grounds to apprehend, at least in our Times, any great Inconveniencies or extraordinary Alterations should ensue. We may likewise add, that Things remaining, as they are like to remain, in their present Posture, for a few Years, the Advantages of these Measures will become more and more perceptible, and a proper Sense of Loyalty and Gratitude diffuse itself through the Inhabitants, even of the remotest Provinces of that wide Empire, which is certainly in a very thriving Condition, and will, by Degrees, in consequence of the Improvements that are daily making, come to extend its Power and Influence much farther than those who are unacquainted with or unattentive to political Principles can possibly conceive.

already briefly mentioned; which can be only done, by taking a short Survey of the principal Events that have happened in this Country, and their Consequences. By this Method we shall not barely gain a competent Knowledge of the *Swedish* History, and of its Connection with the general Affairs of *Europe*; but, which is of at least as great, or even greater Importance, we shall obtain a thorough Acquaintance with the Genius, Temper, and Spirit of the People. For, as by attentively considering the Works of great Artists, we may not only discover the Nature of that Skill and Knowledge by which they were contrived, but also derive some Intelligence of the Tools and Instruments with which they were wrought; so in contemplating the Achievements of great Princes, we do not simply distinguish the Strength of their Abilities, but the Temper also, and Virtues of their Subjects, by whose Assistance those mighty Actions were achieved; since in Politicks, and in War, as well as in other Things, there must be either a natural, or an artificial Aptness in the Materials, before any great Structure can be raised, or any extensive Conquests attained.

There is no need, however, to go higher in this respect than *Gustavus Adolphus*, who ascended the Throne of *Sweden* in 1611. He was a Prince of great Abilities, which manifested themselves so clearly in his Youth, that the States thought fit to give him the entire Administration of Affairs soon after his Accession to the Crown, though he was then but Eighteen. He found his Kingdom the Lowest and Weakest, as he left it the Greatest and most Powerful, in the North. He had two Wars upon his Hands in the earliest Part of his Reign, and he ended them both with great Prudence; for perceiving that the Forces of his Kingdom were not at all proportioned to its Occasions, he very wisely purchased a Peace with *Denmark* at the Expence of one Million of Crowns, for the Payment of which there was a Time limited, which he very honestly discharged when his Affairs were mended, and when, if he had been so inclined, he wanted not plausible Pretences for refusing to comply with that Treaty. He recovered by this Means those Fortresses which the *Danes* had taken, and laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, he turned his Arms against the *Russians*, from whom he took great Part of *Livonia*, *Ingermania*, and the City of *Kexholm*, the Possession of which he secured by a Treaty concluded under the Mediation of *Great Britain*.

He turned his Arms next against the *Poles*, with whom he maintained a long War, which proved very advantageous to *Sweden*, and procured for her the remaining Part of *Livonia*, and the important City of *Riga*. In this War the *Poles* were assisted

filled by the Emperor, which gave sufficient Provocation to *Gustavus* to declare himself against the House of *Austria*, the Power of which was then formidable to all *Europe*, and which nevertheless he broke in a short space of Time, and with a very small Force. He was called into *Germany* by the Protestants, and on the 24th of *June* 1630, he landed at the Mouth of the *Oder* with an Army which consisted of only sixteen Troops of Horse, and ninety-two Companies of Foot, making in all but eight thousand Men. He soon made himself Master of *Stetin*, and a great part of *Pomerania*; upon which all the Protestants in *Germany* declared for him, and in the Beginning of the succeeding Year he concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Crown of *France*.

King *Gustavus* soon after took the City of *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and sent his Deputies to the General Assembly of the Protestants at *Leipsick*, where they quickly discovered that the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was dissident, and the Elector of *Saxony* jealous of the King their Master. *Gustavus* being determined to finish what he had so happily begun, forced the former to put into his Hands such Places as were necessary to secure him a Retreat, and left the latter to be distressed by the *Imperialists*, till he was constrained to call him to his Assistance, which on *Sep.* 7, 1631, produced the glorious Battle of *Leipsick*, in which he routed the famous Count *Tilly*, who commanded 40,000 old Troops, killing 7,000 upon the Spot, making 5,000 Prisoners, and taking above an Hundred Colours and Standards. After this he carried the War into *Franconia*, and leaving there a Part of his Army, he with the rest marched into *Bavaria*, where in the Passage of the *Lech* Count *Tilly* was killed with a Cannon-shot: After which the King drove the *Imperialists* out of all the open Country, and made himself Master of *Munich*.

He not long after attacked Count *Wallestein* in his Intrenchments, but was repulsed with loss. He augmented however his Conquests after this, till the Elector of *Saxony* called him again to his Assistance, which that Monarch did not refuse, though it was entirely owing to his fluctuating Conduct that the War had not being ended long before. On his advancing towards the *Imperialists*, the King sent Orders to Prince *George* of *Lunenburgh* to join him with the Forces under his Command; but being informed that the *Imperial* General had detached Count *Pappenheim* with some thousand Men, he resolved to attack him without waiting for the Duke of *Lunenburgh*; which he accordingly did in the Plain of *Lutzen*, on the 16th of *Nov.* 1632; in which Battle the

Swedish

soon reduced to a necessity of begging Peace at the Price of the Provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, which was concluded in the Spring, but the War broke out again in the Space of a few Months. In the Summer ensuing, which was that of 1658, the King having conceived fresh Jealousies against the *Danes*, suddenly landed with his Army in the Island of *Zeland*, and while General *Wrangel* besieged *Cronenburgh* at the Entrance of the *Sound*, he attacked *Copenhagen*.

These Sieges had very different Events; for *Cronenburgh* was soon taken; but the *Danes*, encouraged by the Presence of their King in the Capital, made an obstinate Defence, which gave Time for the *Dutch Fleet* to come to their Relief; and the *Swedish Navy* being defeated, the King was forced to change his Siege into a Blockade, which continued all that Year, and the best Part of the next, in which the *Swedes* met with so many Misfortunes, that the King was forced to return Home in order to make the necessary Preparations for carrying on his Enterprize with Vigour in the Spring; but while he was intent on his Affairs he was surprized by a Fever, which soon carried him off. And at his Death, which happened on the 13th of *February*, 1660, he left his Son, who was but five Years old, engaged in a War against six of the greatest Powers in *Europe*. Such was the End of this great Monarch, whose Courage and Virtues had enabled him to make so great a Figure, as not only to maintain the Credit which the Crown of *Sweden* had acquired, but to carry it even higher than it had risen under his glorious Predecessor, the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, but then it was built on the Foundation which he had laid.

Charles XI. was chiefly governed in his Minority by his Mother, who was Sister to the Duke of *Holstein*, a very wise and prudent Princess, who by the Advice of the principal Persons in the Kingdom, brought about a very advantageous Treaty of Peace, called from the Place where it was concluded, the Treaty of *Oliva*; by which the King of *Poland* renounced his Claim to the Crown of *Sweden*, and the Republick all her Rights to *Livonia*. The *Swedes* made Peace at the same Time with *Denmark*, and Things were kept in tolerable Order till the Close of the King's Minority; when by a very unhappy Turn in his Counsels, he was engaged to take Part with *France* in the War which preceded the Peace of *Nimeguen*, wherein he met with very indifferent Success, and lost a great Part of his Dominions in *Germany*; which however were restored to him by a separate Treaty concluded a little before the general Peace last mentioned, in the Negotiation of which he acted as a Mediator.

In 1680, being about twenty-five Years of Age, he chose for his Consort the Princess *Ulrica Eleanora*, Daughter to *Frederick II.* and Sister to *Christian V.* Kings of *Denmark*; and thenceforward applied himself with greater Diligence to the Government of his Kingdom than any of his Predecessors, or indeed than any Prince of his Time. The first Effect of this, was his detaching himself entirely from the *French* Interest; which he looked upon as dangerous to his Authority, and not at all compensated by the paltry Subsidies granted by that Crown, which ought to be a standing Lesson to his Successors.

He next inquired after and corrected all Abuses that had crept into the Civil Government, whilst former Kings of *Sweden* trusting all Things to their Ministers, minded nothing but War; and looked particularly into Law-Suits, sitting himself in the Supreme Court, and dispatching there more Causes in seven Years than before had been decided in twenty. By this Means he gained the Love of his Subjects to such a Degree, that the States of the Kingdom consented, at his Request, to take away a great Part of the Power, which till then the Senate had enjoyed; and made afterwards such farther Alterations in the Government, as rendered the King as absolute as any Monarch in *Europe*. They enabled him likewise to reunite to the Crown such Estates as had been alienated from it, and to pay off the publick Debts, by raising the Value of the Coin. They settled the Militia also in such a Manner, that he had always seventeen thousand Horse, and forty-three thousand Foot, kept up at the Expence of his Subjects. Besides all this, they granted him large Sums of Money which were raised by heavy Taxes; but such was his Conduct, that the People being satisfied that all they gave was either laid out, or laid up for their Service, they thought they could never do too much for him; and indeed his Reign is the strongest Proof, that the surest Way for a Prince to make his Will the Law, is to govern by Law.

He was remarkably addicted to the Religion of his Country, and not only strict in his Morals, but severe; and though not uxorious, yet his Chastity was never so much as suspected. He humbled his Nobility, but was very obsequious to the Clergy, kind to the Citizens, and very tender of the common People. He took a proper Care of Foreign Affairs, though he avoided making War; but he did not suffer his Love for Peace so far to influence him, as to allow any of his Neighbours to prejudice either the Crown of *Sweden*, or her Allies; for when the King of *Denmark* seized the Duke of *Holstein's* Dominions, he without Delay interposed, and began to make such Preparations for
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doing Right to that Prince, as produced the Treaty of *Altena*, which was signed on the tenth of *June*, 1689, and by which the Duke was restored to his Dominions.

After this he entered into a close Alliance with the *Danes* for preserving the Peace of the North ; and in the first general War against *France* he lent the *Dutch* six thousand Men, and offered the Emperor as many more, yet without declaring War against *Lewis XIV.* who was so well satisfied with his Behaviour, or rather was so much afraid of him, that he forbid all *French* Privateers molesting *Swedish* Ships ; and thus by a steady and prudent Management, he supported his own Power at home, and maintained the Credit of the Crown of *Sweden* abroad to the Time of his Decease, which happened on the fifth of *April*, 1697, at the Age of forty-two. He left behind him three Children ; viz. *Hedwig-Sophia-Eleanora*, who espoused the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* ; *Ulrica Eleanora*, Consort to the late King of *Sweden* ; and his only surviving Son and Successor

Charles XII. who in his Minority was governed by the same great Princess with whom the Affairs of the Kingdom were intrusted in that of his Father, I mean the Dowager of *Charles X.* assisted by five Senators, and they were to administer the Government till her Grandson came to the Age of Eighteen. But the States thought fit to abridge that Term, and to declare him Major before he reached Sixteen ; and in half a Year afterwards the general Peace of *Ryswick* was concluded under his Mediation. His Neighbours taking Advantage of his Youth, formed a Confederacy for attacking him on all Sides, and this without the least Provocation. The Confederates were *Frederick IV.* King of *Denmark*, *Augustus II.* King of *Poland*, and the Czar *Peter the Great*, all esteemed as wise Princes as any of their Time ; but influenced in this by their Ambition, and the Prospect they had of dividing amongst themselves the late Acquisitions of *Sweden*.

Charles penetrated this Scheme, and as soon as he saw the *English* Fleet in the *Baltick*, as Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena*, determined to begin with that Prince of the Confederates who broke with him first, and make him feel the whole Weight of his Power. Accordingly he landed an Army in *Zealand*, and besieged *Copenhagen*, reducing in a very short Time the King of *Denmark* so low, that he was constrained to make Peace upon reasonable Terms, and desert the Confederacy, by a Treaty which was signed at *Travendabl*, *August* 8, 1700. The very same Year he relieved *Narva*, that was besieged by the Czar, and obtained on the 20th of *November* the most compleat Victory with

with the greatest Inequality of Forces that is recorded in modern History.

He turned his victorious Arms next against the *Poles*, forced them to depose King *Augustus*, and make Choice of a new King, which they did the fifth of *May*, 1704, in the Person of *Stanislaus Leszinski*, Palatine of *Poznania*, and Son to Count *Leszinski*, Great Treasurer of the Crown. He pushed this Resentment of his still farther, by following *Augustus* into his hereditary Dominions of *Saxony*, where he exhausted the Country by excessive Contributions, and imposed very hard Conditions on that Monarch himself, by the famous Treaty which was concluded at *Altranstadt*, a Village within two Miles of *Leipsick*.

While the King of *Sweden* was in *Saxony*, he took an Opportunity of shewing the Emperor *Joseph*, who then reigned, some Marks of Dislike at the Conduct which he had pursued, and obliged him to do Justice to his Protestant Subjects. We may truly affirm the Year 1708 was that in which the Glory of *Sweden* rose to its utmost Height. *Charles* had then the Balance of *Europe* in his Hand, and might have prescribed Terms to all its Powers, from the critical Situation of his own Affairs and theirs; but his boundless Ambition, heated, perhaps, by the artful Praises of an *English* General, whose Eloquence was as victorious as his Sword, threw him very soon into a different Condition. For desirous of completing his Plan, towards which there wanted but one Stroke, he marched through the *Ukraine* into *Russia*, resolved to drive the Czar out of his Territories, as he had forced the *Dane* to save his Capital by a Peace, and the *Poles* to depose the King who was his Enemy. A great and glorious Project if it had been practicable!

This produced the famous Battle of *Pultowa*, which cost the *Swedes* 30,000 Men, and forced the King to take Shelter in *Turky* with a handful of People. This fatal Engagement happened on the twenty-seventh of *June*, 1709, and opened a Passage for the Enemies of this Crown to execute the Projects they had formed ten Years before, which was an Opportunity they none of them let slip. The King of *Denmark* once more declared War, and made a Descent upon *Schonen*; the King of *Poland* entered again into Possession of his Dominions; the *Russians* repossessed themselves of the most valuable Part of the *Swedish* Territories on the *Baltick*; and though at first the Confederates kept some Measures in *Germany*, yet at last they attacked and divided the *Swedish* Territories there; the *Prussians* got the better Part of *Pomerania*, and *Bremen* and *Verden* falling

into the Hands of the *Danes*, they disposed of them to the Elector of *Hanover*.

His *Swedish* Majesty returned into his Dominions in *November*, 1714, and very soon made his Enemies sensible of his Presence. He found his own Territories exhausted, his and his Predecessors Conquests lost, and scarce any Friend or Ally left; yet he maintained his absolute Power over his own Subjects, and prosecuted the War with inflexible Resolution. He persisted in his former Notions of destroying or deposing every Prince with whom he was displeased. He meditated a Descent upon *Zealand*, with a View once more to besiege *Copenhagen*, in which he failed; he engaged in some dark Designs for disturbing the Peace of *Great Britain*, which were disconcerted; his last Attempt was an Invasion upon *Norway*, where he was shot before *Frederickshall*, on the first of *December*, 1718, dying as he lived, ill treated, but unconquered.

Upon his Demise the States of *Sweden* declared his Sister the Princess *Ulrica Eleanora* Queen, and her Husband the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* Generalissimo; for the War still continued. In 1720 that Prince having embraced the *Lutheran* Religion, was raised to the Throne of *Sweden*, and soon after Peace was made with all the Powers with whom *Sweden* had so long contended; that with *Denmark* took place in *June* 1720; that with *Prussia* on the 11th of *January*, 1721; and that with the Czar was concluded at *Newstadt* in *Finland*, on the 19th of *August*, in the same Year. By these Treaties the *Swedes* recovered part of *Pomerania*, and the Town of *Wismar*: But the King of *Prussia* kept the Dutchy of *Stetin*; the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden* were left to *Hanover*, and the Czar kept in general all his Conquests. In 1729 the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* were reconciled.

In consequence of these Steps the Face of Affairs in *Sweden* has been entirely changed, and from being one of the most absolute, it is again become the most limited Crown in *Europe*; the Senate has recovered all its ancient Privileges, the States have resumed and even extended their Powers; so that the King can do nothing of Consequence without their Approbation. While the Miseries of the late War were fresh in Remembrance, the *Swedes* continued firm to their new System, maintained a close Correspondence with *Russia*, remained on good Terms with all their Neighbours, and seemed very little disposed to risque any new Alterations in their Government, by admitting the Claim which the Duke of *Holstein*, only Son to the Queen's eldest Sister, kept up to the Succession; they likewise entered into very strict Engagements with the Crown of *Great*

Great Britain, and shewed a great Respect for the House of *Austria*; whence it was conceived that all Things in the North would go on in this Channel; and that nothing was to be feared from the Intrigues of *France* in that Nation, which formerly had so great an Influence on the Affairs of *Europe* in general.

But those who knew the Disposition of the *Swedes* best, always foresaw, that any Alteration in the Power and Conditions of their Neighbours would still produce extraordinary Effects amongst them; in short, that this long Calm would be followed by a high Storm: and the Event very fully proved that their Conjectures were but too well founded.

It was in 1738 that this great Change in the Politicks of the *Swedes* began to discover itself. The Diet that assembled that Year, of which Count *Tessin* was chosen Marshal, soon appeared to be composed of Persons of very different Sentiments, who in a little Time, however, were distinguished into three Parties. The first and most vigorous were for reviving the old System, and for trying to recover, if possible, part of the Dominions yielded to *Russia*, and therefore they inclined to martial Measures; these were called *the Hats*. The Party directly opposite to them, declared absolutely for Peace, for the Maintenance of the present System, and for endeavouring to promote the domestick Welfare of the Nation; these were stiled *the Night-Caps*. The third Party was a kind of flying Squadron, who were for keeping in a middle Way; and were from thence denominated the *Hunting-Caps*. It was not very long before the first Party appeared to have a great Majority; but as it required Time to execute their Designs, the Diet, contrary to Custom, continued sitting eleven Months, and before they rose, turned out five of the Senators that had been most concerned in renewing the Treaty with *Russia*.

In 1739, a *French* Squadron of five Sail, commanded by the Marquis *D'Antin*, arrived in the *Baltick*, and anchored in the Road of *Stockholm*: With what View this Squadron came, has been rather guessed at than known; but there was one Circumstance attended it, which deserves particular Notice. The King of *Sweden* presented the Sword he wore at the Time the Marquis had his Audience to that Officer, with this extraordinary Compliment; *I give you this, Sir, with the greater Pleasure, because I am sure, you will draw it on all Occasions for us, as I and my Subjects will draw ours for France*. Another Event happened in this Year, which likewise made much Noise; the States had taken care to discharge the Debts contracted by the late King *Charles XII.* in *Turky*, and had employed for

that Purpose, as well as for some others perhaps of much greater Importance, one Major *Malcolm Sinclair*, who in his Return was murdered by a *Russian* Officer near *Naumbourg* in *Silesia*, on the 6th of *June*, and all his Papers taken from him, which contributed to heighten the Resentment of the *Swedes* against that Nation, notwithstanding the *Czarina* disowned in the most solemn Manner, her having any Concern in that Matter.

The very same Day Major *Sinclair* was murdered, died *Charles Duke of Holstein-Gottorp*, who always considered himself as presumptive Heir to the Crown of *Sweden*. The next Year died the Emperor *Charles VI.* and *Anne* Empress of *Russia*, which facilitated the Designs of those who endeavoured to bring the *Swedes* to declare that War against the *Russians*, which at last broke out in the Month of *July* 1741, the Consequences of which are too well known to be dwelt upon here. It was attended with nothing but Misfortunes from the Beginning; and while things went so ill on the Frontiers, there happened a very unlucky Event at *Stockholm*, which was the Death of the Queen the latter End of *November* 1741. The *Swedes* were in hopes that things would have gone better after the great Revolution in *Russia*, which placed the Empress *Elizabeth* upon the Throne; but after various Negotiations, the War broke out again with greater Heat than ever; and the *Swedes*, who had so often in former times beat the *Russians*, were now beaten by them over and over, the best Part of their Army made Prisoners, and all the Country of *Finland* lost, which reduced them to the hard Necessity of making Peace upon the best Terms they could obtain.

While this was under Consideration, the Diet, which was again assembled, proceeded in the great Affair of the Succession to the Crown, the establishing of which they hoped would contribute to change the melancholy Face of their Affairs. But for the present this occasioned new Divisions, and still greater Confusions. There were four Candidates for the Succession; the first was the young Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, supported by many of the Nobility, and by a strong Party amongst the Burgeses, as well as by the whole Order of Peasants; the second was Prince *Frederick* of *Hesse-Cassel*, Nephew to the King, for whom all the Clergy declared; the third was the Prince of *Denmark*, who had a very considerable Party; and the fourth the Duke of *Deuxponts*, who is also of the Royal Family of *Sweden*, and had but a small Party. After very warm Debates, the Duke of *Holstein* was declared Successor, in the Month of *October* 1742, by a Majority of two Votes only; and

and Deputies were named to offer him on certain Conditions the Reversion of the Crown, in hopes he might induce the *Czarina* to restore the Grand Dutchy of *Finland*. But before they arrived at *Petersburg*, he had embraced the *Greek* Religion, with a View to the Succession of *Russia*, to which also he had a Claim of Hereditary Right.

This Scheme having failed of producing its desired Effect, was followed by Consequences that were equally unavoidable and unexpected; for the Peasants that had expressed such unanimous Affection for the House of *Holstein*, began with the same Zeal and Unanimity to espouse the Interest of the Prince of *Denmark*, to whom the Clergy were attached; they likewise insisted on the calling to a severe Account the Generals that had commanded the Forces in the two last Campaigns; and those very Persons that had shewn the greatest Warmth in promoting the War with *Russia*, were now equally warm in demanding the Punishment of all such as were the Managers of that War, to whom they imputed its Want of Success.

Yet in the midst of these domestick Disputes, Peace appeared as precarious as ever, and the Diet seemed equally unable to bear the Thoughts of losing *Finland* entirely, or falling upon any Expedient for recovering it; except receiving it as an Equivalent from the Hands of the *Czarina*, with which View his *Britannick* Majesty having offered his Mediation, the Conferences were continued at *Abo*. These, at last, ended in a Treaty, by which *Russia* consented to restore all that had been taken in this War from *Sweden*, except a small District in *Finland*, and to renew the Peace between the two Nations, in case the States of *Sweden* should elect Prince *Adolphus Frederick*, Administrator of *Holstein* and Bishop of *Lubec*, Successor to the Crown; and in this Case the young Duke of *Holstein*, whom they had already elected, and who was now become hereditary Prince of *Russia*, offered to make a solemn Resignation of all his Claim and Right to the *Swedish* Diadem.

When this Treaty came to be considered in the Diet at *Stockholm*, there arose very high Debates; but at last the Consideration of those immediate Advantages which were to arise from the Election of the Bishop of *Lubec*, and the Prospect of continual Disputes in case they elected any other Successor, brought over all the Orders of the States to this Proposition; and Duke *Adolphus* was accordingly chosen hereditary Prince and Successor of *Sweden*, on the 23d of *June* 1743. But while the Diet was thus providing for their present Peace and future Safety, the *Dalecarlians* took up Arms and marched directly to the City of *Stockholm*, under Pretence of supporting the Interest of the Prince

of *Denmark*, in which they persisted, notwithstanding the King took all possible Methods to reduce them by fair Means to their Duty. At last the Malecontents attempted to overturn all to which the King and the States of *Sweden* had consented. This obliged his Majesty, much against his Will, to employ Force, even in his capital City; where after a sharp Engagement, in which one of his Senators at the Head of the King's Troops was mortally wounded, the Rebels were totally defeated, obliged to lay down their Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy, which was extended to them in the most ample Degree, notwithstanding the Blackness of their Crime.

But this extraordinary Instance of Royal Clemency, did not soften the Resentment of the Peasants against two unfortunate Noblemen, viz. Count *Loeuwenhaupt* and Baron *Buddenbrok*, who to satisfy them, had been condemned for want of Success in the two last Campaigns, and whose Execution was now demanded with such Heat, that the most merciful Monarch in the World could not refuse it. Lieutenant General Baron *Buddenbrok* suffered first, on the 16th of *July* in the same Year; but Field Marshal *Loeuwenhaupt* made his Escape, yet was soon after retaken; and notwithstanding the Nobility and Clergy were inclined to spare his Life, the Peasants remained still inflexible; and to satisfy them, he was according to his Sentence beheaded. The King retired to his Country Palace, till these melancholy Scenes were over, and the Peasants, gratified in their Revenge, consented to the Election, which being signified to Duke *Adolphus*, he went soon after to *Stockholm*, where he was received with universal Acclamations.

The late King of *Denmark*, who for Reasons that will appear in the next Article, had many Motives to dislike this sudden and extraordinary Elevation of the House of *Holstein*, and who besides was not a little mortified on the score of his Son's being set aside to make way for the Bishop of *Lubeck*; began to make such vast Military Preparations as seemed to bespeak a Design of invading *Sweden*, and which for some Months not only amused the *North*, but all *Europe*; yet the *Czarina* found means to lay this Storm, by declaring roundly to the Courts of *Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, that she would maintain the Election she had promoted, with the whole Force of her Empire. To establish the Peace of the Kingdom more effectually, it was thought highly requisite, that the new Prince Successor should marry, and accordingly he espoused the Princess *Louisa Ulrica*, Sister to the King of *Prussia*, by whom he has already three Sons.

The prevailing Party of this Kingdom, are thought to have been disappointed in their Views as to the Succession; in reference to which it has been strongly suspected, that they inclined rather to the Duke of *Deuxponts*, than to Prince *Adolphus* of *Holstein*; but after this great Point was once settled, and the Prince Successor arrived in *Sweden*, they made their Court to him with such Success, that it was not long before the World became sensible, that either his Royal Highness had embraced their Principles, or thought proper to wear the Appearance of having adopted them, in order to render himself popular. In this, it may be, he went farther than was necessary, since it is agreed that his own and his Consort's Behaviour has been so full of Rectitude and Affability, that without espousing any Party Maxims, they might have attracted the Esteem, and secured the Affections of the People. But Count *Gyllenburgh*, who was the Head of the Country Party in *Sweden*, was a Man of so great Parts, and knew how to place the Notions he had espoused in so fair a Light, that we need not wonder he gained an Ascendant over a Prince, whose Virtues, Sincerity, and Candour, made him the more ready to believe, what with great Address was represented to him as the true Interests of the Nation. Another Incident contributed not a little to fix him in these Opinions, and that was the Resolution taken by the governing Party in *Sweden*, to fall in with the Views of his *Prussian* Majesty; in order to which, a Treaty was set on foot between the two Crowns, which has been since concluded and ratified by the Consent of the Diet, and to which the Crown of *France* has also acceded.

It was very natural that this Conduct in the Prince Successor should not be well relished in *Russia*, where from the Jealousies entertained first of the Marquis *de Botta*, next of the Marquis *de la Cbetardie* and Baron *Mardefeldt*, and lastly of Mr. *D'Allion*, it was very apparent that so close an Intercourse with the Courts of *Versailles* and *Berlin*, must of necessity create Suspicions. But notwithstanding every Method possible has been tried by Letters from the *Czarina* and the Imperial Prince, to give another Turn to his Royal Highness's Sentiments, he remained firm to the Party he embraced so early; tho' at the same time he in the most publick Manner acknowledged his Obligations to the *Czarina*, and professed the highest personal Regard and Esteem for her Imperial Majesty, consistent with his Duty and Interest in pursuing the Welfare of the *Swedish* Nation. It was thought, that upon the Death of Count *Gyllenburgh*,

lenburgh, some Alteration might have happened; but the long Illness of that great Minister, who in the midst of bodily Pains and Infirmities retained not only his Abilities, but his Party-Engagements to the very last, gave him an Opportunity of preparing every thing in favour of Count *Tessin* his intended Successor.

It is true, that the Court of *Russia* took a very brisk Step to prevent the Promotion of this Nobleman, by charging him with being an Enemy to the Harmony and good Understanding between the two Crowns, which however had not the Success that was expected from it. For the Diet being at that Time sitting, Count *Tessin* assumed in appearance a Resolution of quitting all his Employments; previous to this, he desired his Conduct might be examined by the States, in which he shewed himself as wise and able a Man as his Predecessor, since he foresaw that this must either open a Way to a safe and honourable Retreat, or else bring the States of the Kingdom to espouse his Interest as their own, and make his Elevation to the Post of President of the Chancery an Act of the Diet.

To push this more effectually, the Discovery of a new Plot was set on foot, to which the wild and unguarded Expressions of an inconsiderable and desperate Man, gave a Colour of Truth; and this was so well managed, that after a formal Tryal and Conviction, this Person was executed *August 9, 1747*, at *Stockholm*; and others who were stiled his Accomplices were likewise punished, but not with so great Severity. At length the Report of the secret Committee having been made entirely in his Favour, Count *Tessin* was raised to the Post beforementioned, with all the Circumstances of Honour and Reputation that a Subject could receive. All Things from that Time went in the Channel into which they were turn'd by Count *Gyllenburgh*; and to interest all Ranks and Degrees of People in the Nation more effectually in support of the new System, three Orders of Knight-hood were instituted or revived, *viz.* the *Seraphim*, the *Sword*, and the *North Star*; so that it is not easy to conceive a political Plan, either better contrived, or more discreetly executed than this has been. His *Swedish* Majesty, then the oldest Monarch in *Europe*, was rather passive in these extraordinary Transactions than forward, agreeable to the Calmness of his Temper, to the unsettled State of his Health, and to his declining Years; but all along behaved in a manner that preserved to him the utmost Respect, as well as the most sincere and hearty Affections of his People.

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His Reign was one of the mildest with which this, or indeed any other People were ever blessed ; he discovered a true Concern for whatever related to the Good of his People ; promoted, to the utmost of his Power, every Project that tended either to heighten or to secure their Felicity ; and never discovered any Backwardness or Want of Spirit, but when he was unwilling to lend the Colour of his Authority to those Acts of Party Violence, which as a wise, a good, and an humane Prince, he could not but in his Heart disapprove.

We need not wonder therefore that this Monarch was so much considered by his Neighbours, so highly revered by the Prince who was to succeed him, or so much beloved by his Subjects, more especially when we consider that they had all a very great Interest in his Life, created by an Opinion that generally prevailed, as if his Demise would be attended with some Alteration in the Government, and with some Disturbance in the publick Tranquillity ; and yet this was not at all justified by the Event. His *Swedish* Majesty, whose Death had been long looked for, and more than once published, died at length somewhat unexpectedly, *April* the fifth 1751, when he was very near seventy-five Years of Age, and when he had worn the Crown near thirty Years, deservedly and universally regretted. The next Day the new King was proclaimed, and in the Afternoon went to the Senate, and there signed and swore to the following solemn Act.

“ Whereas the united States of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, of their own Motion, and by a free and voluntary Choice, elected me Successor to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, of the *Goths*, and of the *Vandals* ; I should be wanting in a suitable Return to the Confidence they reposed in me on my Advancement to the Throne, which is devolved to me by the Disposal of the Almighty, and by the free Election which they made, if I did not in the most solemn Manner confirm the Assurance I have given to support them at the Expence of my Life and Blood, in the Exercise of the pure Doctrine and Religion they profess, and to preserve and defend the Liberties and Privileges they have acquired. And as my Desires are far from every thing which might bear the least Shadow of Constraint, I declare by this publick Act, which I swear to observe upon my Royal Word and Faith, that I not only intend to govern my Kingdom according to the Laws of *Sweden* and the Form of Regency established in the Year 1720, as well as in Conformity with the Assurance I gave the States of the Kingdom in the Year 1742 ; but also that I

“ shall

“ I shall regard as the most dangerous Enemies to me and the
 “ Kingdom, and treat as Traitors to their Country, all such
 “ as shall either in publick, or under any Pretence soever un-
 “ dertake, or endeavour to introduce into this Kingdom, de-
 “ spotick Power or arbitrary Government, wherein God assist
 “ me.”

Signed,

Stockholm, April 6,
 1751.

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

This new Monarch likewise wrote immediately to the Empress of *Russia*, with his own Hand, to notify his Accession to the Throne, and to acquaint her Imperial Majesty with the Sentiments of Respect and Friendship, which he had ever retained and ever meant to retain for so good an Ally, and of his sincere Intentions to support the Promises contained in that Act, which was the first of his Reign, and which accompanied this Letter. These were sent by a Person of Distinction, who, by the Rigour of the Season, and other Accidents, was much retarded in his Journey ; but, upon his Arrival at *Petersburgh*, was extremely well received, had the Honour of presenting his Letter to the Empress, who not only returned a suitable Answer, but published likewise a Declaration that corresponded in its Contents with his *Swedish* Majesty's Act at his Accession. In this State Things are at present ; so that the Death of the late King has not hitherto produced any thing like a Rupture, and it may be that the Resolutions taken in the Diet, which will very speedily meet, may remove all Fears and Apprehensions : For as all things in this World are variable, so we state this as a Matter probable, and without suggesting that the contrary is at all impossible.

Thus we have given a large Account of the Affairs of *Sweden*, from that *Æra*, at which she first began to make a Figure amongst the Powers of *Europe*, down to the present Times ; and have shewn how she extended, and how she lost her Dominions, how she changed her Constitution, and from being limited, became an absolute, and now a limited Monarchy again. All which Circumstances the Reader will find not only requisite to the understanding what we have to say of the Political Interests of this Nation, but also highly useful in respect to the remaining History of the *North*, inasmuch as almost every remarkable Event therein, at least for several Ages past, is some way or other connected with the Affairs of this Kingdom ; so that the Room we have taken in this, will enable us to be
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more concile in the succeeding Article, without rendering them from that Circumstance in the least obscure.

As there was no Way of learning the Interest of *Sweden*, but by consulting the History, so it is impossible to form a right Notion of its Government, without being acquainted with the Manners of the Inhabitants. The *Swedes* have, like other Nations, good and bad Properties; they are unquestionably as brave, as hardy, and as patient as any People in the World, which qualified them for making excellent Soldiers; and as they were disciplined and intermixed with Foreigners of all Countries, who had either signalized themselves by Skill or Courage in Service, this in the Space of a few Years rendered their Armies justly famous; and though their Force is much reduced, yet the Troops they have are as good as ever. They are likewise most sincerely zealous for the Protestant Religion, according to the *Lutheran* Doctrine, which is not only the Faith by Law established, but the only one tolerated in that Kingdom. The Nobility, Gentry, and better sort of People, have all a Tincture of Learning, and very few have more; they have always been esteemed loyal to their Princes, and have generally shewn themselves hearty Friends to Liberty, though they have been sometimes mistaken about it, and yet have persisted obstinately in their Mistakes.

As to the Vices of the *Swedes*, they are at least as conspicuous as their Virtues; they have a Fickleness in their Tempers, equally fatal to them in the Pursuit of Politicks or Learning; they have a great Proportion of Vanity, which displays itself particularly in Furniture and Equipage; for as to those Expences that make no Shew, these People are by Nature little addicted to them. But the Vice most predominant among them is Envy, directed more especially against Strangers, who if they thrive in Trade, at Court, or in the Army, fill the People with an unaccountable Malice and Displeasure. And the same bad Turn they are apt to take, even against their own Countrymen, more especially if they spring from a low Beginning, or rise at too quick a Rate. They are not much inclined to Manufactures, nor have they any true Genius for Trade, though they have good Ships and skilful Seamen; but they are suspicious, especially where Foreigners are concerned, and so very impatient if things do not immediately succeed, that there seems to be no great Reason to apprehend their very soon acquiring an extensive Commerce, or consequently their becoming a Maritime Power; but on the other hand, it may be presumed, they will not neglect that Naval Strength which they have already acquired, and for the Support of which, as well as for all other things

things useful or necessary to the Publick, the Laws have made a competent Provision in *Sweden*.

After considering this fair and impartial Character of the *Swedish* Nation, we need not be at all surprized at the various Revolutions to which their Government has been subject. The Love of Freedom, to say the Truth, was their reigning Passion; and not being always able to see so distinctly how those Evils might be cured, which they well enough discerned it did not become a brave Nation to endure, they took such Methods as were dictated by their own Despair, or were advised to by such as undertook to procure their Deliverance. But still there were some short Maxims, and some fundamental Articles of Government, from which they never departed, and upon which they grounded that Constitution, which took Place after they shook off the Yoke of *Denmark*, and bestowed the Crown upon *Gustavus Vasa*, from whom their Kings are descended. Amongst these fundamental Points, the two most material were, the preserving the Legislative Power entirely to the States of the Kingdom, and so much of the Executive as was thought expedient for the publick Good in the Hands of the Senate; upon which two Columns they conceived the Structure of their Common-wealth might always rest, without Danger of Subversion.

As for the States of the Kingdom, the usual Time of their Assembly is once in three Years, or oftener, if the Affairs of the Kingdom require it. The Letters mandatory for calling them together are sent to the Governors of the several Provinces, into which the Kingdom is divided; who thereupon write to each Nobleman and Gentleman of their Province, and to the Bishops, who cause the same to be published in all the Parish Churches. The Body of the Nobility and Gentry are represented by one of each Family, of which there are above a thousand in *Sweden*, and with them, that is in the Chamber of Nobles, the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and one Captain of each Regiment, sit and vote. For the Clergy, besides the Bishops and Super-intendants; in each rural Deanery, or District containing ten Parishes, one is chosen and maintained at the Charge of the Electors; these make a Body of about two hundred. The Representatives of the Burghers are chosen by the Magistrates and Common Council of each Corporation, of which *Stockholm* sends four, other Places two, and some one, who make in all about one hundred and fifty. The Peasants of each District chuse one of their own Quality to appear for them, whose Charges they bear, and give him Instructions about such Matters,

Matters, as they think need Redress; they are, generally speaking, about two hundred and fifty.

At their first Meeting the King is present with the Senate, and the President of the Chancery makes them a Speech on the Part of his Majesty, in which he gives them a short Account of what has happened since their last Meeting, and of the principal Points they are called together to consult about; and after an Answer given by the Speaker of each of the four Orders, they withdraw to their respective Houses, where each elects out of its own Body a certain Number of Members to make up the secret Committee, that prepare and digest Matters for the Consideration of the States. Each of the several Orders has a negative Voice, but in their respective Houses the Majority of Votes absolutely decides the Business.

The Reason that the Military Officers have in Right of their Commission a Seat in the Diet is, because the Army makes a Part of the Constitution; the Officers are for Life, and have Estates in Land, which are let at Rents equivalent to their Pay; and being generally Men of good Families beside, there are no Inconveniencies to be feared from their having Seats in the Diet. As there are no Dissenters in *Sweden* of any Denomination whatever, this obliges their Princes to court the Clergy very much. The House of Burgesses is commonly well-affected to the Crown, and remarkably moderate in their Proceedings. The Peasants, on the contrary, are often very warm and very obstinate; and they may be considered, to use a Phrase adapted to our own Constitution, as the Country Interest in *Sweden*, or rather, as the more modern Expression is, the Landed Interest; and on that Account have great Regard paid them. Each of the Houses have a Right to represent their respective Grievances to the King, who gives separately such Answers as he thinks proper; and at the Conclusion of the Diet every Member of the Orders of the Clergy, Burgesses and Peasants, has an Extract given him of their whole Proceedings, and the King's Answer to their Grievances, which he carries home to his Constituents.

The Senate hath not only Authority to advise the King in all Business of Importance, but may likewise admonish, and even over-rule him, in case he attempts any thing contrary to Law; and without the Concurrence of the Senate he can undertake nothing of Importance. They take an Oath of Fidelity to the Kingdom, and are accountable for their Conduct to the States, who, in case they disapprove the Behaviour of any of them, may, though it be very seldom done, remove them. In the three last Reigns but one, their Power was much lessened,

lessened, and in some measure taken away, but it is now restored, and made a fundamental Part of the Constitution. They have the Direction of the Revenue, and in case of the King's Absence from his Dominions, they have the executive Power entirely in their Hands. The King appoints all Military Officers under the Degree of Colonel; but in appointing Officers of that, or of a superior Rank, he must have the Consent of the Senate; and the same is necessary in framing and publishing Proclamations and other Acts of State.

It appears clearly from hence, that the Royal Power in *Sweden* is as much limited as in any Country in the World; and the annulling all Pretence to arbitrary, independent, or absolute Power in the Crown, is also become a fundamental Law. So that the Incroachments of *Charles XI.* who made use of the States to weaken and controul the Senate, and of *Charles XII.* who slighted and disregarded the States themselves to such a Degree, as to talk of sending one of his old Boots to direct them in their Deliberations, have proved the Means of restoring the old Government to its full Vigour, and taught the *Swedes* to put their Constitution on as right as well as regular an Establishment, as any that occurs either in ancient or modern History.

The Revenue of the Crown, or rather Kingdom of *Sweden*, has been very much lessened by the repeated Misfortunes sustained during the long War in the Reign of *Charles XII.* and that which happened under the late King against *Russia*. But however, as the Expences of the Government have also been lessened, there still remains a competent Provision for the King's Civil and Military Lists, and whatever else is requisite for the Publick Service; so that while their Finances are regularly and frugally managed, they will always be able to maintain their Government in such a Condition as not to stand at all in need of Subsidies from Foreign Courts, or to be apprehensive in any Degree of Invasions from their Neighbours.

They are likewise in less Danger of suffering by a long Peace than most other Nations, because they constantly keep up a great Body of regular Troops, and that without any Danger to their Liberties. For the Army in *Sweden* is the Army of the Kingdom, and every Foot Soldier is maintained by his own Freehold, assigned by the Constitution; and from hence, as has been observed, is derived the Right of their Officers to sit and vote in the Diet, because they are possessed, as Officers, of so large a Landed Property therein, an Estate for the Maintenance of a Colonel being worth three hundred Pounds Sterling a Year, and so in Proportion. From whence we may easily discern, that no Argument can be drawn from this Practice in *Sweden*, to coun-

tenance the admitting military Officers into the Diets, States or Parliaments of other Countries, where their Circumstances are quite different.

There is another Convenience which results to the *Swedes* from this wise Settlement of their Militia, which is, that the Laws are guarded by the Soldiers ; who, as they derive their Property from their present Constitution, will be always Friends to it, and Enemies to such as shall labour to overturn it, whether Ministers or People, as appeared plainly in the Case of the last Insurrection, when the Army remained firm to their Duty, and will very probably appear in direct Opposition to his Measures, if any Prince hereafter should attempt to extend his Power beyond the Limits of the Laws. Let us next look to her Situation abroad, and in regard to other Countries.

The Interests of *Sweden* are so changed at present from what they were at the Time Baron *Puffendorf* wrote about them, that how excellent soever his Discourses might be in those Times, they can now be of little Use ; and, perhaps, instead of being serviceable they contribute to mislead us. The *Swedes*, who in former Ages had very little to do with the *Turks*, are bound at present to maintain the Engagements they have entered into with them, in order to secure their Friendship in case of a War with *Russia*. Their Interest with regard to the last mentioned Power cannot easily be stated. As long as the *Swedes* are inclined to think Peace absolutely necessary, they will live in strict Correspondence with this Empire ; but if ever they should entertain different Sentiments, and desire to recover those fine Provinces which formerly were annexed to their Kingdom, and made the most valuable Part of their Dominions, they may possibly find some favourable Opportunity of breaking with the Court of *Petersburgh* ; yet this must be done with great Caution, and such an Opportunity, as Things now stand, looks as if it was at a very great Distance.

But as to any Danger that the *Swedes* are in from the present Power of the *Russians*, it seems to be much magnified by those who would be thought to apprehend it, since it is very evident, that the *Russians* are more concerned to improve what they have, than to acquire new Countries. Besides, the very Losses of the *Swedes* on the Side of *Russia*, have been attended with some Advantages elsewhere. In the first Place they have left no Room for Disputes between them and the *Poles* ; they have given the King of *Prussia* a new Interest, so that it is highly probable he will rather contribute to preserve the *Swedish* Dominions in *Germany*, than endeavour to get them into his own Hands, as having more to hope from the Friendship of the

Swedes, than from the small Accession of Strength which would accrue to him, by getting what they still have in *Pomerania* added to his Territories. It is the same thing in respect to *Denmark*; and though there has been a long Hatred between the People of those Kingdoms, yet they now begin to see, that this has rendered them both unconsidered; and that the only way for them to be respected, is to live in the closest and strictest Friendship, which while they do, no Foreign Power will be able to hurt, or inclined probably to provoke them.

The *Swedes* have for a long Series of Years had a very close Connection with the *French*, grounded chiefly on Treaties of Subsidy, and a supposed Correspondence between their Interests; but at the bottom this Union has been of the highest Prejudice to *Sweden*, as creating much larger Expences than the *French* Subsidies amount to, and being attended with many other and those too great Inconveniencies; and in respect to the latter, as the Power of the House of *Austria* is so much declined, and her Views so manifestly altered since the Beginning of the present Century, the *Swedes* can have nothing to fear from her on that Account, or to expect from *France*, which can be useful in no Conjunction but this.

Their Obligations to the Maritime Powers, but more especially to *Great Britain*, have been frequent and considerable; so that Experience, as well as general Maxims of Policy, will probably incline them to a constant Cultivation of that Friendship which has so long subsisted with those Powers, and which will be always necessary, considering the great Effects their Squadrons are capable of procuring whenever they appear in the *Baltick*.

The Interest which *Sweden* had in *Germany* is much lessened, but perhaps it is still as useful, and of as great Consequence to the Nation as ever, since they yet preserve a Seat in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, are highly considered by the Protestant Powers in the Empire, and have, or may have for their fast Friends now, those who were formerly their bitterest Enemies. As to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and other distant Countries, tho' their Alliances may be honourable, yet they can hardly be very useful to the Crown of *Sweden*, unless her Commerce were more extensive.

On the whole we may venture to assert, that in her present Circumstances *Sweden* can only follow one of these three Courses. She may, if she pleases, attend to restoring the inward Strength of her People, increasing their Manufactures and enlarging their Trade, in which case she must study to preserve Peace with all her Neighbours, which may be easily effected; and will perhaps prove the safest, surest, and speediest Way of repairing her Losses, and

and restoring her Credit, without being obliged to *France*, or any other Nations for Subsidies, which have always produced Factions and Divisions in that, and indeed all other Countries.

She may attach herself to *Russia* in support of the Interest of the House of *Holstein*, and in that case she will perhaps be able to extend her Trade through that Empire to *Persia*; and may likewise reap other Advantages from her Assistance, if any Change should happen in the present Circumstances of the Powers of *Europe*.

Or, lastly, she may throw her Weight into the opposite Scale, and in Conjunction with *Denmark*, *Prussia*, *France*, and perhaps *Poland*, establish a Ballance of Power against *Russia*, which is not impossible may likewise be attended with some Advantages. But without doubt, the first is the wisest Course: and to say the Truth, if all the Powers of the North were united, it would not only prove for their common Benefit, but great Advantages would likewise result from thence to every State in particular, and to none greater than to *Sweden*. Time will shew how far these Maxims are understood in that Country, and will, I dare say, abundantly justify the Reasonableness of these Conjectures as to the *future*, and the Impartiality of the Account we have given of the *present* Interests of this Crown and Nation.

C H A P. V.

The Revolutions that have happened in DENMARK; the modern History, the present Constitution, political Interests, and particular Views of that Crown.

AS the Kings of *Sweden* affect to stile themselves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, to perpetuate the Memory of those great Nations that were once so formidable in the World, so the *Danish* Monarch might assume the Title of King of the *Cimbrians* and *Teutons*, the former of which had almost overturned the *Roman* Commonwealth when in the Zenith of its Power, and the latter established themselves in *Germany* and *Gaul*. After the Irruption of these Nations the *Jutes* took Possession of their old Territories, who bestowed their Names upon that Part of the Continent which remains under the Power of the *Danish* Kings, and is from thence stiled *Jutland*. It was towards the Close of the tenth Century, that these People became Christians, *Swenon*,

or, as we call him, *Swain* King of *Denmark*, made himself Master of a great Part of *England*, and left a very extensive Monarchy to his Son *Canute*, or, as the *Danes* call him, *Knute*, surnamed the *Great*. His Son *Harold*, who from his extraordinary Swiftneſs had the Sirname of *Hare-foot*, was King of *England*, but by an Error very common amongst Northern Nations, the *Danes* loſt their Dominions by dividing them. *Waldemar* the Firſt, who was crowned *Anno Dom.* 1157, took the Title of King of the *Vandals*, and made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of *Pomerania*. His Son *Canutus* VI. conquered *Livonia*, and introduced the Chriſtian Religion there. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Waldemar* the Second, who conquered a great Part of the *Lower Germany*, but held it not long; for the Inhabitants of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburgh* revolted; the People of *Holftein* elected a Prince of their own; and the *Teutonic* Knights made themſelves Maſters of *Eſthonia* and *Livonia*; after which, the Power of this Kingdom was in a great meaſure broken, as well by civil Wars amongst themſelves, as by the Advantages gained over them by their warlike and potent Neighbours.

But notwithstanding this Reverse of Fortune, it once more recovered its former Grandeur, and this by the Abilities of a Woman, who from the Power attained by her Wiſdom has been juſtly ſtilled the *Semiramis* of the North. Her Name was *Margaret*, and her Son *Olaus* VI. King of *Denmark*, and Heir Apparent to *Sweden*, dying without Iſſue, ſhe ſucceeded him in the Poſſeſſion of one Kingdom, and in his Pretenſions to the other. It is true, that ſhe was oppoſed by *Albert*, who took the Title of King of *Sweden*; but having defeated him, and made him Priſoner, ſhe compelled the *Swedes* to acknowledge her for their Queen. This great and wiſe Princeſs, *Anno Dom.* 1395, aſſembled at *Calmar* the States of *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Denmark*, and there perſuaded by her eloquent Harangues, they framed and ſettled that Conſtitution which has been ſince ſtilled the UNION of CALMAR. It conſiſted of three principal Articles: *Firſt*, That theſe three Kingdoms ſhould for the future conſtitute one elective Monarchy, and upon the Demiſe of the reigning Prince the Succeſſor was to be choſen by the equal Suffrages of all three Nations; the *Second*, That each Kingdom ſhould be governed by its own Laws, defended by its own Troops, by whom all the principal Fortreſſes were to be gariſoned, and no Stranger to be preferred to a civil or military Employment from any Motive, or upon any Pretence whatever; the *Third*, That the General Diet, compoſed of the States of all the three Kingdoms, ſhould be held for the future at *Helmſtadt*, in the Province of *Halland*. This Conſtitution, which was intended to unite in-

separably the Interests of the Northern Crowns, proved (so uncertain a thing is human Policy) the Cause of greater Dissention, and in consequence of that, of more cruel and bloody Wars than even those which from a Spirit of Conquest had been excited in former Ages.

These lasted for about two hundred Years, when the *Danes* having elected *Christiern I.* Count of *Oldenbourg*, he was also through the Intrigues of the then Archbishop of *Upsal*, elected King of *Sweden*, by which the Union of *Calmar* was revived; but it was not long before the *Swedes* threw off the *Danish Yoke* again; and this Prince dying, left his Dominions and Pretensions to his Son *John*, who after a troublesome Reign of thirty-two Years, in which he was never able to reduce the *Swedes*, deceased *April 12th, 1513*. He was succeeded by his Son *Christiern II.* who for his Luxury, Cruelty, and other abominable Vices, was justly stiled the *Nero* of the *North*. He vindicated the Claim of his Family to the Crown of *Sweden* with great Warmth, and at length, partly by Force, and partly by Favour, actually obtained the Possession of that Kingdom, and on the 1st of *November, 1520*, was solemnly crowned at *Stockholm*. In order to secure himself from all future Rebellions, he took Advantage of that Solemnity, and caused the whole Nobility of *Sweden* to be massacred at once. This rendered him so generally hated by the *Swedes*, that it was not long before they forced him to retire out of their Country. Upon his Return to *Denmark*, his Debauchery, his Oppression, and his blood-thirsty Disposition, excited such an universal Abhorrence, that several Provinces, and more especially *Jutland*, which was the most considerable in his Dominions, revolted, and at length the States unanimously resolved to depose this tyrannical Prince as an Enemy to Mankind.

The present Royal Family of *Denmark* was raised to that Dignity in the Year 1523, by the free Choice of the People, when they drove out their King * *Christiern II.* before mentioned, and placed *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein*, his Uncle, on the Throne of *Denmark*, who by confirming the great Privileges of the Nobility and Clergy, maintained himself in Possession of the Kingdom to the Time of his Death, which happened after a Reign of ten Years, and left the Crown to his Son *Christiern III.* in whose Time the Reformation took place, and the *Lutheran* Religion was established by Law in this Country. *Frederick II.* succeeded his Father in 1558, and was engaged in a long War

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* The *Danes* write this Name *Christiern*, but other Nations usually write it *Christian*.

with *Sweden*, which ended however in 1570, by a Peace concluded under the Mediation of the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *Poland*; he died in 1588, when his Son *Christiern IV.* ascended the Throne. This Monarch governed much longer than any of his Predecessors, and in Times full of Calamity and Trouble. He first engaged himself in the Wars of *Germany* against the House of *Austria*; and in the latter part of his Reign he broke with the *Swedes*, but was very unfortunate in that War, which was terminated by a Peace made in 1645, whereby the *Danes* were obliged to give up the Province of *Holland* to the *Swedes* for thirty Years, and were also constrained to abate the Toll, which the *Dutch* paid for passing the *Sound*, in consideration of the Assistance furnished them by the Republick; after which unlucky Dispute the King governed in Peace till the Year 1649, in which he deceased.

Frederick III. was engaged by the *Dutch* to break with the *Swedes* in 1657, which had like to have proved fatal to him, as has been already shewn in the Reign of *Charles Gustavus* of *Sweden*, who besieged *Copenhagen*; and if it had not been for the powerful Interposition of the *Dutch*, had very probably taken the City, which he reduced to great Extremities. At this Juncture however it was, that the King, who notwithstanding his Misfortunes, was certainly as wise and brave a Prince as any of his Time, found Means to change the Constitution of *Denmark*, and from one of the most limited and precarious, made it the most absolute Sovereignty in *Europe*. According to their old Form of Government, the whole Power of the Nation was lodged in the Gentry or Nobility, for between these, there was in those Times no Distinction. Every Gentleman was a kind of Prince in his own Estate, and the Farmers and Countrymen were very little better than Slaves. They sent, however, their Representatives to the General Diet, where they had scarce any thing more to do than to give their Consent to Taxes, by which they were oppressed to such a Degree, that they might be justly esteemed the most wretched People upon Earth.

The Nobility formed a distinct Body in the States of the Kingdom, and without their Advice the King could do nothing of Importance; so that in Time of Peace he was very little better than President of the Council, and in Time of War no more than General of the Army. The Succession of the Crown too was very precarious; for though the Son succeeded the Father, yet as it was by the Consent of the Nobility, the Monarchy was strictly speaking elective, tho' in appearance hereditary. It is not at all wonderful that a King should be extremely uneasy in such Circum-

Circumstances, or that he should desire to fix himself and his Family in an easier Situation; but it is truly amazing, that after losing a great part of his Dominions, and under Circumstances of the greatest Distress, a King should be able to do this without any Foreign Force, without Bloodshed, and in less than a Week's Time; which however was what this Prince projected and happily atchieved. As this is by far the most remarkable Event in the whole Compass of the *Danish* History, it is necessary it should be considered more particularly.

In the Year 1660, immediately after Peace was restored, when the Nation was almost undone by the Misfortunes attending a tedious and bloody War, a Diet of the States was called to consider of the proper Means for re-establishing Affairs, and enabling the People to recover their Losses. The Means of doing this was far enough from being facile, and the King foresaw there would be Disputes upon the Subject in the Diet; he therefore took care to have it insinuated to some of the Clergy, and to the President of *Copenhagen*, Speaker of the Commons, that the Thing might be well enough brought about, if every body would do their Part, as they had seen the King do in the Time of the Siege. The Commons therefore by their Speaker laid before the Nobility the wretched Condition of the Kingdom, and the Impossibility there was of finding Money even for necessary Expences, if they did not consent to bear their Proportion of them, which was so much the more reasonable, as they were the great Gainers.

The Nobility, who were very numerous, and not at all apprized of the Intrigue, dealt with the Commons very roundly; they told them, that it was very high Presumption to enquire into their Privileges, and that it shewed great Ignorance of their own Condition; for their Vassals they were, and their Vassals they should remain. The Speaker of the Commons then rose up, and told the Lords, that since they would do nothing towards preserving their Privileges, they were unworthy to enjoy them; that their Answer to the reasonable Request of the Commons, was equally insolent and cruel; and that though they could not make themselves noble, the Nobility should find to their Cost, they could bring the Weight of Subjection to fall as heavy upon other People as hitherto it had lain upon themselves.

After saying this, he went out, followed by the Commons and the Clergy to a Man, retiring to a Hall in the City which had been provided for that Purpose, where they came to a quick Resolution of devolving their own Authority upon the King.

They went accordingly to Court, and demanded an Audience of his Majesty, to which they were immediately admitted; a Bishop and the Speaker of the Commons, having set forth that the present Constitution did not in their Opinions answer the End of Government, they were therefore resolved to make the Crown hereditary in his Majesty's Family, and leave the Administration entirely in his Hands, because they were sensible he had done all that was in his Power for the Good of his People; and would have done much more, if more had been in his Power. The King thanked them for their good Intentions, but at the same time told them, that the Consent of the Nobility was necessary to render that effectual which they had proposed. At the same time, under pretence of securing the City from any Disorders that might arise from this Ferment in the Diet, he ordered the Gates to be shut, and having the Army entirely in his Power, posted Guards wherever he judged it necessary, so that it was impossible for any body to go out of *Copenhagen* but by his Leave, which brought Things to a speedy Conclusion.

The Nobility quickly discerned the Error of which they had been guilty; but discerned it too late, as producing no other Fruit than the knowing that it was irreparable. They sent and offered the King to entail the Crown upon his Heirs Male, and to encrease his Power considerably; but the King gave them to understand that this would not answer the Purpose, and consequently would never content the Clergy and People. After this fruitless, and dishonourable Struggle, the Nobles found themselves obliged to comply; and three Days after, the King, the Queen, and Royal Family, appeared on a Kind of Theatre erected for that Purpose; and being seated in Chairs of State under rich Velvet Canopies, received the Homage of all the Senators, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons, in the Sight of the Army. And thus the Gentry of *Denmark*, in the Face of their Country, divested themselves of Right as well as Power, and made a formal Surrender of their Liberties to the Crown. The King governed after this with great Wisdom and Prudence, ten Years, and died universally beloved by his Subjects, whose Affections he gained by many Acts of Liberality, and by taking Care that Justice should be duly and speedily administered.

His Son *Christiern V.* succeeded in 1670, and having put his Affairs into very good Order, and made several powerful Alliances, he resolved to lay hold of this Opportunity to recover part of what his Predecessors had lost to the *Swedes*. But that he might be in a better Condition to do this, he resolved

resolved to make himself Master, first, of the Person of the Duke of *Holstein*, in which he succeeded, but with very little Advantage to his Reputation; for the Duke suspecting nothing, in 1675 came to *Rensbourg* to visit him, and was there seized and put under a Guard, till such Time as he consented to relinquish the Advantages he had gained by the Treaty of *Roschild*; after which the King made himself Master of *Tonningen*, the strongest Place in his Dominions, and pursuing his Advantage likewise reduced *Wismar*.

He had also some Success in the Beginning of the next Year, but his good Fortune did not continue long; for being defeated by the *Swedes*, in the famous Battle of *Lunden*, he was from that time never able to do much against them by Land, though by Sea he was fortunate, but at last made Peace with that Crown upon equal Terms. He afterwards employed his Forces against the City of *Hamburg*, upon which the Kings of *Denmark* always had Pretensions, which twice in his Reign he made turn to good Account. In the Year 1694, on the Death of the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, his *Danish* Majesty formed new Claims upon that Family, which were for some time adjusted by the Mediation of the Emperor, and the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Sweden*; that is to say, *William III.* and *Charles XII.* whose Sister the Duke of *Holstein* had espoused. But in the last Years of his Life these Disturbances broke out again, and Things were on the Point of coming to a Rupture, when the King died in the Month of *September* 1699.

His Son and Successor *Frederick IV.* acted precisely on his Father's Principles, and resolved to compel the Dukes of *Holstein* to remain dependent on the Kings of *Denmark* for the future; in order to which, he over-run that Country, and undertook the Siege of *Tonningen*, which gave occasion to that long War in the North at the Beginning of the present Century, of which so much has been said in the former Article. The *English* and *Dutch*, as Guarantees of the late Peace, sent a powerful Fleet into the *Baltick*, and the King of *Sweden* at the same time besieged *Copenhagen*, so that the *Danes* were obliged to conclude the famous Treaty of *Travendabl*, on the 18th of *August* 1700. It was stipulated in this Treaty, that the House of *Holstein* should for the future enjoy the same Rights with other Sovereigns; that the Duke should be at liberty to raise Troops and build Forts in his own Dominions, provided they were two Miles distant from any Fortress belonging to the *Danes*, and at least a Mile from their Frontiers. It was likewise agreed, that the Crown of *Denmark* should pay the

the Duke of *Holstein* two hundred and sixty thousand Crowns, and that the Chapter of *Lubec* should be at liberty to elect a Prince of *Holstein* for their Bishop.

It was hoped by the Maritime Powers that this Peace would have been lasting, and that no farther Debates could arise, but the very next Year however produced a new Dispute: Part of the Chapter of *Lubec* having elected the Brother of the Duke of *Holstein*, and Part the Prince of *Denmark*, Coadjutor and Successor to their then Bishop. In 1705 the Bishop died, and then the Debate ran so high, that the Maritime Powers were forced again to interpose, not indeed by Force of Arms, but by Dint of Money; in consequence of which it was agreed, that the Prince of *Holstein* should remain Bishop of *Lubec*, and that the Prince of *Denmark* should receive from the Crown of *Great Britain* a Pension by way of an Equivalent. In 1706 the King of *Denmark* made the Tour of *Italy*, and the next Year he attacked the *Swedes*, by whom he was roughly handled in *Schonen*; but in the latter End of the Year he had better Success by Sea. In 1711, in Conjunction with the King of *Poland*, he fell into the *Swedish Pomerania*, where he took *Domgarten*, but failed in two other Enterprizes the same Year.

In 1712 he made himself Master of the Town of *Stade* and the Duchy of *Bremen*; but the same Year his Army was beaten by the *Swedes*, who afterwards burnt the fine Town of *Altena* to the Ground. In 1714 and 1715, he had great Success against the *Swedes* both by Sea and Land; and in 1716, he drove them entirely out of the Places they had conquered in *Norway*, and in Conjunction with the *Prussians* reduced *Wismar*; after which he did not push the War with the same Vigour for many Reasons, but chiefly because he saw that his Success would be less advantageous to himself than to his Allies. This made him the more inclinable to Peace, which was concluded under the Mediation of *George I.* King of *Great Britain*, in 1720.

By this Treaty his *Danish* Majesty obtained all that he could reasonably expect, and which to him was a Matter of great Consequence, he procured the Guarantee of the King of *France* for the Possession of the Duchy of *Sleswick*, and the King of *Great Britain* renewed his, which had been given before. After the Conclusion of this Peace, the King passed his Days in Ease and Quiet, and met with only one Accident to disturb him, the Burning of his Capital, which happened in 1728; but it has been rebuilt with great Magnificence since. This Monarch was in himself inclined to promote the Welfare and Trade of his Subjects, and willing

to promote every thing that might contribute to their Benefit ; but towards the End of his Life, it was thought he listen'd too much to Projectors, who induced him to enter upon Schemes which were not always attended with the Consequences he expected from them. He died however greatly regretted on the second of *October* 1736, when he had attained the Age of sixty compleat.

His Son, the late King *Christiern* VI. ascended the Throne of his Ancestors with universal Reputation. He had in his Father's Life-time been very attentive to the Concerns of the *East-India* Company, and had been in a great measure the Support of it ; which induced the People to hope that a particular Regard for Trade would be the principal View of his Reign ; and so indeed it proved. At his very Accession to the Government he made many Changes, but all of them such as gave great Satisfaction to his Subjects, who were particularly pleased with his abolishing a Farm that had been established in his Father's Time, for the sole vending Wine, Brandy, Salt, and Tobacco, which was very burthensome to the Subjects, however advantageous to the Prince. Such as were interested in the Farm offered to advance larger Sums, if it might be continued ; but the King answered, *It brought in too much, since his Subjects complained of the Exactions which it occasioned.* A Sentence worthy of perpetual Memory and Admiration !

This was not an Act done hastily, and in the Honey-moon of his Government ; but his whole Administration was of a Piece, so that he became justly reputed one of the wisest Crown'd Heads in *Europe*. In 1732 he acceded to the Treaty between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Petersburgh*, by which he obtained their Guarantee for his own, and became himself Guarantee for their Dominions, and of the Pragmatick Sanction. In virtue of a separate Article of this Treaty, the King obliged himself to pay the Duke of *Holstein* a Million of Rix-dollars, provided he renounced his Pretensions on the Duchy of *Sleswick*. It was in consequence of this Treaty, that in the Year 1734 he marched six thousand Men for the Emperor's Service, in the War that happened on account of the Succession to the Crown of *Poland*. In 1736 he terminated the old Dispute between the Crown of *Denmark* and the City of *Hamburg*, and thereby obtained half Million of Marks of Silver from that City, as well as some other Concessions which were very advantageous to his Subjects. He soon after erected a Council of Trade, whose Business is to examine all Proposals made for extending it, in order to give such Encouragement as may be necessary for carrying them into Execution. He
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likewise sent for Workmen out of *Holland* and other Countries at his own Expence, to establish Manufactures in *Denmark*, and took every other Step for their Encouragement that his People could desire or expect. Amongst others he erected a Royal Bank, which has been attended with many advantageous Consequences; was always careful to keep his Fleet and Army in a proper Condition to render him respected by his Neighbours; and to prevent the Expence occasioned thereby from becoming burthensome to his People, he concluded from time to time Treaties of Subsidy with Foreign Powers, which brought in large Sums without exposing him to the Necessity of taking any Share in any of the Quarrels, either in the North or in *Germany*.

Yet this prudent and pacifick Conduct never hindered him from making Use of vigorous Measures when they appeared really necessary, as was evident in the Case of the Territory of *Steinborß*, when he differed with the Electorate of *Hanover*, and in that of the *Island* Fishery, which occasion'd a Quarrel with the *Dutch*; in both which Instances he behaved with so much Firmness as to carry his Point, and that too without entering into a War. It was solely from the great Reputation he had acquired by his wise and upright Administration, that induced the *Swedish* Nation to cast their Eyes upon his Son, the Hereditary Prince of *Denmark*, when they were about to chuse a Successor to their late King; and though he did not prevail in that Point, yet he carried it much farther than could be well expected, and extricated himself at last from the Difficulties into which it brought him, with Honour.

In the beginning of the late War he was very strongly solicited to take part with the House of *Austria* and her Allies, but could never be prevailed upon to break through that Neutrality, which appeared to be so beneficial to his Subjects. He found himself most of all embarrassed by the Pretensions of the House of *Holstein*, which having now the Countenance and Support of the *Russian* Empire, he had great Reason to apprehend that even the powerful Guarantees he had procured, might prove ineffectual for his Support. In this Situation he acted with such Prudence and Circumspection, and shewed so great a Disposition to compromise Matters upon moderate Terms, discovering at the same time by the Armaments made upon the Occasion just mentioned, that he was in a Condition; in case he was attacked, to defend himself; that after all he procured his Peace with *Russia* to be prolonged, without entering into the Discussions of the Points in Debate with
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the House of *Holstein* ; and thereby gave a Lesson to his Son, who has renewed that Treaty very lately. In fine, during the Course of sixteen Years that he reigned, he never fell into one false Step against the Interests of his Crown, or to the Prejudice of his Subjects ; so that as no Prince of his Time was more beloved or better obeyed while living, hardly any at their Death have been more sincerely or universally lamented.

His Son *Frederick V.* the present Possessor of the Throne, succeeded to it *July 26, 1746*, in the twenty-third Year of his Age ; he espoused about three Years before, the Princess *Louisa of Great Britain*, by whom he has an Heir apparent, born *January 18, 1749*. Upon his first taking the Reins of Government into his Hands, he thought fit to make a few Alterations very judicious in themselves, and acceptable to his Subjects. He has steadily pursued his Father's Maxims in maintaining Peace, improving the Trade, and encouraging the Industry of his Subjects ; his Application to Business, joined to a constant and well-regulated OEconomy, has enabled him not only to live within the Bounds of his Revenue, but to make very considerable Savings. In this however, he has conducted himself as a wise and good Prince, or rather in such a Manner as to become a Model to those of his own Rank, who generously aspire to so sublime a Character ; for he has demonstrated that this did not arise from Avarice, or a natural Nearness of Temper, but from a noble and truly royal Principle of doing whatever might contribute to the Publick Good. For in those Provinces of his Dominions that have suffered by inevitable Calamities, such as the Mortality among their Cattle, and the Inclemency of Seasons, he has remitted even his just Rights. He has expended very considerable Sums for encouraging and promoting new Manufactures, and he has discharged a large Debt which was due from the Crown.

This, though in itself very extraordinary, considering the Sum and the short Time he has reigned, has been attended with a Circumstance too singular to be omitted, even in this succinct Recapitulation of Events ; in which we pretend not to give the History, but a few historical Remarks only upon the late Reigns. The Creditors of the Crown, as soon as they were informed of his Majesty's Design, endeavoured to prevent it, by humbly representing that if he was displeased at the Largeness of their Interest, they were content to accept of Four instead of Five *per Cent.* which had been hitherto paid them ; but his *Danish* Majesty answered, that having the
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Money in his *Coffers*, where it could be of no Service to the Publick, he chose to discharge their Obligations; but that he would take it as a Favour done to himself, if they would lend the Money he now paid them at a low Interest to his Subjects, which might enable them to extend their Commerce, and improve the new Manufactures.

It is incredible to what a Degree his own and his Father's peaceable and prudent Administration have contributed to the Benefit of the Countries belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*; and how much the Face of Affairs is changed within so short a Time. New Ports have been opened, which has been owing to the opening new Channels of Trade; the Shipping of the *Danes* has been more than doubled, and the Revenues of the Crown have increased in the same Proportion within that small Space. The Court is splendid without Profusion, the King rich without Oppression, the Ministers attentive to the Duties of their respective Stations, not only from the Example of their Master, but from the Sense they have that a contrary Behaviour would infallibly draw upon them immediate Disgrace. Adored at home, and respected abroad, the King is only attentive to preserve and promote the Happiness of his Subjects, in which he places his own.

It is a Pleasure to insist upon a Subject of this Nature, and it is at the same time the Duty of a Political Writer, to shew that he has a Pleasure in bestowing just Praises, and in paying where Truth directs that Tribute of Applause which is due to good Princes, from all who have Occasion to enquire into, and are thence enabled to become acquainted with their Characters. Besides, it serves to illustrate that great and leading Maxim in Politicks, that where the actual and real Interests of any Government are the same, that is, where the particular Views of the Prince coincide with the Publick Good, the Progress made is equally swift and great. Yet this is a Remark that is commonly left to distant Historians, from an unaccountable, and at the same time a most unwarrantable Propensity to commend past, and to condemn our own Times, whereas we ought to shew the same Impartiality with respect to both. It is by adhering to this honest and equitable Spirit only, that an Author can hope to render any Service to his Reader, and to make his Writings esteemed useful rather than agreeable Amusements; which, how much soever they may entertain for a Day, from the Neatness of their Dispositions, the Sprightliness of their Sentiments, or the Elegance of their Language, cannot fail of sinking speedily into Oblivion; since, as the immortal Master of the *Roman Elo-*
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quence long ago observed, Opinion is a fleeting Thing, but Truth and Reality subsist without feeling the Effects of Age.

The *Danes* have been formerly esteemed a very warlike Nation, and though from their Misfortunes in their Wars with the *Svedes*, their Power is much diminished, yet the Credit of the *Danish* Troops is still very good. The Forces the King keeps up are very well paid and disciplined, and are numerous enough to secure his Dominions against any Invasion, more especially as his Fleet is in excellent Order, and as the *Danish* Scamen and the *Norwegians* are justly reputed the best in the North. His Revenue amounts to between two and three Millions of Rixdollars, which the present King has so prudently employed as to have always Money in his Coffers, and to defray all the Charges of Government, without loading his People with extraordinary Taxes, so that we need not wonder he is so universally beloved. The Clergy, though they have but small Livings, are as much considered in *Denmark* as in any Country in the World; because since the great Change in their Government beforementioned, the Tranquillity of the Nation depends very much upon their Influence over the People, which they have hitherto constantly exerted in Favour of the Crown.

The Laws of this Country have been deservedly in Reputation, as lying within a very narrow Compass, a moderate Quarto containing them all; and the Administration of Justice is so well looked after, that Suits in this Country are but few, and those very speedily determined. The King makes and repeals Laws as to him appears necessary for the Good of his Subjects, but the Crown has always used this Power with much Moderation and Discretion: so that as *Denmark* may be truly said to be the only legally absolute Government in *Europe*, perhaps in the World, the People have had less Reason to regret the Change made by themselves than could well have been expected; and if their Monarchs copy after the Example of their present King, the *Danes* will feel fewer Evils from the Want of Liberty, than in other Nations are produced by the Abuse of it.

What has been already said, sufficiently explains the domestic Interests of this Nation, which having suffered extremely by the warlike Temper of many of its Princes, as well as by the too great Power of the potent Families of their Nobility in former Times, must be content to aim at repairing their past Mistakes by an industrious and frugal Conduct for the future. Titles were not formerly in use here any more than in *Sweden*; but of late those of Baron and Count have been

been introduced, and about thirty or forty Families have been honoured with them by the Crown.

The Kingdom of *Norway*, which still remains united to that of *Denmark*, is of great Consequence; and under the last and present Reign there have been great Improvements made in its Trade, and the Inhabitants have been used with more Indulgence than formerly. The same thing may be said in regard to *Iseland*, and other Islands belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, which have been of late Years put in all Respects into a much better Condition than they were; so that their Commodities come to a better Market, their Manufactures are in a much more flourishing Condition, and the Number of their Inhabitants, Towns, and Shipping, is continually increasing; whereby, in the Space of another Century, if no Wars break out, or unforeseen Confusions happen, the *Danes* will become quite another People, and their Monarchs make a greater Figure than they have done for some Ages past; which will probably be owing to the Necessity they must find themselves under of living upon good Terms with *Sweden*, that they may not be in any Danger from the Power of *Russia*: for it has been the perpetual Quarrels between the *Swedes* and *Danes* that have kept both Nations low; as the Extinction of this Humour would infallibly render them both great, or, which is perhaps better, secure.

In respect to the Empire, *Denmark* has not much either to hope or to fear; for if she can but preserve the peaceable Possession of *Sleswick*, it will be a sure Barrier to her Dominions on the Continent; and with regard to her Islands, as the Princes of the Empire have no great Maritime Power, she cannot be much in Danger on that Side. As to her Disputes with the House of *Holstein*, they can be only dangerous to her from the Support that Family may receive from the Interest it has at present in *Russia*, which though at first Sight it may appear very formidable, yet, when closely examined, the Scene will be much changed. For in the first Place, there are but very few Powers in *Germany* that would be pleased to see the *Russians* in that Country; and the Powers that have guaranteed *Sleswick* to *Denmark*, would not fail in such a Case for their own Sakes to interpose. Besides, it is really more for the Interest of the House of *Holstein*, to receive a good Equivalent for its Pretensions to that Duchy, than to enter again into the Possession of it, unless with a View to facilitate the Conquest of *Denmark*, which would bring on them all the Powers of the North at once.

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The Hereditary Claim which the Kings of *Denmark* have upon the City of *Hamburg*, cannot in all human Probability ever furnish them with the Means of bringing that City under their Power ; because all its Neighbours, who are much superior in Force to the Crown of *Denmark*, are in Interest concerned to preserve it, and so indeed is the whole *Germanick* Body. But it is not at all unlikely that future Quarrels, like the past, may enable the Crown of *Denmark* to draw from time to time considerable Sums from the Inhabitants of this rich City ; though after all, as the Trade of *Denmark* increases, the true Interest of that Kingdom will be best promoted, by entertaining a fair Correspondence with the *Hamburgers*, who, by taking Quantities of their *Indian* Goods, will render them more real Service in their present independent State, than if (which I said before is very improbable) the *Danes* should ever obtain Power enough to bring them into Subjection. Besides, the Crown of *Denmark* will always find it requisite to live upon good Terms with their *German* Neighbours, that in case of War either with *Sweden* or *Russia*, she may depend upon their Assistance, without which she will scarce be able to defend herself.

The Interests of *Denmark* with regard to *Sweden*, are very much changed from what they were. The *Danes* remembering their ancient Power when their Kings were possessed of the whole North, have very often attempted to re-conquer *Sweden*, and continued these Endeavours so long and so unsuccessfully, that, without the Assistance of her Allies, *Denmark* was in the utmost Danger of being conquered in her Turn. In these Disputes the *Danes* lost some of their best and most fruitful Provinces to the *Swedes*, which was a new Cause of Discontent, and in reality, produced two or three of the last Wars, which however favourable the Conjunctions might be when they were undertaken, yet did not by any Means prove fortunate in this Respect, the *Swedes* still retaining those Dominions conquered from *Denmark*, though they have suffered severely elsewhere.

At present, Things have quite altered their Appearance, and the sudden and surprizing Increase of the *Russian* Power has taught the *Swedes* and *Danes* to open their Eyes a little to their true Interests. We may therefore reasonably expect, that for the future these Nations will be better Neighbours, and instead of aiming at the Conquest one of the other, will make it their Study, by living in a close Conjunction of Interests, to preserve the Independency of both, which may be effectually done, if the old Rancour between the

two Nations can be but thoroughly extinguished. This seems to be in a great Measure done already, from the Influence which his late *Danish* Majesty shewed he had over the Commons of *Sweden*, who were almost unanimously in the Interest of his Son. But though such a defensive Alliance may effectually answer the End before mentioned, yet there seems no Reason to believe that the *Swedes* and *Danes* will engage in an offensive War against *Russia*, or that they would have any great Success therein, if they should.

As to the Interests of *Denmark* with respect to that potent Empire, they certainly consist either in maintaining so strict and close a Friendship therewith, as to prevent thereby all Apprehensions of Danger, which however can scarce this Way be done; or by allying herself in such a Manner as to have no Reason to fear any Attempts from *Russia*, which may very easily be done; because it is very natural for all the Neighbours of a superior Power to unite against her for their own Security; and besides, if it should at any time so fall out, that the *Russians* should prove too hard for such an Alliance, the Maritime Powers would certainly interpose to preserve the Ballance in the North, which Ballance so nearly concerns them, and which of all others, by exerting only their natural Strength, they are most able to keep even.

It is for this Reason that it imports *Denmark* above all things to maintain her Friendship unimpaired with the Maritime Powers, who are both of them her natural Allies: His *Britannick* Majesty being bound in both Capacities, I mean as King and Elector, as well by Interest as by Treaties, to support the *Danes*. On the other hand, the *Dutch* have been always fast Friends to *Denmark*, and must be so as long as they continue a free State; there seems no room therefore to doubt that *Denmark* will constantly use her utmost Endeavours to cultivate a good Correspondence with Nations from whom she hath so much Good to expect, and from whom it is not probable she can ever have any thing to fear.

The remote Situation of *Denmark* in respect to the Southern Parts of *Europe*, has hitherto hindered any great Communication between them; but that is not likely to continue long the Case, since his present as well as his late *Danish* Majesty is intent on extending the Commerce of his Subjects, particularly into the *Mediterranean*; with which View he hath not only obtained various Concessions from the Court of *Vienna*, but has entered into some Negotiations with the Court of *Spain* likewise; and has lately concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the King of the *Two Sicilies*.

The great Thing which has hitherto deterred the *Danes* from attempting the Trade of *Italy*, and other Countries adjacent, was the Apprehension of having their Ships continually taken by the *Algerines* and other Piratical States of *Bartary*. But the late King, to remove these Difficulties, was pleased to equip a small Squadron for the Protection of the *Danish* Merchant-Men in those Seas; and declared that he would continue to send such a Squadron every Spring, which at the same time that it exercised the Seamen in his Service, and secured the Trade of his Subjects, made the Flag of *Denmark* known and respected in those Parts, and thereby promoted that Prince's capital Design of being considered as a Maritime Power. Whether the present Monarch will be soon able to carry this into Execution, will depend upon the general Turn of Affairs in *Europe*, of which it is certain that no Prince is more capable of forming a true Judgment, or making a right Use. The War, while it continued, proved also favourable to those Views, as it afforded the *Danes* an Opportunity of disposing of dried Fish, and other Commodities carried usually into the *Mediterranean* by other Nations. It is also more than probable, that the Hopes of vending *East India* Goods in those Countries, may have some Share in these Projects, though hitherto nothing can be affirmed on this Head with Certainty, because the Treaties relating to these Points are, at least most of them, as yet but in Embryo. But as a Peace has been concluded with the Piratical States in *Africa*, there is now no longer occasion to send annual Squadrons into the *Mediterranean*.

It has been suggested by some Writers, that the *Danes* may have it in their Power to supply the *French* and other Nations with Beef, Butter, and other Provisions, upon as easy Terms as they can be had from *Ireland*, which would certainly prove a very great Advantage to them, and no small Prejudice to us; but it has fallen out unluckily for them during the Course of the last War, that a contagious Distemper prevailed amongst their Cattle, which prevented those Experiments from being made, by which this Matter might otherwise have been determined. However it is very certain, that *Denmark* and *Norway* can furnish a Multitude of Commodities of Value in the Southern Parts of *Europe*; and wherever they fix their Trade, it will necessarily occasion a Connection of Interests, and thereby render the Crown of *Denmark* more considerable than she has hitherto been; more especially if there be any Truth in what has been suspected, that the late revoking the Treaty of Commerce with the *Dutch*

by the Court of *Versailles*, was with a View to make Trial of what might be done by encouraging a Fish Trade from the *Danish* Dominions. This the *Dutch* themselves have apprehended ; and it is one of the principal Reasons why they have taken so much Pains in negotiating with the Court of *France*, in order to get that Edict recalled, from a Jealousy, that how indifferently soever this Trade may answer at first, yet in Time all Difficulties may be removed, especially where two absolute Monarchs are concerned, who can oblige their Subjects to do and bear what they please ; which is a very high Advantage towards carrying either good or bad Measures into Execution.

I shall conclude this Article with endeavouring to explain the Conduct that *Denmark* ought to pursue, and that which the present King has all along pursued with regard to *France*. It is certain that formerly the close Connection between the *French* and the *Swedes* made the *Danes* jealous of the former, and attached them more closely to the Maritime Powers ; but the present King of *Denmark* seems in some measure to deviate from this Point of Policy, and has, of late Years especially, been careful to maintain a good Correspondence with *France*. We must not however persuade ourselves from thence, that this Monarch has deserted his old Principles, or that he is not as much convinced as any of his Predecessors of the Importance of his Friendship with *Great Britain* and *Holland*.

The Truth is, that the State of Things between *Sweden* and *Denmark* being very much altered, the King of *Denmark* has the less Reason at present to be jealous of the *French* Influence there. Besides this, we ought to consider, that as it was not either the Interest or Intention of his *Danish* Majesty to take any Share in the War lately determined, or to part with his Forces to any of the Powers engaged therein ; so his receiving Subsidies from *France* to do this, that is, to keep an exact Neutrality, which is also all that *France* desires, is really receiving them for nothing ; and it ought to be considered as a Master-piece of Policy, that his *Danish* Majesty has found Ways and Means to oblige the *French* not only to pay these Subsidies, but also to grant his Subjects very considerable Advantages in Trade for acting in such a manner, as the Maxims of his Government would have led him to act independent of these Motives.

But if Affairs should alter, there is no doubt the King of *Denmark* will alter his Conduct ; for we may with greater Certainty reckon on the Behaviour of this Prince, than we can

upon almost any other ; because we are sure that he will always do what is fit for him to do, and neglect nothing that is suitable to his Dignity, to his Love for Peace, and his Regard for the true Interests of his Subjects.

C H A P. VI.

*A brief View of the present State, modern History,
legal Constitution, political Interests, and parti-
cular Views of the Crown and Republick of
POLAND.*

TH E R E is so great a Mixture of Truth and Falshood in the Notions commonly received as to the Power and Circumstances of this Government, that at the same time it becomes extreamly necessary, we find it also highly difficult to separate and distinguish them. This Perplexity arises from a peculiar Circumstance, which will be at large explained hereafter, but of which we are also obliged to say something here. The dominant Power in *Poland* is not a King, a Minister, a Council, or Senate, but the whole Body of the Nobility ; and the ruling Passion of this dominant Power, is to preserve this Prerogative, which for the Sake of giving it a good Name, they are pleased to stile *Liberty*, in its full Extent. This therefore may be considered as the accidental Interest of *Poland*, that is, in contradiction to its real Interest ; which, as in all other Countries, is no other than the Good of the whole.

But here lies the Misfortune, that, as the Persons who pursue this accidental Interest have a constant Succession, there is but very little Ground to hope that the real Interest will ever prevail. Now this Circumstance makes the common Opinion of the Fickleness, Imbecility, and Instability of the *Polish* Government really true ; whereas, if any Method could be fallen upon to bring the *Poles* to understand, to vindicate, and support their true Interest, nothing would be more false ; for they would then have a fixed and proper System, which they have a Force more than sufficient to maintain ; and instead of being one of the weakest and least respected, *Poland* would become one of the most powerful, and in consequence of that, one of the most considered Kingdoms in *Europe*.

If the Reader will reflect upon this Remark, which is strictly founded in Truth, he will be very seldom at a Loss

for the Causes of the principal Events which occur in the History of *Poland* in Times past, or make at this Day the Subject of our Gazettes. To render the Ground of our Assertion clearer, it may be proper to insist on a few Points relative to this Country in general. If we consider *Poland* with regard to its Extent, we shall find it thrice as big as *France* properly so called ; in its Figure it is nearly round, so that all its Provinces connect with each other, and are consequently capable of contributing to their mutual Defence. It must indeed be owned, that the Fruits of *Spain*, the Flowers of *Italy*, and the Vines of *Hungary*, are not to be found in any Part of *Poland* ; neither can it be affirmed that the Cities and great Towns approach in Size to those of *Germany*, or have any relation in point of Neatness to such as we meet with in *Holland* ; but notwithstanding this, the Country is far from being barren or thinly peopled.

We may judge how plentifully it is stored with Corn, from its being styled the Granary of the North, and from the vast Quantities of that Commodity annually exported from *Dantzick* ; it abounds also in Cattle, without any Exaggeration beyond most Countries in *Europe* ; its Forests furnish Timber of all Sorts, and for all Uses, and that in a Degree more than sufficient for the Consumption of its Inhabitants, notwithstanding that they employ frequently Timber to those Purposes, for which in other Countries they make use of Brick and Stone. Its Lakes are full of several Kinds of excellent Fish, and in the Woods and Heaths there is variety and plenty of Game. Some Mines there are, more especially of Salt, which are inexhaustible. The Climate is in Winter pretty severe ; they have great Rains in the Autumn, but their Summers are generally speaking warm and pleasant.

The *Poles* are naturally active, hardy, and robust ; the Gentry have many Virtues, they are open, generous, and hospitable, very civil to Strangers, and for the most part Men of Honour ; their greatest Failing is Vanity, and a strong Inclination to live after their Manner in a wild kind of Magnificence. As for the *Polish* Ladies, they are Women of exemplary Piety and Virtue ; and as to the meaner Sort of People, they are confessedly lazy and ignorant, which however is rather to be charged on the Constitution of their Government, than any Defects in their Country ; for where the Law has rendered Peasants incapable of possessing Property, one cannot suppose they will take pains to acquire it. Their having no Ports strictly speaking, except *Dantzick*, is the Reason that they have little Commerce with their Neighbours ; but this Deficiency must be also charged upon

upon their Government ; for when they were in a better Condition in that Respect by their being in Possession of *Livonia*, they shewed no great Inclination to improve them. Their Turn in general is to Arms and good Fellowship ; but from domestick Feuds and Animosities their Valour is mostly experienced upon each other, and by their intestine Divisions they have often become a Prey to those Nations, whom if they had been united, they had Strength sufficient not only to repulse but to conquer.

This makes them very good Neighbours, for their Ambition has never tempted them, at least for some Ages past, to make any Attempts upon others ; but then the Power of their Nobility is so great, that the People are apt to shew but little Vigour in the Support of it ; nor can this be wondered at in any Nation where the People cannot be properly said to defend themselves. The *Polish* Armies, as we shall see hereafter, have fought with Success and Glory against the *Turks* and *Tartars* ; but this was owing to their Nobility mounting on Horseback, and deciding the Business in one or two Campaigns. The same thing that we collect from their Victories, we may infer also from their Defeats ; they have suffered deeply from their Wars with the *Swedes*, and of late have been greatly awed by the *Russians* ; in both Cases however this has been owing to their having to do with regular Forces, which a Crown Army composed of thin Battalions under a bad Discipline and poorly paid could never resist.

While their Monarchs had a reasonable Degree of Power, they protected them from such Misfortunes, as we shall see hereafter, by the establishing a proper Militia, to whom they assigned Lands in lieu of Pay ; but through Errors in Government those Regulations have been long subverted, and the *Cossacks* who in former times were the Defence of *Poland*, act now on the Side of their Enemies. But after all, perhaps none of these Mistakes are irretrievable ; and if the present Weakness and Distress of that Kingdom, which is greater than ever, should at last inspire them with a true Notion of their Errors, and incline them to Amendment, it might still appear their Case is not past Remedy ; tho' if nothing of this kind happens, it will be very soon. Their Neighbours have already encroached upon them in such a manner, as nothing but their Factions could have encouraged, and nothing but their Folly and want of publick Spirit could have brought a brave Nation to bear. But it is now time to pursue our ordinary Method, and to enter upon a Series of Facts necessary to render these, as well as our subsequent Reflections intelligible.

There are few Histories more confused than that of *Poland*, inasmuch that we know little or nothing with Certainty, or at least with Certainty enough for our Purpose, before the Reign of *Jagellon*, who mounted the Throne in the latter End of the fourteenth Century. He was Grand Duke of *Lithuania* and a Pagan; but on his being elected King of *Poland* he became a Christian, and took care to make his Subjects so; he also united the whole of his hereditary Dominions to those of *Poland*, which induced the *Poles* to have such a Regard for his Memory, as to preserve the Crown in his Family until his Male Line extinguished in *Sigismund Augustus* in 1552.

After much Confusion and a long Struggle between the two Factions, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Charles IX.* of *France*, was elected King of *Poland*, in preference to *Maximilian* of *Austria*; but before he had enjoyed the Crown four Months, his Brother died, and *Henry* returned privately into *France*, which Kingdom he governed by the Name of *Henry III.* and this Election and short Reign introduced the Correspondence between the *French* and the *Poles*, which has subsisted ever since, but very little to the Advantage of the latter.

At first, the Nobility of *Poland* expressed prodigious Resentment at the Usage they had met with; King *Henry* having taken the Advantage of a dark Night to make his Escape and to desert that Throne, to which, not without much Trouble and Sollicitations, he had been admitted; and therefore upon his Abdication, the Party which had espoused the Cause of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, endeavoured to revive his Pretensions, and to place upon his Head that Diadem which his Rival had quitted; but however they were not able to carry their Point, the Majority of the *Poles* being inclined to chuse a Prince that they were sure would reside amongst them; a Thing they could no more expect from *Maximilian* than from *Henry* of *Anjou*, considering the Views the former of these Princes had in *Germany*.

It was for this Reason, more especially, that they made Choice of *Stephen Batori*, Prince of *Transilvania*, who had already gained a great Reputation by his Courage. He found notwithstanding some Difficulties to struggle with in the beginning of his Reign; for a considerable Party declared against him, and seized upon the City of *Dantzick* on the Behalf of *Maximilian*. King *Stephen*, however, took the wisest Way to establish himself on the Throne of *Poland*, by marrying *Anne* the Sister of *Sigismund Augustus*, of the Royal House of *Jagellon*, which procured him the Affection of all his Subjects. After reducing *Dantzick*, he engaged in a War against the *Muscovites*,

Muscovites, from whom he recovered all that they had taken from the *Poles*; and his Success in this War enabled him to settle the *Ukrain*, which in the *Polish* Language signifies the Frontiers, which before his Time had been a wide and wild Desert.

He was likewise the Author of the Military Tenures among the *Poles*, by which he rendered them the best Cavalry in the World. But because he very well knew that Horse alone was not a Strength sufficient to defend such a Kingdom; and was sensible also that the Nobility would never serve on Foot, he devised a new Militia composed of the *Cossacks*, a rough and barbarous Race of People, who had hitherto been the Plague and Scourge of *Poland*, and on whom he bestowed the *Ukrain*, where he settled them in such a manner, that the *Poles* might always command a great Body of Infantry, without being at any more than an easy Expence. Thus he wisely provided for the interior Security of the Kingdom on one hand, and for its Protection against the *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, and *Turks* on the other. For these People being in part settled in the Islands of the *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*; they from thence made the most dreadful Incursions by the *Black Sea* into the Territories of the *Turks*, taking and burning the Cities *Sinope* and *Trebisonde*, and even pillaging the Suburbs of *Constantinople*.

This great King died in 1586, at a Time when he was engaged in a War with the *Turks*, and left behind him a Reputation as great as that of any Prince of his Time, and bequeathed to the *Poles* as a Legacy, such a Military Establishment, as duly attended to would have always defended them from the Ambition of their Neighbours; but which by their Seditions, Factions, and Corruptions, gradually decayed, and is now in a great measure lost.

The Peace and Prosperity of *Poland*, as it was restored by King *Stephen*, seemed to be destroyed at his Death; for though at all the *Polish* Elections, Discord and Confusion had been and still are common, yet we read of none so great as at this Time, the Nation being equally involved in Religious and Political Disputes; so that on one side the *Lutherans* came into the Field with ten thousand Men, and on the other the Senate had a great Body of good Troops to support the Catholick Cause. The Competitors for the Crown were three, each supported by a numerous and powerful Faction.

The first was *Theodore*, Czar of *Russia*; the second *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Austria*, who now for the third time pretended to the Crown; the third was *Sigismund*, Prince of *Sweden*. It was argued in favour of the first, that if he was elected

elected he would render *Poland* the most powerful Monarchy in *Europe*, by adding thereto all the Dominions of *Russia*. The personal good qualities of the second were chiefly intited upon, and which is pretty singular, he was supported by the *Pope's* Nuncio and the *Lutherans*. As for the last, he was the Son of the Sister of their late King *Sigismund*, and consequently the Heir Male of the Family of *Jagellon*, and for this Reason chiefly, by the Assistance of the Senate, was chosen on the ninth of *August* 1587.

The Archduke *Maximilian* however marched with an Army into *Poland* to dispute this Election, but was routed in two Engagements; and in the last being made Prisoner, was obliged to renounce all his Pretensions to the Crown of *Poland*. By this Means *Sigismund III.* became the peaceable Possessor of the Kingdom, but was disappointed in the Design he formed of keeping that of *Sweden* also: for as he was a violent Papist, the *Swedes* refused to acknowledge him, and therefore placed upon the Throne the Duke of *Sundermania*, which occasioned a long War between the two Kingdoms. He reigned forty-four Years, and in that Time gave signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, particularly against the *Turks*, tho' in the Wars against the *Swedes* he was very unfortunate.

He was succeeded, tho' not without a great Struggle, by his eldest Son *Uladislaus VII.* who was chosen the 13th of *November* 1632. This Monarch proved very successful in the Beginning of his Reign against the *Russians*, *Turks*, and *Swedes*; forcing each of them to make Peace with the *Poles* upon Terms advantageous to that Nation. But in the Year 1637, Disturbances broke out with respect to the *Cossacks*; for the *Polish* Nobility having acquired great Estates in the *Ukrain*, prevailed upon the King to take away from that Militia the Privileges granted them by King *Stephen*, which proved of very bad Consequence to the Nation; that Dispute lasted beyond the Date of that King's Life, which determined on the 20th of *May* 1648.

He was succeeded by his Brother *John Casimir*, who had aimed at the Crown when *Uladislaus* was chosen, afterwards became a Jesuit, and was promoted to the Rank of a Cardinal, which he resigned in hopes of the Crown. After his Election he married his Brother's Widow, a *French* Woman; to whose Intrigues were chiefly owing all the Misfortunes that attended his Reign. We have in our Account of the Kingdom of *Sweden* shewn how he was driven out of his Dominions by King *Charles Gustavus*, but how he got Possession of them again

is a Point of History so little known, that it may not be amiss to insert it here. The *Danes* having attacked the *Swedish* Dominions, King *Charles* offered to give up all his Conquests in *Poland* for 800000 Rixdollars, which Offer was readily accepted; but the *Poles* found it very difficult to raise the Money. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had called in the *Swedes*, perceiving that he was likely to lose their Assistance, privately proposed to the *Poles* to pay this Money and to assist them against the *Swedes*, if they would renounce the Sovereignty of the Ducal *Prussia*, which he held as a Vassal to the Crown of *Poland*: this was accepted and performed on both Sides, and ratified in the famous Treaty of *Oliva*, by which the *Poles* ended all their Differences with their Neighbours.

This Circumstance Sir *Robert Southwell* declared, at a Meeting of the Royal Society, he had from the Mouth of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. After this King *Casimir* might have reigned in Peace, if he had not formed a Project to render himself absolute, in order to which he raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, most of them *Germans*. But this Design being discovered, Prince *Lubomirski*, the Crown General, at the Head of the *Polish* Troops, fell upon the King's Army, defeated them totally, and made their General, who was a *Frenchman*, Prisoner.

We need not wonder that after such a Blow as this, the King should be out of Humour with his Subjects, or that his Subjects should have no longer any Confidence in such a Prince; but the Methods he took to be revenged on them deserve to be made known, more especially as they proceeded from the Advice given him by his *French* Queen, and those of her Nation, whom she procured to be admitted into his Council. In the first place, he excited the *Cossicks* to rebel, and to throw off their Subjection to *Poland*, a Thing so base as would never have been believed, if he had not been weak enough to have written a Letter under his own Hand to their Generals for that Purpose, which they produced, and thereby proved it incontestably.

Another Scheme of his, still meaner than the former, answered his End more effectually. He pretended to be very sorry for the Mischiefs he had occasioned, and having called a Diet at *Leopold*, he there proposed redressing publick Grievances, and paying the Army. The best Expedient that could be found to effect this, was to call in the Gold and Silver of the Kingdom, and recoïn it. But this having been found deficient, the States consented to have vast Quantities of Copper coined, which before

before had been very scarce in the Country, and to raise its intrinsic Value to almost double the common Standard. With this Money the King paid the Publick for what they brought in, as likewise the Arrears of the Army, but kept all the Gold and Silver, which he afterwards remitted into *France*, and soon followed himself, when he had beggared the Nation, for which the *Poles* abhor his Name even to this Day.

He had now reigned twenty Years with very little Quiet, and less Credit; he saw plainly that it was impossible for him to enjoy the One, or recover the Other in *Poland*; and therefore he resolved to resign the Crown, which he accordingly did in the Church of St. John at *Warsaw*, Sept. 16, 1668; and afterwards retiring into *France*, died at *Nevers* in December 1671. But as he was Abbot of St. *Germain*s near *Paris*, he was buried there under a magnificent Tomb of Brass, with a pompous *Latin* Inscription, attributing to him many Virtues which he never had, and in which there is not the least mention of those Follies and Vices by which he lost his Honour and his Crown.

This Resignation threw the Kingdom of *Poland* into fresh Distractions, for immediately four Candidates declared themselves; the first was the Great Prince of *Russia*, on whose behalf the *Czar* his Father made large Offers. The second was the Duke of *Newbourg*, supported by the *French* Interest. The third was the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had the *German* Faction for his Friends. The fourth was the Son of the Prince of *Conde*, espoused by many of the Nobility out of Respect to his Father. The first and the last of these Candidates were soon laid aside, but the Factions of the other two were of such equal Strength, that a Civil War was apprehended.

The Palatine *Opalinski* however changed the whole Face of Affairs by a Speech, in which he told them, that it was a Shame they should either admit of a Foreign Prince, or suffer Foreigners to prescribe to them who should be their King; that their Ancestors did not act in this manner; but when they found themselves in such a Situation, made choice of their Countryman *Piaſtus*, distinguished only by his Virtues, who governed them so prudently, that tho' he lived to be one hundred and twenty, his Death was as much regretted as if he had been cut off in the Flower of his Age. This Speech was so well received that the whole Assembly cried out, A *Piaſt*! A *Piaſt*! which is since become a Phrase to express a *Polish* Candidate in Opposition to a Stranger.

At the next Meeting the same Palatine was called upon to name one of the Nobility worthy of the Crown; upon which he made another Speech, at the Close of which he proposed

posed Prince *Michael Wiefnowiski*, who was descended from a Brother of *Jagellon*. He was not remarkable for Parts, for Courage or Fortune; and it was generally suspected that he was mentioned to make way for some other powerful Nobleman; but it so fell out, that as the Palatine pronounced his Name, a Swarm of Bees flew over his Head, upon which the People cried out unanimously, *God save King MICHAEL!* That Prince, who was himself present, broke out into Tears, declared that he was very unfit for a Crown, and begged they would proceed to a new Election, but it was to no Purpose; the Diet persisted in their Choice, so he became a King whether he would or not.

Michael Wiefnowiski having thus had the Crown forced upon him by the plainer and honest part of the Assembly, was crowned on the seventeenth of *September 1670*: He had been, while a Youth, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the Emperor *Leopold*, who notwithstanding consented very readily to his Marriage with the Princess *Eleanora* of *Austria* his Sister, which at first raised some Jealousies and Discontents amongst the Nobility, who were afraid he made this Match with a View to enlarge his Power at the Expence of the public Liberty; but the Easiness of his Temper, and his Readiness to consent to whatever they asked, very soon convinced them, that their Fears were groundless; and that they had nothing to dread from this Monarch on the Side at least of his Ambition.

But in the Year 1672, the *Turks* under Pretence of having taken the *Cossacks* under their Protection, invaded *Poland*, and very soon made themselves Masters of *Kaminieck*, the Capital of *Podolia*, a Place till then esteemed impregnable; and so much superior their Forces appeared to any that he could raise against them, that the King resolved to make the best Peace he could, which however proved a very indifferent one; for by it he covenanted to give them a great Sum of Money for sparing that City and its Inhabitants, and stipulated besides, that he would pay the *Turks* a constant Tribute of 22,000 Gold Ducats *per Annum*. As advantageous as this must appear, the *Turks* nevertheless were not long before they renewed their Hostilities, which obliged the Crown-General *Sobieski* to venture a Battle under great Disadvantages, in which however he gained a compleat as well as unexpected Victory. But the King did not live to receive the Pleasure of this News, dying suddenly on the sixteenth of *November 1673*, not without strong Suspicions of Poison. He was thirty-two Years of Age, a Man of much Mildness, Moderation, and Piety; but one who was far

far enough from having the great Qualities requisite to fill the Throne with Dignity, more especially in such a Country as *Poland*.

The next Diet of Election was attended as usual with great Confusion; the Candidates were the Czar of *Muscovy's* youngest Son; the Prince of *Transylvania*; the Elector of *Brandenburg's* eldest Son; the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Prince of *Conde* were also named, with some others. At last there were three Factions form'd; the first of the *Lithuanians*, who were for the Duke of *Lorraine*; the second of the *Polish* Nobility, who were most of them for the Duke of *Neuburg's* Son; and the Army, who pretended to be for the *French* Prince, who tho' not named, was understood as (I have said) to be the Prince of *Conde*. By Degrees all the Factions were reduced to two, one for the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the other for the *French* Prince.

In the End however, this Election, like the former, was decided suddenly by a Speech. The Palatine of *Russia* stood forth and said, "That the *Lithuanians* had dishonoured their Country, by protesting so violently as they had done against a *Piaſt*, or Native of *Poland*; that it was dangerous at this Juncture to choose a *German* Prince; and that for his part he would speak his Sentiments plainly. That they were on the Point of sinking into the lowest State of Contempt, if they had not been delivered by the late Victory over the *Turks*, and that as it was won by the Crown-General *Sobieſki*, so he only deserved to be *King*, by whose Courage and Conduct they still remained a *People*." This did the Business effectually; for tho' the *Lithuanians* protested against it that Day, yet they recanted the next, and so the Election became unanimous, which was the more singular as it was perfectly just and reasonable.

John Sobieſki being thus raised to the Crown, was desirous of prosecuting the War against the *Turks*, in which he was very indifferently seconded by the Nobility, who tho' they before promised an Army of 60,000 Men, yet made a Difficulty of furnishing him with 40,000 after he was elected. The King, notwithstanding this, carried on the War, and in the Year 1675 obtained the greatest Victory the *Poles* ever had to boast; for in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Leopold*, with 5000 Men in an open Plain he defeated 60,000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, who fled in one Night as many Leagues as they had marched in three Days; and afterwards with an Army of 15,000 Men he drove above 100,000 *Turks* and *Tartars* out of *Podolia*.

When he had thus secured the Peace of the Kingdom, he returned to *Cracow*, where on the second of *February* 1676, he was crowned with great Magnificence. He made a very honourable Peace with the Infidels not long after, which lasted till the Year 1683. In that Year they invaded *Germany*, and besieged *Vienna*, to the Relief of which the King of *Poland* marched with 20,000 Men; and having joined the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had about the same Number, he on the twelfth of *September* attacked the Grand Vizir, who had an Army of near 200,000, entirely defeated them, forcing them to raise the Siege, and fly with the utmost Precipitation. The King made his Entry into *Vienna* through the Breach, with the great Standard of the *Turks* taken by his Troops carried before him.

He afterwards continued the War for some time longer, tho' he thought himself but indifferently treated by the Emperor. On his Return to *Poland*, he met with much Uneasiness and Discontent; the Nobility apprehending that he intended to make the Crown hereditary in his Family, and that it was with this View he hoarded up so much Money; for it was computed that in the Space of twenty Years, he saved near two Millions Sterling. His Cares and Fatigues brought on a Complication of Distempers, which carried him off the seventeenth of *June* 1696, in the sixty-sixth Year of his Age, and twenty-second of his Reign. At the Time of his Decease, he was the Oldest, the Richest, and for personal Courage the most renowned Monarch in *Europe*.

After the King's Death, Cardinal *Radziowski*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and Primate of the Kingdom, took the Administration of the Government, as is usual, upon him, and notified the King's Death to Foreign Princes, and to all the Governors of the Provinces, and advised with the Senators that were then at *Warsaw*, as to the most proper Method and the fittest Time to chuse a new King. They fixed upon the twenty-ninth of *August* 1696, for the Convocation of the grand Diet; but there appearing several Competitors, and these too supported by powerful Factions, it was thought necessary to take more Time to appease the Dissentions of the Nobility; for which Reason the Overture of the Diet was deferred to the fifteenth of *May* 1697.

They then chose the *Sieur Belinski* for their Speaker, whom they call *Marshal*. The chief Competitors were Prince *James* of *Poland*, and his Brother Prince *Alexander*, the Prince of *Conti*, Don *Livio Odescalchi*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; but at last the Elector of *Saxony* unexpectedly came to the Frontiers

Frontiers of *Poland* with 8000 Men, and declared himself a Candidate, having a Twelvemonth before privately abjured his Religion to qualify himself for this Crown, which procured him the Interest of the Pope and Clergy ; so that at length no considerable Party appeared but for him, the Prince of *Conti*, and Prince *James*.

The Cardinal Primate, with a great Number of the Palatins, supported the Interest of the Prince of *Conti*, the *French* having for several Years before given a great Character of his Merit and Valour, which made the King of *France* believe that he would undoubtedly carry that Crown, as it is probable he would have done, had he been in Person as near the Place of Election as the Elector of *Saxony* was ; for on the 26th of *June*, being the Day of Election, the Diet drew out into the Field, and he had that Day more Votes than either the Elector of *Saxony* or Prince *James*, which the Primate observing, went with his Party and immediately proclaimed him King.

But the two other Parties knowing that this could not be legally done, without the unanimous Consent of the Diet, protested against it ; and Prince *James* perceiving his Party to be the weakest, and having always been in the Interest of the House of *Austria*, as being married to the Sister of the Empress and Queen of *Spain*, resigned all his Interest to the Elector of *Saxony*, who was likewise supported by the Emperor. These two Parties being thus united, were more numerous than that of the Prince of *Conti* ; and therefore coming next Day into the Field, they got the Bishop of *Cujavia*, after the Primate had refused it, to proclaim *Frederic Augustus* of *Saxony* King of *Poland*, and sent Ambassadors to desire him to accept of the Crown ; he accordingly entered the Kingdom with his Forces, and marched directly to *Cracow*, where he was crowned.

The other Party endeavoured however to maintain their Election ; but the Prince of *Conti*, who came from *Dantzick*, finding he should have no more Friends in *Poland* than he purchased with his Money, and that they would continue so no longer than they were supplied with it, determined to quit his Claim, as he did, and so left the peaceable Possession to King *Augustus* ; who notwithstanding this was far enough from meeting with that Duty and Respect which he hoped for ; so that new Disturbances were on the Point of arising immediately, if they had not been prevented by the Wisdom and Moderation of the King.

In the Beginning of the Year 1700, he had brought Things into some tolerable Degree of Order, and might very probably

bably have reigned peaceable enough, inasmuch as with all the great Qualities that could be wished for in a Prince, he had an Affability and Freedom in his Behaviour that was very engaging, and withal an almost boundless Generosity, which is a Quality much esteemed in all Countries, but more especially acceptable in *Poland*. I say, notwithstanding what was past, he might have reigned as quietly as any of his Predecessors, if he had not a little rashly embarked himself in a Quarrel with the King of *Sweden*, in the Manner we have already related in some of our former Articles.

This it was that gave an Opportunity to that Faction which had supported the Prince of *Conti*, once more to make head against the King, under Pretence that he had violated the Laws by bringing in his *Saxon* Troops, and by taking other Steps that were inconsistent with the Convention into which they had entered at the Time of his Election, and which, according to their Constitution, was to be the sole Rule of his Government. The King of *Sweden* encouraged this Party, and even went so far as to hint to them, that the only Way to make themselves easy and gain his Friendship, was to declare the Throne vacant, and elect a new King; which when they saw that Monarch in a Condition to support them, they made no Scruple of doing, and accordingly they made choice of *Stanislaus Leczenski* Palatine of *Poznan*, a young Nobleman about the same Age with the King of *Sweden*, who on the fourth of *October* 1705 was crowned at *Warsaw*.

The next Year his Confederate *Charles XII.* of *Sweden* entered *Saxony*, where he reduced King *Augustus* to such extreme Distress, that he was glad to make Peace upon such Terms, as were imposed on him by his Enemy, amongst which the hardest was this, that he should acknowledge the Title, and write a Letter of Felicitation to *Stanislaus* as King of *Poland*. In the succeeding Year the last mentioned Prince was acknowledged by all the Powers in *Europe*; but the Year following, that is, in 1708, the King of *Sweden* being defeated in the famous Battle of *Pultowa*, it soon became evident, notwithstanding these Recognitions, that *Stanislaus* would lose his Kingdom almost as soon as he had acquired it. He had indeed a Body of *Swedish* Troops about him, with which for some time he endeavoured to maintain himself in Possession; but at length found he was under a Necessity of quitting his Country, and following the *Swedish* Monarch into the Dominions of the Grand Signor.

In 1709 King *Augustus* resumed the Sovereignty, and before the End of the Year the *Swedes* were obliged to retire absolutely out of the Kingdom. In 1710, King *Augustus* held a

Diet at *Warsaw*, where he was congratulated by the Senate and Nobility on his Return, and the necessary Resolutions taken to secure his peaceable Possession of the Throne; but the Measures which best secured him were those taken by himself, by keeping near his Person a considerable Body of his faithful *Saxons*, and acceding to the Treaty concluded between the Czar and the *Turks*, which delivered the *Poles* from the Dangers of a Foreign War, tho' it was far enough from extinguishing their domestic Factions.

In the Year 1713, there was a Conspiracy formed against the King, but it was happily discovered and prevented. He thought fit thereupon, after making the necessary Dispositions for settling the Affairs of the Kingdom, to retire for some time into *Saxony*, whence he did not return till the Year following, when he found new Symptoms of Jealousy and Discontent in that Country, with which he was much offended; because to purchase the Good-will of the *Poles*, he had voluntarily pardoned two of his greatest Enemies, remitted a third Part of the Taxes granted for the Support of the Army, and had ordered thirteen Regiments of his *German* Troops to leave the Kingdom.

Some of the discontented Senators demanded a Diet on Horseback, which his Majesty refused to call, because he foresaw it could answer no End, but that of giving Rebellion the Colour of a legal Proceeding. There were however some of the Nobility who actually began to mount, and shewed a Disposition of holding such an Assembly without the Royal Licence; but the King prevented this, by declaring positively that he would treat as Rebels all who should presume to meet together without such an Authority as the Constitution had rendered requisite; and to incline these People to hearken more readily to Reason, he recalled his *German* Troops; and having also renewed the Peace with the *Turks*, he began to enjoy more Quiet than he had done from the Time he first ascended the Throne.

In the Year 1724 happened the unfortunate Affair of *Thorn*, which had like to have plunged the Republick into a War with most of the Protestant Powers in *Europe*. The City of *Thorn* is one of the most considerable in that Part of *Prussia* which belongs to *Poland*, and is generally speaking inhabited by Protestants. There were however some Papists, and they had invited a few Jesuits thither to educate their Children. Some of their Scholars quarrelled with the Townsmen, this occasioned a Riot, and the pulling down a Part of the House in which the Jesuits lived; upon which, the Magistrates not interposing in time, some other Excesses were committed. Upon this

this a Tribunal was erected, composed of some Grandees and Senators of *Poland*, who after examining into the Affair, caused the chief Magistrate Mr. *Reusner* to be beheaded, and some of the Townsmen to be hanged and their Bodies burnt; they likewise changed the Magistrates of the Town contrary to the Treaty of *Oliva*, which obliged the Crowns of *Great Britain*, *Sweden*, and *Prussia*, to interpose, as Guarantees of that Treaty, in favour of the Protestants; but the Affair being drawn into a Negotiation, the bad Effects that were apprehended from those violent Proceedings were prevented, though the Protestants had not that Justice done them, which from the Nature of that Treaty, and the Power of those Courts that interposed on their Behalf, they had just Reason to expect.

There followed not long after another troublesome Affair, which because it may hereafter be revived and create new Disputes, it is necessary we should consider more at large. The Dutchy of *Courland*, which was anciently a Part of *Livonia*, was a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, and had been held as such by the Family of *Ketler*, from the Year 1561. *William* Duke of *Courland* married, in the Year 1710, the Princess *Ann* of *Russia*, Daughter to the Czar *John*, and Niece to the Czar *Peter*, but died without leaving any Children of that Marriage: By his Demise the Dutchy descended to his Uncle *Ferdinand*; but the Dutcheſs Dowager took Poſſeſſion of it by Force, and the Duke was obliged to live at *Dantzick* in very indifferent Circumstances.

The King of *Prussia* laboured to procure this Country for the Margrave of *Brandenburgh Swedt*, who offered to pay the Debts with which it was charged; but the Grandees of *Poland* were strongly inclined to let it remain no longer a separate Dutchy, but rather to unite and incorporate it with the rest of *Poland*, to be governed in the same manner as other Parts of the Kingdom. The Nobility of *Courland*, who are very numerous, were extremely alarmed at this, and therefore in the Name of Duke *Ferdinand* called a general Diet in order to elect a Successor, in which they chose Count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the natural Son of King *Augustus*, afterwards so well known to the World by the Title of Marshal *Saxe*. But Duke *Ferdinand* having disavowed the Edict by which the Assembly was called, and the *Poles* highly resenting this Election, King *Augustus* was forced to declare against his Son, and he was, tho' without Difficulty, compelled to retire by the *Russian* Troops.

This was in the Year 1728, and from that Time *Poland* grew more and more uneasy, from an Apprehension that the King intended to secure the Crown to the Electoral Prince on his Decease, which they pretended was a high Violation of their Constitution; tho' their Election of this very King rather than Prince *James Sobieski* was the first Instance that ever happened in *Poland* of the deceased King's Son being set aside; their Crown, tho' always elective, having gone in a direct Line for eight hundred Years. King *Augustus* laboured all he could to satisfy the Nobility, and to compose their Differences, but to no Purpose.

His Sickness hindered him from holding a Diet at *Grodno* for that Year, and the next the Factions were so high that no Diet could be held; upon which the King retired much dissatisfied into *Saxony*, and the *Lithuanians* drew up a strong Protest against his leaving the Kingdom without the Consent of the Senate, and specified therein also several other Grievances. The King called another Diet in 1730, which broke up without coming to any Resolution. In 1732, he called a third extraordinary Diet at *Warsaw* with no better Effect. He summoned however a fourth extraordinary Diet in the Beginning of 1733, but was prevented from holding it, by Death. His Decease happened on the 27th of *January* that Year, and left the Affairs of this Country in great Confusion.

It is recent in every one's Memory, that the Death of King *Augustus* of *Poland* gave rise to a bloody War between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*; but how this came about, and what were the Measures taken by the different Parties from the Beginning of that Affair to the End, is not so generally understood, and yet there is nothing that deserves to be better known than the Mystery of this whole Transaction.

The late Emperor, *Charles* the VIth, was very far from being satisfied with the Conduct of King *Augustus* in the latter Part of his Reign, because he suspected, not without Grounds, that he had some Engagements with the Courts of *France* and *Bavaria*, far from being favourable to the Pragmatic Sanction; for which Reason the Imperial Interest was employ'd in *Poland* rather to traverse than promote the King's Views with respect to the Succession.

But when his *Polish* Majesty was dead, and the Imperial Court found his Son the present King very tractable with respect to its favourite Point the Pragmatic Sanction; this gave a new Turn to the Councils of the Court of *Vienna*, and engaged them to favour that Measure which they had hitherto impeded.

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On the other hand, *France* from first to last openly supported the Interest of King *Stanislaus*, whose History, from the Time of his being driven out of *Poland*, is, in few Words, this. His generous Friend the King of *Sweden* assigned him his paternal Inheritance the little Dutchy of *Deux Ponts* for his Subsistence, which he held so long as that Prince lived, but upon his Demise the next Heir took Possession, and King *Stanislaus* was forced to retire to *Straßburgh*, where he lived on the Bounty as well as under the Protection of his Most Christian Majesty, who in the Year 1725 married the Princess *Mary* his Daughter; which consequently interested *France* extremely in his Favour. His numerous Alliances, his shining Virtues, and his being freer from Vices than almost any Prince of his Time, had preserved him many Friends in *Poland*; so that it was no difficult Matter for the Marquess *De Monti*, the *French* Ambassador in that Kingdom at the Death of King *Augustus*, in Conjunction with the Primate, to form a potent Faction in his Favour, more especially as they were both Men of great Abilities.

But the Electoral Prince of *Saxony* being supported by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Petersburgh*, a double Election ensued. King *Stanislaus*, who passed into that Country immediately after the Throne became vacant, went to *Warsaw*, where he was received and treated as King, but was very soon driven out again by the *Russian* Army commanded by Count *Munich*, and obliged to retire to *Dantzick*, in which he sustained a long Siege, ran great Hazards, suffered many Hardships, and at last with infinite Difficulty made his Escape to *Koningsberg*, where he was honourably protected by the late King of *Prussia*.

In the mean time the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* broke with the Emperor, upon Pretence of this Dispute, and of his having supported King *Augustus* III. and prosecuted that War with great Vigour in *Germany* and *Italy*; till at last having carried their Point, and forced the Emperor to a Peace, all the Care that was taken of King *Stanislaus* was, that he should enjoy the Title of King of *Poland* and the Possession of the Duchy of *Lorrain* for Life, and on the other hand *France* and *Spain* acknowledged King *Augustus*.

It was very clear from their whole Management of this Affair, that the Court of *Verfailles* was never in earnest in the Support of *Stanislaus's* Title to this Crown; but made use of it only as a Colour, first of engaging in a War against the House of *Austria*, and next for obtaining an immediate Possession of *Lorrain* under his Name, which otherwise they could never have gained. After this Peace was thus concluded

ed there broke out a War between the late Emperor, assisted by the late *Czarina*, against the *Turks*, in which, notwithstanding the Share those two Powers had in raising him to the Throne, King *Augustus* took no Part; and indeed the miserable Condition his Kingdom was in from a short but severe Civil War, might very reasonably excuse it.

He has ever since continued in the peaceable Possession of his Dominions, and the *Poles* have had nothing to disturb them but Broils and Disputes among their great Families, from which they never were, or indeed are ever like to be free; since from a mistaken Notion of Liberty, they look upon the unbounded Power of their Nobility as the most valuable Part of their Constitution, and thereby suffer themselves to be cheated by the Sound of Freedom out the Thing itself.

Frederick Augustus III. King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, was elected to the first of these Dignities, September 23, 1733, in the forty-seventh Year of his Age. He had long before espoused his present Queen *Maria-Josepha*, of the House of *Austria*, Daughter to the late Emperor *Joseph*, which attached the Court of *Vienna* so closely to his Interests, as to make great Concessions in the beforementioned Treaty in 1736, for the sake of procuring his Election to be acknowledged by those who had disputed it. Yet on the breaking out of the last War on the Score of the late Emperor's Succession, he was so far from making use of the Disposition of the *Poles* to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, that he entered into the Views of the House of *Bavaria*, and, as Elector of *Saxony*, marched a Body of Troops into *Bohemia*, in Conjunction with the *French* and *Prussians* as Auxiliaries of the Emperor *Charles VII.* But after the Treaty of *Breslau*, he went over again to the *Austrian* Interest, and by an Alliance concluded at *Warsaw*, undertook to send a Body of Troops into *Bohemia*, for the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*.

He likewise endeavoured to draw the Republick into an Augmentation of its Forces to give Weight to the same Cause; but by an unforeseen Accident the Diet fell into great Confusion, and rose without coming to any Resolution. The King of *Prussia* (who has always had both good Intelligence and great Influence in *Poland*) not satisfied with defeating his Views in that Country, attacked him in his Hereditary Dominions in the following Winter, made himself Master of *Dresden*, and forced him to a Peace on his own Terms, since which his Conduct has been again very different from what it was before.

In the Spring of the Year 1746, his *Polish* Majesty thought fit to make some Promotions in that Kingdom, which it was believed tended to a Coalition of Parties, and very soon after it was observed that some of the *Polish* Lords, who, tho' they were preferred by the reigning Family, had never been considered as very warmly attached to it, interested themselves extremely in removing the Prejudices of such as had continued for many Years in an avowed Opposition. The *Polish* Minister at the Court of *Petersburgh* also began to confer closely with some Ambassadors and Envoys, whom till then he had avoided. There grew also a Difference, or at least a Disagreement with the Court of *Vienna*, on account of the Sums that were expected to indemnify his *Polish* Majesty for the great Expences occasioned by the Stay of the *Austrian* Forces in *Saxony*. The like System of Politicks prevailed the next Year, and notwithstanding the Allies were in want of Troops, and shewed a great Inclination to take a Body of *Saxons* into their Pay, which appeared also a Measure not at all improper for the Court of *Dresden* to have complied with upon advantageous Terms, it was waved notwithstanding, or rather slighted.

This occasioned many Speculations, till about the Middle of that Summer a double Marriage was concluded with the House of *Bavaria*, in consequence of which the Electoral Prince of *Saxony* espoused on the 9th of *June*, 1747, the Princess *Maria-Antonietta*, Daughter to the late Emperor *Charles VII.* and in less than a Month after the Elector of *Bavaria* married the Princess *Mary-Ann* of *Saxony*. The World had scarce Time to reflect on the Consequences that might follow from so close a Junction between these two Courts, when their Attention was farther awakened by the Report of a Marriage of still greater Importance. The Dauphiness, Daughter of their Catholic Majesties, dying in Child-bed of a Princess, it was foreseen that the Dauphin could not long remain a Widower, and within as short a Space as Decency would allow, the Marriage of that Prince was declared with the Princess *Maria-Josepha* of *Saxony*, which took Effect in the Month of *February* following.

It is true that these Matters belong rather to the Affairs of *Germany* than to those of *Poland*, but inasmuch as they seem to have operated very powerfully in that Kingdom, no great Inconsistency will appear from our treating of them in this Chapter. The Court of *Russia* having granted a Body of Auxiliaries to the Maritime Powers, they traversed *Poland* about this Time in their Passage to *Moravia*; and though they met with no Interruption, yet it did not remain a Secret to the World, that some

Intrigues tending that Way had been set on Foot amongst the *Polish* Grandees, by the Count *Da la Salle*, a *French* Officer, who had been in the *Russian* Service, and was now charged with a Commission, or at least had a publick Character given him from his most Christian Majesty to the City of *Dantzick*; but being a little slow in producing his Letters Credentials, though he had been brisk enough in his former Negotiations at *Warsaw*, he was at the Request of the *Czarina*, arrested by the Magistrates of *Dantzick*, and confined in their Citadel. This occasioned a great Noise, more especially upon his being retaken after making his Escape, which did not hinder his attempting it a second Time with better Success, and then taking his Rout through *Prussia* he arrived safely in *France*, where for Form Sake, he was arrested. This produced some Altercations between the Courts of *Petersburgh* and *Warsaw*, that at first threatened extraordinary Consequences, but by Degrees have been buried in Oblivion.

His *Polish* Majesty in the next Spring caused the necessary Preparations to be made for holding of a Diet, of the Success of which there were great Hopes, more especially after the King's coming to *Warsaw*, where he resided upon this Occasion longer than at any Time during his Reign. This however, like the former Diet, proved ineffectual; but the Nobility having shewn an Inclination to see Prince *Xavier*, his *Polish* Majesty's second Son, settled in that Capital, it is believed their Sollicitations will not be slighted, nor is it at all improbable that the utmost Endeavours will be used to recommend this young Prince to the Affections of the *Poles*.

In the mean Time the Affair of *Courland* was again brought upon the Carpet, and the States of that Country encouraged to proceed to a new Election, though there were then no less than three Princes who flattered themselves with having each a Title to this Duchy; viz. the Marshal Count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, formerly elected by the States; the Duke of *Biron*, once in Possession, and now deposed; and Prince *Lewis* of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttle*, who was elected when the former Duke was deprived. It is not easy to discover what Turn this Affair, which is still depending, though the Number of Candidates is lessened by the Death of Marshal *Saxe*, will take, or what Measures the Court of *Poland* will think proper to pursue in so nice and critical a Business. But there is very little Reason to doubt the Decision of this Affair will instruct us what to think of the Views of his *Polish* Majesty and his Ministers, and whether there is any Reason to credit that Report which for some time prevailed, of *Poland's* entering into an Alliance with the Courts
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of *Vienna* and *Petersburgh*, and the Maritime Powers, for maintaining the Tranquility of those Parts; or to another Rumour of a very different and even opposite Nature, which however is not altogether destitute of Probability.

There are few Political Constitutions so little known to the rest of *Europe*, as that of *Poland*; and yet it deserves to be very well understood, because, taken altogether, it is such a Constitution as bears no Resemblance to any other, ancient or modern. Those who live under it have a King, and yet the Government is stiled, and that with Propriety enough, a Republick. In many Cases, the King seems to be no more limited than another Prince; and yet Experience shews that he can do little or nothing. The Nobility of *Poland* are the most Powerful and Independent of any perhaps in the whole World; and yet they hate an Aristocracy, because that would make them subject to some of their own Body, whereas they account themselves equal. They are passionately fond of Liberty, and yet they seldom enjoy it; for either they are Pensioners to Foreign Crowns, the Creatures of their own Prince, or are engaged in some Faction or other, so that they are often governed by Interest, as often by Prejudice, and seldom or never by Principle or Reason.

They are indisputably as brave as any People in the World, and *Poland* alone has brought one hundred thousand Horse into the Field; yet no Army has been so often beat, no Country so frequently over-run. They are generally speaking far from being rich, and yet they are the only Nation in the World afraid of Commerce, and that provide by Law against the raising a naval Power. They have been for some Ages declining, and yet they have seldom or never taken any Step to prevent it. Their Political Constitution has been the continual Source of their Misfortunes, and yet they are fond of it to a Degree of Enthusiasm, and which is still more extraordinary, are most zealous for those Points of it, by which they have suffered most. This is a fair and just Representation of the State of *Poland*; and whoever considers it will be certainly of Opinion, that the Causes from which such strange and remarkable Events flow, deserve to be enquired into, and made known; for though in general, there are few People ignorant of the Facts before stated, yet the Fountains from whence they spring have not been so clearly discovered as they deserve.

The only Distinctions in *Poland*, are Peasants, Citizens, and Nobility. As to the first, they are the most miserable People on the Earth, for they belong absolutely to their Lords; they

they have no Possessions, nor can they have any; they work three or four Days in a Week for their Masters, without Meat or Wages, and employ the rest of their Time to gain a poor Subsistence for themselves. What they hold is at the Will of their Lords; and if one of these gives a Piece of Land to a Peasant, he orders his other Peasants to build a House for him, and to furnish him with a Cow, Hens, Geese, and as much Rye as will keep him a Year. As they labour for their Lord in Time of Peace, so if he is disposed to quarrel, they must fight for him likewise, and they do both willingly and cheerfully. They are considered by their Masters, and consider themselves as their absolute Property; and therefore if ill treated they bear it, and if well used they are thankful.

Learning is the only Road to Liberty, and if a Peasant be ordained a Priest he is free; but then no Man can send his Son to School, or the University, without his Lord's Leave: This low Condition abases their Minds, and puts it pretty much out of their Power to revolt. The People in Towns are in a Condition very little better; they may indeed purchase, which a Peasant cannot, but then this extends only to a few Houses, and to a certain small Quantity of Ground within a League of the Place in which they live. The Citizens of *Dantzick*, and of some other Places in *Prussia*, as well as those of *Cracow*, *Leopold*, and *Vilna*, are exempted from these Restrictions, and live in some measure like other People.

With respect to the Nobility of *Poland*, every Gentleman or Nobleman has his Coat of Arms granted by the Republick; but then he, or some of his Family, must have an Estate there in Land. They are capable of the greatest Offices in the Kingdom, and may buy Lands where they please; and have each of them a Right to be elected King, if their Credit and Interest can procure it. Every Gentleman is a Sovereign Prince in his own Lands, and has Power of Life and Death over his own Tenants, who have no Laws or Privileges to protect them. They dare not leave his Lands to reside in others on Pain of Death, unless he sells them, and if he do, his Tenants pass with his Lands; but if their Lords ravish their Wives or Daughters, the Tenants may leave his Service.

If one Lord kills another's Peasant, he is not punished for it, but obliged only to give him another in his Room, or as much Money as will buy one, and to maintain the Family of him that is killed. If he kills one of his own Slaves, he only pays a small Fine; nay, if one Gentleman kills another, he cannot be apprehended or imprisoned, unless convicted
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by a Court of Justice, which gives him Time enough to escape; and when condemned, he cannot be executed without the King's Consent. No Soldiers can be quartered upon the Gentry; if any Officer does it, the Diet either sentences him to die, or declares him infamous. The Houses of the Nobility are Sanctuaries, so that no Delinquent can be taken thence by Force, though he should be arrested, and fly thither afterwards.

All the Gentry of *Poland* are equal by Birth, and therefore they do not value Titles of Honour, but think that of a Noble *Pole*, or Gentleman of *Poland*, the greatest they can have. Neither the King or Republick bestow the Title of Prince, which belongs only to the Sons of the Royal Family: For though some *Polish* Nobles are made Princes of the Empire, and as such enjoy the Title of Prince, they have no Precedency upon that Account; nor have they any Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, Viscounts or Barons, but what have Foreign Titles, which the rest generally despise; for they do not value any borrowed Character, or lofty Denomination, but say it is intrinsic Worth and Services done to their Country that deserve Preferment.

King *Sigismund III.* established an Order of Knighthood of the *Immaculate Conception*, created several Knights, and allowed them Privileges and Superiority above others; but they were so much undervalued and despised by the rest of the Gentlemen of their Country, that the Order soon came to nothing. These great Privileges make the *Polish* Gentry powerful. Many of them have also large Territories, with a despotick Power over their Subjects; some of them have Estates of five, some of fifteen, some of twenty, and some of thirty Leagues in Extent. But the poorest Gentry have their Votes in the Diet as well as the richest; some of them are Hereditary Sovereigns of Cities, with which the King has nothing to do. Prince *Lubomirski* possesses above four Thousand Towns and Villages; several of them can raise five, six, eight, and ten thousand Men, and maintain them at their own Charge.

After all this, which is collected from Books, it is requisite to inform the Reader, that notwithstanding what all Writers tell us of the Grandeur of the *Polish* Nobility, it is to be understood with great Restrictions, for they are most of them very little better in fact than our Highland Chiefs; and though it be true that they can raise and maintain considerable Bodies of Troops, yet it is generally speaking to be understood in their own Country, where instead of serving to any good Purpose, they

only prove a Means of disturbing the State, and hindering the Execution of Justice. There are indeed twelve or fifteen great Families, that may be considered rather as Princes than Nobility, which have great Revenues, large Territories, and exorbitant Power; as for Instance, Prince *Lubomirski*, who has at least sixty thousand Pounds *Sterling* a Year, and who has sometimes had seven thousand Horse, Foot, and Dragoons in his own Pay.

The *Radziwil* Family were formerly very powerful; so were also the Princes of *Sapieha*; and the Families of *Czartoriski*, *Jablonowski*, *Pryzemski*, *Lipski*, and *Poniatowski* are so now. The King of *Poland* might formerly enoble any Man, but at present he only proposes such, and they are enobled by the Diet; but whoever is raised to the Magistracy in *Cracow* or *Vilna*, is thereby enobled for himself and his Posterity. Nobility may be also forfeited various Way, as by committing an infamous Crime, by exercising any Retail Trade; but as for the Products, of their own Estates, the *Polish* Nobility may sell and export them Custom-free. Their Honours are likewise forfeited by bearing any Office in Cities or Towns that are not privileged.

The Government of this Country is entirely in the Hands of the Clergy and Nobility. The Archbishop of *Gnesna* is Primate of the Kingdom, and the Pope's Legate *born*, that is, in Virtue of his Office; he has a Gold Cross carried before him when he goes to the Diet, or to the King; and when he sits, his Chaplain holds it behind his Chair. He is the first Subject in the Kingdom at all Times, but during the Interregnum he may coin Money in his own Name; all the Officers of the King's Household attend him, and he enjoys the Revenue of the Crown for that Time. There are besides sixteen Ecclesiastical Senators, and the Number of Lay Senators is one hundred and twenty-eight.

In order to understand this perfectly, it is necessary to observe, that the whole Kingdom is divided into *Palatinates*, each of which is governed by a *Palatine*, who is in the Nature of a Lord Lieutenant, appointed by the King for Life; and the Office of Senator is annexed to his Dignity. It belongs likewise to the Governors of most of the strong Places in the Kingdom, who are called Castellans. The Governors of Cities are stiled Starosts, but very few of them are Senators. An Example will make this Matter clearer than all that can be said about it. *Great Poland* is divided into two Provinces: *Poland Proper* and *Cujavia*; of these, the former contains five Palatinates, and the latter two. The first Palatinate in

Poland

Poland is that of *Pofnania*, which contains two Cities, *Pofnan* and *Gnefna*, and twelve large Towns; the Senators from this Palatinate are the Archbishop of *Gnefna*, the Bishop of *Pofnan*, the Palatine, and the Castellán of that City, and fix other Castelláns. The City of *Gnefna* has a Castellán, but he is not a Senator; and the City of *Pofnan* has a Starosta or Mayor, who is chosen annually, and while he is in Office bears the Title of General of *Great Poland*, but he is no Senator for all that.

All the Senators take an Oath to preserve inviolable the Rights and Liberties of the Republick, and the King can do nothing of Consequence without their Consent. Four of these Senators always attend their Prince wherever he is, and have a Right to examine into every thing, and to give him what Advice they think right. Once in three Years the King is obliged to call a Diet, or an Assembly of the States; but he may, by the Advice of the Senate, call a Diet at any other Time, but then it is stiled an extraordinary Diet. It is a fundamental Point of their Constitution, that their ordinary Diet shall meet twice at *Warsaw*, and once at *Grodno* in *Lithuania*.

When the King resolves to assemble the States, he sends his Circular Letters of Summon, which are stiled *Universalis*, to each Palatinate, six Weeks before the Day of Meeting, in which he expresses the Time, Place, and Matters to be consulted upon. Then the Lesser Diets are convened in each Palatinate, in which the Nobility meet to chuse their Deputies, or *Nuncios* as they are called; of whom *Poland* sends one hundred and seventy-eight, and *Prussia* seventy. These Members are not elected by Plurality of Voices, but unanimously; and if this cannot be brought about, they break up in Confusion. The Grand Diet consists of the upper and lower House; the Former is composed of the *Senators*, the Latter of the *Nuncios*. The first Step to be taken is for the lower House to elect a Marshal of Speaker, about which they frequently disagree, and so break up in Confusion, and there ends that Diet.

But if this Point be once well got over, they then enter upon Business, and Bills are brought in; but as every Nuncio has a Negative Vote, it is easy to conceive that there can be nothing more difficult than to conduct an Affair of any Consequence through such an Assembly; yet when this can be done, five Days before the Close of the Diet the *Nuncios* go into the Upper House, and there with the Senators revise and settle all that has passed in the Session. The utmost
Time

Time the Diet can sit is six Weeks, and if Business cannot be done in that Time, it is left undone, let the Consequence be what it will; as in 1649, when the *Turks* and *Cossacks* had almost over-run the whole Kingdom. Before they rise, the Marshal or Speaker goes in their Name to take Leave of the King, which he does by a civil or saucy Speech, just as he is in the Humour. The Reason why the Session is confined to so short a Time, is this: The Nobility bring with them such a Number of Guards and Domestic, that they are by that Time eat up, and cannot really afford to stay any longer.

The King, during the Time the Diet sits, doubles his Guards, that he may be secure against any Insults; for without doubt, there is no Assembly in the World where Disorders rise to such a Height as in a *Polish* Diet; for there the Deputies not only take the Liberty to speak freely of the King's Government, but will even abuse him to his Face.

When the Throne becomes vacant by Death, Deposition, or voluntary Abdication, the Archbishop of *Gnesna* acts as Inter-Rex, issues Circular Letters to acquaint the Provinces with it, and to summon a general Convocation of the Gentry to meet at *Warsaw*. Before this Meeting the little Diets or Dietines take Care to secure the Roads from Thieves, and to guard the Frontiers against Invasions, and Spies are sent into all Neighbouring Countries to discover their Designs. They suffer none to go out or come into their Kingdom till the Election is over; all Foreign Letters, though to Senators, are intercepted; the Highways are block'd up with Trees, and Ambuscades are placed about them. None must write to the Army during this Time; the Use of Fire-Arms is forbid to the People, and all Taverns are shut up. The Diet consists of the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, who represents the King, and the other Senators, with the Deputies of the Province.

In the first Place they send some of the Senators to the Army, to direct the Affairs of War; others have the Charge of the Treasure; and till a King is elected, the Senate claims the Title of Serene from Foreign Governments. The Diet for ordering Affairs relating to the Election sits only a Fortnight, during which Time all Courts of Judicature cease, except that of the Marshal. Most crown'd Heads, Princes, and States, send Ambassadors at such Times to the Senate, and the Pope sends his Nuncio. A Gentleman is appointed to attend every such Foreign Minister, to prevent their corrupting the Electors with Money. But this Precaution is of little Use now. When the Diet ends, the Deputies retire to their respective Provinces,

vinces, acquainting their Constituents with the Proceedings and the Day appointed for the Election; and then the Gentry advise among themselves what is fit to be proposed in the Diet.

This Diet of Election, before the Union of *Poland* with the Great Duchy of *Lithuania*, was held at *Petrico*, but since that Time it is held in a Field half a League from *Warsaw*, near the Village *Wola*, and must not continue above six Weeks. There is a great Hall of Boards erected here for the Senate. They first go to Church to pray to God to direct them in their Choice; then the Nobility chuse their Speaker, who takes an Oath that he will receive no Bribes, keep no Correspondence with any of the Competitors, and do nothing without the Consent of the Republick. The Deputies sit in the open Field. After they have appointed a Court of Justice during the Inter-regnum, all the Senators and Deputies take an Oath on their Knees, administered by the Primate, to maintain Union among themselves, and to acknowledge none for King but him that is lawfully and unanimously elected; and swear to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Republick. They annual all Decrees of Tribunals, and all the Statutes of Kings, that intrench on their Liberties; and the Generals are sworn to remove their Forces from the Place of their Diet; then the Diet gives Audience to Ambassadors from the Competitors or others, who are very liberal to the Deputies, by giving Presents, and keeping an open Table, &c.

After the Ambassadors have had Audience, they proceed to the Election. If the Votes be unanimous, the Primate demands three times, if the Exorbitances and Grievances be redressed; and if answered in the Affirmative, he declares the King elect, which is also done by the Marshal of the Crown and the Marshal of the great Duchy, and then *Te Deum* is sung. At the Time of the Election, the Diet form an Act for the Security of their Liberties, which is stiled the *Pacta Conventa*, and is in the Nature of a Contract between the King and the Republick, which is signed by the Ambassadors from the Prince elected, who take an Oath to observe them in his Name. He afterwards swears to them in Person, before he is recognized, and again at his Coronation. As this *Pacta Conventa* is the Rule of the King of *Poland's* Government, and contains the Maxims which he is obliged to follow, the Reader will not be displeased to see the common Form of it, especially as we have reduced it into a narrow Compass, though without any Detriment to the Sense.

The standing Points of the *Pacta Conventa*, or the Royal Capitulation, are: " That the King shall not appoint any Successor, but preserve all the Laws for the Freedom of Election; that he shall pretend to no Right of coining Money, but leave that in the Hands of the Republick; that he will ratify and confirm all the Treaties made with Foreign Princes; that he will maintain the Tranquility of the Publick; that he will not declare War against any Prince, bring Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, or suffer any to go out, nor levy any new Troops, without the Consent of the Diet; that all Field-Officers shall be either *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, or Natives of those Provinces depending on the Crown of *Poland*; that all Officers of the Guards shall be either *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, or Natives of those Provinces depending on the Crown of *Poland*, and their Colonel a *Polish* Nobleman; and all swear to be subject to the Grand Marshal; that he shall not use his Privy Seal in Affairs that concern the Republick; that he shall give no Man more Places than the Law allows; after a Place has been vacant six Weeks, he shall bestow it on some well qualified *Polish* Gentleman; that he shall not marry without Consent of the Senate, who shall assign his Queen what Revenue they please; that by the Consent of his Council he shall regulate the Number of his Troops, and preserve good Discipline; that he shall build no Fleet without the Advice of the Senate; that he shall not diminish his Treasure in the Castle of *Cracow*, but rather encrease it; that he shall borrow no Money without the Consent of the Diet; that he shall always administer Justice by the Advice of his Senators; that he shall be content with the Revenue of his Predecessors; that no Strangers be introduced into his Councils, and that he shall bestow no Offices or Dignities upon them; that he shall not diminish any of the Offices at his Disposall; that he shall maintain and defend all Rights, Liberties, and Privileges granted by former Kings to the *Poles* or *Lithuanians*, or to any of the Provinces that depend on these two Nations." To these Articles they add others occasionally, according to the Circumstances of Time, or the Quality of the Person elected.

We have seen how much the Power of this Monarch is limited, and how impracticable it is for him, if he was ever so much inclined to it, to make any successful Attempt upon their Liberties. We will now mention the Advantages he receives from his high Dignity. In the first Place it must be allowed that his Dominions are still very large and extensive, though

though several Provinces have been cut off from them by powerful Neighbours, and that his Subjects are a very brave and generous People. His Revenue is very considerable, arising from Customs, the Tribute paid by the *Jews* and *Tartars*, the Revenue drawn from the Salt Mines, and from the Crown Lands; which with various other Branches, make up all together better than one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*. He bestows all Employments, Offices, and Preferments that are in any Country in the Power of the Crown, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military; but he can resume none; so that though he may do much by Hope, yet he has none of that Influence which arises from Fear; for those who are preferred by him, very often desert him: And what may be thought very strange in some Countries, is very frequent in *Poland*; the shortest Road to Preferment, is that of Opposition, which is attended with many Inconveniencies, and is the principal Cause that the Crown and the Nation both are sunk so low as at present; when, if it were not for the Noise of their domestick Distractions, the rest of *Europe* would scarce know any thing of them, or what they are doing.

The King swears to protect four Religions, *viz.* the *Romish*, the *Protestant*, the *Greek*, and that of the *Jews*, for which the latter pay about twelve thousand Pounds a Year. In the great Duchy of *Lithuania* there are many Thousands of *Tartars*, who are allowed the Exercise of the *Mahometan* Religion; and on the Frontiers there are still some *Pagans*. As to the Military Affairs of the Country, there are two standing Armies kept in constant Pay, each under the Command of two Generals, distinguished under the Titles of Great and Little. The first, which is the Crown Army of *Poland*, consists of 36,000 Men, and that of *Lithuania* of 12,000; but they are very indifferently subsisted, and worse disciplined; so that they seldom make any great Figure, which is chiefly owing to the Badness of their Infantry; to qualify which they have some Foreign Troops in their Pay, and heretofore they had their *Cossacks*, who, though they might not be as good Troops as any in *Europe*, though they are so stiled by many Authors, were much better certainly than any that could be brought against them; but most of these have now put themselves under the Protection of *Russia*, which is a great and indeed an irreparable Loss to the *Poles*.

The Reader, after perusing this Account, will very probably wonder how under such a Constitution the Wheel of Government can be at all kept in Motion, or how it is possible that Men of Sense and publick Spirit can be so strangely
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fond of a Constitution, productive of so many disastrous Consequences; we will therefore endeavour to give some Account of both.

As to the first, when the King finds he can do nothing in the Diet for the publick Service, he has recourse to what is called a *Senatus Consilium*, which is exactly the same thing with what we had formerly here in *England*, under the Title of the *Great Council of the Peers*; yet the Acts of this Assembly are but of doubtful Authority in *Poland*; however they are better than none, and have often done great Service to the State. On the other hand, if the Nobility think themselves at any time oppressed or aggrieved, they form what are called *Confederacies*, which are so far legal, that I don't find in their History such as have taken Steps of this Nature, have been often treated as Rebels.

As to the latter Point, the *Polish* Nobility are fond of their Constitution, first, because it preserves their Power, which though they are not a tenth Part of the Inhabitants of *Poland*, they are pleased to call Liberty, that their particular and exorbitant Privileges may pass for publick Blessings. In the next Place, they like this Form of Government, because every Gentleman of *Poland* knows that there is a Possibility of his Posterity's wearing the Crown; and lastly, they are attached to this Form of Rule, because every Election brings half a Million Sterling into their Country, and a great Part of that Sum into their Pockets. But then, instead of avowing these Principles, they are pleased to alledge, that their Constitution obliges Kings to govern by Law, secures the Nobility in the Enjoyment of their Rights, defends them from the Inconveniencies that attend a Minority, and keeps them from being Slaves, like the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and some of their Neighbours.

The Interest of *Poland* with respect to Foreign Powers, lies in a very narrow Compass, since as Things stand at present, they seem to be in no great Danger of being involved in a War with any of their Neighbours. The Power of the *Russians* might justly alarm them, if his *Polish* Majesty was not so closely connected with the *Czarina*. The *Turks* were very formidable to them heretofore, and so were the *Tartars*, but their Alliances with the *German* and *Russian* Empires secure them from all Apprehensions now. They were anciently very jealous of the House of *Austria*, as apprehending she was desirous of obtaining their Kingdom in the Manner she had done those of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; and this it was that made them incline to the *French*, who have spent large Sums of

of Money to keep up a Faction in that Country, and perhaps their Pistoles find a Way thither still.

The King of *Prussia* is a Prince with whom the *Poles* ought to live upon good Terms ; as we shall shew hereafter, there are many Reasons to induce that Monarch to live upon good Terms with them. With the *Swedes* they have now very little to do, the *Russians* having taken from them the Provinces they conquered from the *Poles* ; so that unless the Face of Affairs should change in the North, *Poland* is like to continue quiet enough, at least till her Throne becomes once more vacant.

We might conclude from hence, the Tranquillity of *Poland* ought to be greater than ever, as it is undoubtedly more secure from the Views of ambitious Neighbours. We might likewise conceive that in a Time of so much Serenity and Safety, the true Patriots in this Country would examine into the Defects, and apply proper Remedies for restoring the Vigour of their Government ; and we might be farther tempted to hope they would carefully use their utmost Precautions to prevent the Revival of publick Disturbances amongst them, before they are inevitably brought on them by every new Vacancy of the Throne.

In Justice however to Truth, it must be confessed that their present Situation is as remote from this as can be well imagined ; their Divisions are far from being healed, the Condition of publick Affairs is as bad or worse than ever ; all this is represented to the States, and to the whole World at the meeting of every Diet, where proper Remedies are suggested, methodized, and reasoned upon with great Force and Spirit, yet in the End there is nothing concluded, but all things are suffered to run from bad to worse ; so that in reality, no Nation was ever in a more hapless, helpless, or hopeless Condition.

In this Situation of Things, the present King seems to have acted with all the Temper and Moderation possible, so that the *Poles* are obliged to take the Weight of their Misfortunes upon themselves, and cannot so much as find a Colour of imputing it to their Prince, or his Ministers. It is however thought that his Majesty has some Views, as we have before hinted, for engaging the Nobility to elect his second Son Prince *Xavier*, a Scheme in itself very rational, and which seems to promise as great Advantages to the Nation as to the Royal Family ; for that Prince would be then entirely settled in *Poland*, and could have no other Views than for the Welfare and Glory of that Kingdom. It is however very possible that this Design may be traversed by that foreign Influence, which for many Years past

has divided, distracted, and destroyed the Force, the Credit and Happiness of the *Polish* Nation.

In order to enter into the Reason of this, we must call to mind the Principles laid down at the Beginning of this Section, and remember that if the real Interest of *Poland* was to be pursued, it is still capable of becoming one of the greatest and most considerable Powers in the North; which however if some of its potent Neighbours can prevent, it never will be. The Hints thrown out by the *French* Emissaries as to the Insults that have been offered to this Nation, and the contemptuous Manner in which they have been treated, from the miserable Circumstances into which they have brought themselves, tho' proceeding, as the Intrigues of these Sort of People ever proceed, from very bad Motives, are not however altogether void of Truth. To speak freely and honestly upon this Subject, the Language of false Patriots is not always to be disregarded, for the very worst of Men by being obliged to dissemble their bad Intentions, very frequently say Things that might become the best; and it is Prudence to distinguish between wholesome Suggestions, which are a kind of gilded Wrappers, and the Poisons they are meant to convey.

In short, if there be any latent Remains of Virtue, Principle, or publick Spirit among the *Poles*, and if there be still amongst them any great Men of able Heads and warm Hearts, they may possibly take Advantage from this dismal Posture of Affairs, to excite a general Concern in the Nation to provide at least for the Safety and Security of themselves, if not for the Recovery of that Power and Glory which once distinguished their Ancestors. They may be prompted to suspend at least in one extraordinary Diet, the Tribunitian Power of the *Liberum Veto*, and thereby put it out of the Capacity of any single perfidious, ambitious, or splenetick Nuncio to disturb and counter-act the rational and laudable Designs of Men, who have the Good of their Country at Heart. They may by this Means recover the Existence of a real active and well-intentioned Government, which would restore their Independence, and remove the Misfortune and Reproach of being influenced in their most important Concerns by the Intrigues of their Neighbours, whose Interest it is, or at least who take it to be their Interest, to keep them in a State of Feebleness and Inactivity.

But all this is in the Womb of Time, we must patiently wait to see what she will bring forth; possibly the convulsive Motions that are at present felt in the North may be attended with good Effects, and after a few sharp Pangs *Poland* may be

be delivered of a new and stable Government. It is also possible that her Strength may be already so weakened and exhausted as not to endure this, and that the People may rather incline to fall back into the same drowsy State, in which they have continued useless to themselves, and contemptible to the rest of the World. We must acknowledge that there is much of Obscurity, and little of Certainty in these Observations; but this arises from the Subject, and it is better to shew the Reader how little can be said upon it with Confidence, than to mislead him, by a bold Pretence to Lights we neither have nor can have. For who can penetrate the Secrets of a State that has no Secrets? Who can distinguish the Views of a Nation that are really without Views? Or who can pretend to say what will be the future State of a People, who as to that seem to be absolutely careless themselves? The present Policy of *Poland*, like the World of *Epicurus*, is directed by Accident and Chance; so that Time only can shew us what these will produce.

C H A P. VII.

A succinct Account of the Modern History, Political Interests, and real Views of the Crown of PRUSSIA.

THIS, though one of the latest, is very far from being the least considerable Kingdom in *Europe*, seems to be every Day rising in Power, in Extent, and in Reputation, and will probably mount as high in the next Age as *Sweden* did in the last; which are the Reasons that we judged it necessary to treat of it, and of its Concerns, independent of those of the Empire; in as much as we have already seen the King of *Prussia* considered of late as one of the greatest Powers of the North: And there is the highest Probability, that they will hereafter become more conspicuous in that Character, and take a much larger Share in the general System of Affairs in *Europe*, than they have hitherto done.

We shall not pretend to ascend higher in the History of the House of *Brandenburgh*, than the Beginning of the last Century; but shall content ourselves with observing, that no House in *Germany* has produced more great Princes, or Princes of greater Merit than this. Some have been distinguished by their Valour

and Military Skill, that frequently placed them at the Head of the Empire, which besides contributing to their own Glory, added likewise to the Extent of their Dominions, and to the Happiness of their Subjects. Some again have been no less distinguished for their consummate Knowledge in Politicks, for their making the best Use of their Abilities in that respect, towards promoting the Peace and Welfare of *Germany*, as well as increasing and adding to their own Dominions, by the dexterous Management of their Affairs in the most critical Conjunctions. Others have been celebrated for their great Learning, extensive Science, and admirable Eloquence; all which remarkable Qualities they applied for the Benefit of their Subjects, and for the Improvement of their Territories.

As Proofs of this, we need only observe that *Albert of Brandenburg*, who flourished in the fifteenth Century, was stiled by the Pope the *Achilles of Germany*, but the *Germans* themselves called him their *Ulysses*. His Successor *John* had the Title of the *German Cicero*; and *George the First*, Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the Middle of the sixteenth Century, was so renowned for his Probity, that the Dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Anhalt*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, appointed him by their Wills, Tutor to their Children, which Trust he executed with the highest Justice; so that it may without Flattery be said, that the present Greatness of his illustrious House is not the Work of Chance, or the Effect of any remarkable Flow of good Fortune; but of the Valour, Wisdom, Justice, Prudence, and Piety of a long Succession of able Princes.

John Sigismund, Elector of *Brandenburg*, embraced the reformed Religion, and introduced it into his Territories. After the Extinction of the ancient Family of the Dukes of *Cleve*, he, in Conjunction with the Elector Palatine, made himself Master of that Succession, notwithstanding the Expectative that had been granted the Duke of *Saxony*, and by this Means added a very considerable Country to his Dominions. His Right to which was thus founded: He had married the Princess *Anne*, eldest Daughter to *Albert Frederick of Prussia*, and *Mary Eleanor*, eldest Sister of the last Duke of *Cleve*. Upon the Death of his Father-in-law, he took Possession also of the Duchy of *Prussia*, of which he obtained the Investiture from the King of *Poland*, notwithstanding the warm Opposition made thereto by the Grandees of *Poland*; and died in full Possession of these Dominions, in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and the forty-seventh of his Age, *A. D.* 1619.

He was succeeded by his Son *George William*, who entered into the Possession of the Electorate in a very difficult

Conjuncture,

Conjuncture, when the Troubles of *Bobemia* had spread the Flames of War through the Empire, and threatened the Safety of his Dominions, which however he protected by his great Wisdom and Moderation. He was a very zealous Protestant, and laboured earnestly to have united the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*; in order to which, he caused a general Assembly to be held at *Leipsick*, which, through the Peevishness and private Views of Churchmen, came to nothing. Upon the March of *Gustavus Adolphus* into *Germany*, his Dominions suffered greatly, and he was obliged to put the Fortrefs of *Spandau* into the Hands of that Monarch, as we have elsewhere shewn, in order to obtain his Assistance for the Relief of *Magdebourg*, then besieged by the *Imperialists*, who notwithstanding made themselves Masters of it, and with unexampled Severity cruelly destroyed that City.

Count *Tilly* who commanded them, falling afterwards into *Saxony*, our Elector joined his Troops to the *Saxons*, and had his Share in the famous Victory of *Leipsick*. But after the Death of *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, when the Elector of *Saxony* thought fit to make Peace with the Emperor, by the Treaty of *Prague*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* took care to be included therein, which freed him from a very expensive and burthensome War, and left him Leisure to look after his own Affairs, and to provide for the Peace and Welfare of his Subjects, which he had always much more at Heart than making Conquests. In 1637, the Family of the Dukes of *Pomerania* extinguishing in *Bogislaus XIV.* that Country ought to have descended to the Elector, by virtue of a Treaty made for that Purpose with the House that was extinct; but however, the *Swedes* seized and kept it by Force, to which the Elector was obliged to submit; and the Sense of this and the Misfortunes of *Germany*, contributed to shorten his Days; so that deceasing in 1640, he left his Dominions to his Son,

Frederick William, Elector of *Brandenburg*, the second of that Name, who was one of the greatest and most distinguished Princes of his Time, both for Wisdom and Courage; which were always properly employed for his own Security, and the Benefit of his People. He too entered upon the Government when the Affairs of *Germany* and his own were in a very difficult and embarrassed Situation, and therefore he provided for the Ease of his Subjects, by a Treaty of Neutrality with the *Swedes*, who by the Peace of *Munster* were obliged immediately to evacuate *Pomerania*, and the Marquisate of *Brandenburg*, but the *Swedish* Deputies delayed it till 1653;

nor could it then be procured, but by the Electors's quitting that which is now called the *Swedish Pomerania*, and several Bailiwicks, with the Isle of *Rugen*, to the *Swedes*, for which he had, but much short of an Equivalent, the Archbishoprick of *Magdebourg*, the Bishopricks of *Halberstat* and *Camin*, and the Principality of *Minden*, with their Dependencies.

He offered two Millions of Crowns, and all those Dominions, for that Part of *Pomerania* he was obliged to yield, but in vain. He strenuously maintained the Prerogatives of the Electors, as to the Ceremonial of the Diet of *Franckfort*, and was very zealous in supporting the Interest of Religion, and particularly of the *Cakiniſts*. In 1656, he was obliged for the Preservation of *Prussia* to join with the *Swedes* against the *Poles*; but the King of *Denmark* having declared War against *Charles Guſtavus* of *Sweden*, he was compelled to leave *Poland* to defend his own Country; so that the Burthen of that War falling upon the Elector, he compromised Things by a Treaty with the *Poles*, by which they released him from the Homage due to their Crown from *Prussia*, and quitted to him the Fiefs of *Lawenberg*, *Botow*, and the Town of *Elbing*, on Condition that he should restore the latter on their paying him four hundred thousand Crowns.

After the Death of *Ferdinand III.* in 1657, the *French* were for advancing the Elector of *Bavaria* to the Imperial Throne; but the Elector of *Brandenburgh* adhering to the House of *Austria*, the Emperor *Leopold* of *Austria* was chosen, though the Elector of *Bavaria* had beforehand gained three Votes. He afterwards took part with the *Poles*, but not being seconded by the *Dutch*, as he expected, a Treaty was concluded at *Oliva*, in 1660. After this he applied himself to Affairs of Peace, to reconcile himself to the Princes at Variance with him; and making an Alliance with *France* and *England* for his own Security. The *French* King having seized the Principality of *Orange*, the Elector being Tutor to the young Prince, sent an Ambassy to demand its Restitution.

In 1666, he made a definitive Treaty with the Prince of *Neuburg*, about the Succession of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; and afterwards got the latter perpetually secured to his own Family. He assisted the Emperor against the *Turks*, made Peace by his Mediation between the Dukes of *Lunenbourg*, who had fallen out amongst themselves, and likewise between the *English*, the *Dutch*, and the Bishop of *Munſter*. In 1672, the *French* having declared War against the *Dutch*, he sent Assistance to the latter, and his Troops joined those of the Emperor under General *Montecuculi*, who disapproving of the

the Elector's Measures, they did little more during this Campaign than make a bare Diversion.

The Elector finding that he was in great Danger of losing Part of his own Dominions, by a War in which he had engaged purely for the Sake of his Neighbours; resolved in 1673, to make a Treaty with *France* upon the best Terms he could, which he accordingly did at *Voslen*, upon Condition that the *French* should restore to him all that had been taken from him in the several Countries of *Cleves*, *Marck*, and *Ravensberg*, excepting only the Towns of *Wesel* and *Rees*, in which the King should be permitted to keep a Garrison till the Conclusion of a Peace, when they were to be restored to the Elector; and his Majesty farther agreed to pay him eight hundred thousand Livres for the Expences of the War. As advantageous as this Treaty was to the Elector, and notwithstanding the *French* yielded up to him the Places before mentioned, sooner than they need have done, yet observing their pernicious Designs, and that they were resolved to oppress the *Dutch*, he the very next Year renewed his Alliance with the *States* against *France*, and marched into *Alsace* with twenty thousand Men; but the Imperial General *Bournonville* thwarting his Measures, little was done that Campaign.

In the mean time the *Suedes*, at the Sollicitation of *France*, invaded *Pomerania*, and the Marquisate. Upon which the Elector returned from *Alsace*, and turned his Arms against the *Suedes*, over whom he gained a compleat Victory at *Feght-Berlin*, and took from them the Isle of *Wolen*, *Wolgast*, and *Anclam*, one of the strongest Forts of *Pomerania*. He also took *Stetin* after a famous Siege, which lasted many Months. In 1678, he made himself Master of the Isle of *Rugen*, took *Stralsund*, and *Gripswald*, and drove the *Suedes* entirely out of all *Pomerania*. They, to divert him, invaded *Prussia*; but the Elector, in the middle of the Winter, passed the Lake of *Courland*, which falls into the *Baltick*, with his Army and Artillery upon the Ice, where it was three Miles broad, surprized and defeated them; so that of sixteen thousand scarce five thousand escaped. After the War of 1672, he was left out of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and Peace being concluded among the other Princes, and the *French* joining with the *Suedes*, he was obliged by the Treaty of *St. Germain's*, to quit all his Conquests to them; for which the *French* King by a secret Article paid him three hundred thousand Crowns towards the Charges of the War, which, though all he could obtain, was a very poor Satisfaction.

In 1680, this great Prince took such a Step as was entirely worthy of his Character. The Court of *Spain* was largely in his Debt for the Succours furnished in the last War, by which, in all Probability, she saved her *Low Countries*; but no Persuasions, no Applications, no Letters from the Elector, no Memorials from his Ministers had any Weight, either because the Court of *Spain* was very negligent in her Administration, or that her Treasures were absolutely exhausted. At last, when his Catholick Majesty's Ministers could find nothing to say that looked like an Answer, they had recourse to an Artifice, not to be excused or justified; they promised the Elector's Ministers Payment, and gave them Bills upon Merchants in the *Low Countries*, which in Consequence of their Collusion were protested. This left no Room to hope for any future Redress; the Elector therefore saw himself reduced to the Necessity either to sit down with the Loss, or to take some hitherto untried Method for Redress; he chose the latter; and having Information of a very rich Ship that was expected in one of the *Spanish* Ports of *Flanders*, he fitted out eight Privateers to seize her, and the Design was conducted with such Diligence and Secrecy, that the first News the *Spanish* Court had of his Project, brought that of its Execution.

At first the *Spanish* Ministry took up the Matter very warmly, and would hear of nothing but Restitution of the Vessel, and Satisfaction for the Affront; yet after some Time, when they saw the Elector was determined, and that the Forces of *Spain* could make no Impression on any of that Prince's Territories, they were content to listen to his Excuses, which without doubt the Elector was willing enough to make, for putting a Million eight hundred thousand Ducats into his Pocket. The same Year *Augustus* of *Saxony*, Administrator of *Magdebourg*, deceased, upon which the Elector added that Country to his Dominions as a secularized Duchy, agreeable to the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

He was on the Point also of annexing the Principality of *Querfurt* as a Fief of that Duchy, which consisted of four Bailiwicks; but this was contested with him; and in the Year 1687 he compromised the Matter by accepting of the Bailiwick of *Bruck* as a full Satisfaction for his Pretensions upon all four. In the succeeding Year, he came to an amicable Conclusion with the Emperor, in relation to a Dispute that had long subsisted, concerning the Principality of *Jagerndorf*, which the Emperor had re-united to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, notwithstanding the Claim always made to it by
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our Elector; in Compensation for which he had the Territory of *Schueibufin*, or the Northern Part of *Silesia*, yielded up to him, which the Emperor afterwards found Means to obtain back from his Son and Successor, as we shall hereafter more largely explain.

This excellent Prince shewed himself as compleatly qualified for Government as any of his Rank in that Age, and this from his first taking the Reins of the Administration into his Hands, to the time that they were taken from him by Death. His Personal Courage appeared in several Actions in which he was present; his Steadiness in the Siege of *Stetin*, one of the most memorable that ever happened in *Europe*, and of which particular Accounts have been published in almost all Languages; his glorious Zeal for Liberty, in his generously assisting the *Dutch* in 1672, and on many other Occasions.

He gave also various, and those very signal Instances of his Abilities as a Statesman, in chusing the fairest Opportunities for asserting his Rights, and in being content to wave them when he found it would be difficult or dangerous to maintain them. He arrived at much greater Authority than his Predecessors, and enjoyed it without seeming to aspire to it; and this by studying the Good of his Subjects to such a Degree, that they looked upon his Acquisition of Power as an Advantage to themselves, and indeed it proved so; for not content with giving Audience to all who desired it, and doing Justice upon the Spot after hearing both Parties, he set apart certain Hours for reading Letters from every Place in his Dominions, so that the meanest of his Subjects might depend upon his Notice; and the greatest of his Ministers were not secure, if they behaved ill, from being both detected and punished.

He was very kind to the *French* Protestants, and not only permitted, but invited them to settle in his Dominions; he bestowed on their Gentry Commands in his Army, or Posts in his Court; he provided for the poorer Sort either as Mechanicks in great Towns, or as Peasants in *Prussia*; to the Former he gave Houses, and to the Latter Lands. He did this with so good a Will, that when one of his Ministers insinuated that these Liberalities might produce Inconveniencies, his Answer was, that he would sell his Plate to feed them. He said upon another Occasion, he now understood how both Parties might gain by the same Bargain, for that his Lands in *Prussia* were formerly worth nothing to him, but that by giving them to the poor Protestants, both he and they had acquired

acquired good Estates, and were under mutual Obligations to each other.

He built a new Town at *Berlin*, and by uniting five irregular Boroughs composed a fine City, which he embellished with publick Buildings, and strengthened by regular Fortifications. He put his Dominions into better Order than they had ever been in the Days of his Predecessors, by establishing new Regulations where they were necessary, and abolishing old Customs where Experience shewed they were pernicious. He gave up to his Subjects a Land-Tax, that was a heavy Burthen on their Estates, for an Excise, which was a more equal, tho' perhaps as profitable an Imposition. In order to improve Trade, he built a noble Fortrefs on the Coast of *Guinea*; and at Home he cut a Passage or Canal between the *Spee* and the *Oder*, for the Conveniency of the Merchants of *Silesia* trading to *Hamburg*, or into his own Dominions.

In a Word, he was not so careful of any one Thing as to neglect another; or so much set upon distinguishing himself in a single Point of Character, as to slight the rest, but knew what became a great Prince, and practised it in every respect. His Justice and Beneficence rendered him beloved by his Subjects; the Splendor of his Court drew the Respect of Strangers; and his keeping on foot a great Body of well-disciplined Troops made him considerable in the Eyes of his Neighbours. His Religion was warm and sincere, but had nothing in it of Bigotry: And after a Reign of forty-eight Years, and when he had lived sixty-eight, he died with as high a Reputation as the most ambitious Prince could desire, regretted by his Allies, and lamented by his Subjects.

This Elector was twice married; first to *Louisa Henrietta*, Daughter to *Henry Frederick*, Prince of *Orange*, from which he claimed a Right to that Succession; his second Princess was *Dorothy*, Daughter of *Philip* Duke of *Holstein Glucksborg*, by whom he had three Sons, whose Posterity are still living. *Frederick III.* who succeeded him, *Philip William* who was Governor of *Magdebourg*, and died in 1711, and *Albert Frederick* Governor of *Pomerania*. The former left two Sons and a Daughter, the latter three Sons, all Princes of the Blood in *Prussia*, which is a Point necessary to be known, because we shall have Occasion to speak of these Princes hereafter.

Frederick III. succeeded his Father in the Electorate of *Brandenburgh* on the nineteenth of *April* 1688, and, like several of his Predecessors, entered upon the Administration of Affairs at a Conjunction which required a Prince of great
Parts

Parts to conduct them to Advantage. He gave a very early Proof of his having inherited the Virtues as well as the Dominions of his Ancestors, by concurring with the Elector of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Hanover*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, in settling some Matters of Importance relating to their respective Dominions, and in assisting the Prince of *Orange* in his Design upon *England*, which had been principally concerted with the late Elector his Father. He professed a great Esteem for *Lewis XIV.* whom he considered as a very wise as well as magnificent Prince; and whose Example he followed in many Respects, but was far enough from embracing the whole System of his Politicks, or suffering himself to be deluded into implicitly following his Measures.

On the contrary, when his most Christian Majesty attacked the Empire, he immediately took up Arms, and in the Year 1689 recovered the Towns of *Keiserswert* and *Bonn*, in which last Expedition he very narrowly escaped being made Prisoner by a *French* Detachment, and, what did him great Honour, his Escape was entirely owing to his personal Courage. In 1690, King *William* having succeeded in his Expedition, sent him the Order of the Garter by the late *James Johnson*, Esq; afterwards Secretary of State for *Scotland*. In 1693 his Troops distinguished themselves at the Battle of *Landen*, under the Conduct of his Brother Prince *Philip*, of which King *William*, as a Mark of Respect, sent him an ample Account under his own Hand.

In 1694 he sent Assistance to the Duke of *Savoy* under his Brothers, Prince *Philip* and Prince *Albert*. In 1695 his Troops contributed greatly to the taking of *Namur*, of which King *William* gave him also an Account under his own Hand; upon which the Elector came to the *Hague*, to congratulate his Majesty, whom, with the Duke of *Zell*, he entertained splendidly at *Cleves*. After King *Augustus* was chosen King of *Poland*, the Elector seized the Town of *Elbing* by way of Security for the Money due to his Father. But this Affair was afterwards settled by Treaty, according to the Maxim of this great Prince, who was always willing to compromise any Differences he had with his Neighbours, as he had before done with the Elector of *Saxony* in respect to certain Pretensions, and thereby instead of a large Claim, added the Provostship of *Quedlimbourg*, the Bailiwick of *Petersberg*, and some other Places, to his Hereditary Dominions.

In the Year 1700 our Elector having adorned and improved his capital City of *Berlin*, added several fair Countries to those which descended to him from his Ancestors, filled Part
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of those Countries, that were before but thinly peopled, with Inhabitants, who were invited thither by the Kindnesses shewn, and the Privileges granted them by his Father and himself; took the Resolution of assuming the Royal Dignity, which some however have suggested arose from seeing King *William* seated in an Arm-Chair, at the splendid Congress of Princes, who were engaged in the first grand Alliance; yet that seems rather fit to be inserted in private Memoirs, than to stand recorded in History.

But whatever his Motives were, the Fact is certain, that about this Time he resolved to take the Title of King of *Prussia*; and that he applied himself to the Imperial Court to be acknowledged in this Quality, concerning which likewise the Dealers in secret History tell us a very remarkable Story, which is, that when his Negotiation was in no very good Train at the Court of *Vienna*, he was advised by his Minister there in a Letter, written in Cypher, to make use of the Interest of a certain Prince; but the Sense of the Letter being mistaken by their Names beginning with a Letter; he instead of the Prince had recourse to the Father Confessor, who was a Jesuit; and so much struck with the Honour done him by a Protestant Elector, that by his own Interest, and that of his Order, he quickly accomplished all that was desired of him.

I will not make myself answerable for the Truth of this, since it appears very probable to me that the Elector took his Measures upon much surer and better Grounds. The War was just then broke out, on Account of the *Spanish* Succession. The House of *Austria* stood in great need of his Assistance, and he might well expect they would not differ with him about a Title. But however the Matter was, there is no Doubt, that in the Month of *January* 1701 *N. S.* he was crowned King of *Prussia* at *Koningsberg*, and was acknowledged as such by the Emperor *Leopold*, and all his Allies; in Consideration of which the new King furnished him with a numerous Body of Auxiliaries, who served with great Credit in different Parts of *Europe*, during the whole Course of that long and glorious War.

The Year following proved remarkable for the Death of *William III.* King of *Great Britain*, to whom his *Prussian* Majesty accounting himself Heir, immediately took possession of the County of *Lingen*, the Principality of *Meurs*, and some other Lordships which had belonged to the Deceased, tho', as we shall hereafter see, he was willing to give Satisfaction to the Prince of *Nassau Frise*, who took the Title of *Orange*. In the Year 1707, upon the Death of the Duchess
of

of *Nemours*, the Sovereignities of *Neufchatel* and *Valingen* became vacant, to which, as the Heir of the Prince of *Orange*, his *Prussian* Majesty put in his Claim amongst many others. The Right to those Principalities was to be decided by the States of the Country; and as the *French* King supported one of the Candidates, so the Queen of *Great Britain* espoused the Cause of his *Prussian* Majesty, who carried his Point notwithstanding the Threats of the *French*; and about the same Time it was that he purchased the County of *Tecklenburgh*.

At the Diet of *Franckfort*, which assembled for the Choice of an Emperor, the Abbot *Albani* assisted on the Part of the Pope, and it was said that he had a particular Commission to protest against the new Title of the King of *Prussia*; which coming to the King's Ears, he declared, that if such a Step was taken, he would order his Troops then in *Italy* in the Service of the Allies, to take Quarters in the Ecclesiastical State at Discretion, as in an Enemy's Country; but the Abbot *Albani* prevented this, by sending Word to the *Prussian* Minister at the Diet, that he had no such Commission, and that it never so much as entered into his Thoughts to question the King's Title; which, whether true or false, gave his Majesty entire Satisfaction.

At the Close of the War, this Monarch concluded with the rest of the Confederates a Treaty of Peace with *France*, which consisted of thirteen Articles; the most remarkable of which were, that he was confirmed in the Possession of *Upper Guelderland* in full Sovereignty; he had likewise the Country of *Kessel*, and the Prefecture of *Kriekenbeck*, and was acknowledged as Sovereign Lord of *Neufchatel* and *Valingen* by *France*, in Consideration of his quitting his Pretensions to the Principality of *Orange*. There were two separate Articles to this Treaty; by one of which, the most Christian King acknowledged him as King of *Prussia*, and agreed to give him the Title of Majesty.

He likewise interposed in favour of the Protestants of *France*, to whom he had always been a Friend and Protector; and it is highly probable they would have felt the Effects of his Interposition, if he had not been taken off by Death in the Middle of these Negotiations, in the fifty-sixth Year of his Age, leaving behind him the Character of being one of the most magnificent Princes of his Age; and who knew as well as any of his Predecessors, how to serve himself of every Occasion that offered for augmenting his Power, or enlarging his Dominions.

Frederick William, Prince Royal of *Prussia*, and Electoral Prince of *Brandenburgh*, succeeded his Father in all his Dominions, finished the imperfect Negotiation of Peace in which that Prince was engaged at the Time of his Demise, and entered into a closer Correspondence than most of his Predecessors with the Court of *France*. He had not been long seated on the Throne, before he found himself involved in some Disputes with the Crown of *Sweden*, occasioned chiefly by the marching of Troops through different Parts of his Dominions, as well by the *Swedes*, as by the Powers engaged in a War against them. His *Prussian* Majesty endeavoured first to have compromised Matters amicably; but that being found impracticable, he perceived himself at last obliged to enter into that War in Conjunction with other Princes confederated against *Sweden*; which ended in driving the *Swedes* almost entirely out of *Germany*, and depriving them of all that *Gustavus Adolphus* and his Successors had acquired in the Empire.

But notwithstanding this great Success, his *Prussian* Majesty consented, under the Mediation of his late *Britannick* Majesty King *George I.* to certain Preliminary Articles for a Peace with *Sweden*, which were signed the eighteenth of *August* 1719, and afterwards digested into a Treaty, that was concluded at *Stockholm* between the two Crowns, *January* 10, 1720. By the third Article of which Treaty, the Crown of *Sweden* yields in Perpetuity to his *Prussian* Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, the City of *Stetin*, the District between the *Oder* and the *Rhine*, with the Islands of *Wallin* and *Usedom*, with all the Rights granted to the Crown of *Sweden* by the Emperor and Empire to the said Places, by the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Westphalia*. And by the nineteenth Article of this Treaty, the Crown of *Sweden* yields farther the Towns of *Dam* and *Golnaw*, on the other Side the *Oder*, with the Territories respectively belonging to them.

In Consideration of these Cessions, his *Prussian* Majesty undertook no longer to assist the Enemies of *Sweden*, to promote to the utmost of his Power the intended general Peace between her and her Neighbours, to satisfy the Mortgages and Incumbrances on all the Places yielded to him, which had been formerly contracted by the Crown of *Sweden*; as also to pay two Millions of Rix-Dollars to that Crown at three different Payments. By this Treaty his *Prussian* Majesty acquired a great Accession of Territory, to which, as we have shewn before, his Family had very fair Pretensions as Successors to the Dukes of *Pomerania*; and by this Acquisition gained a free Communication with the *Baltick*, which was of as great or greater

greater Consequence than the Revenue of all the Places thus acquired ; and contributed highly to the Benefit of other Parts of his *Prussian* Majesty's Dominions.

The same Temper and Disposition which his *Prussian* Majesty shewed in the Management of this important Affairs, appeared in all the subsequent Transactions of his Life ; that is to say, he was in every Instance careful to maintain and support his own Dignity, to secure his Dominions, to make himself respected by his Neighbours, to keep his Troops and Fortresses constantly in such a Posture as might prevent his being hurt by any unforeseen Accident ; and give him an Opportunity, where the Circumstances of Things would permit it, of turning any such Accident to his Advantage. It was with this View, that he kept always on foot between eighty and a hundred thousand regular Troops, well paid, and perfectly well disciplined ; at the same time that he was no less careful of his Revenues, as being thoroughly sensible, that if ever a War became necessary, Treasure would be to the full as needful as Troops.

This Conduct of his, though it exposed him to the Censure of some shallow Politicians, was perfectly agreeable to his own Circumstances, and to the general System of Affairs in *Europe*. It preserved all his Dominions, though separated and detached from each other, from running any Risque ; it made him considered as the most powerful Potentate in *Germany*, next to the House of *Austria* ; and it gave him an Opportunity of promoting his Interest upon every Variation of the Balance of Power, without actually engaging in a War. Upon these Motives he entered into the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, concluded the third of *September* 1725, with their most Christian and *Britannick* Majesties ; and tho' the Bounds of this Article will not allow us to enter into Particulars, yet we may safely venture to affirm in general, that he managed that, and the many subsequent Negotiations which quickly followed from it, with great Dexterity, and so as to turn every Incident as much as it was possible to his own Advantage.

We have already shewed the Pretensions formed by the House of *Brandenburgh* on the Succession of King *William* III. as Prince of *Orange* ; and have taken notice of the Dispute occasioned by the Will of that Monarch, in favour of his Cousin the Prince of *Nassau Frize*, which subsisted for many Years ; and for terminating of which, a Negotiation was set on Foot in 1722, which ended ten Years afterwards, in a Treaty concluded at *Berlin*, May 13, 1732. By this Treaty the Principality of *Orange* and all the Dominions of

The Family of *Chalons* in *France*, are yielded to his *Prussian* Majesty, and all Cessions thereof by him to the King of *France*, by the Treaty signed at *Utrecht*, the first of *August* 1713, are confirmed by the Prince of *Nassau Frize*, late *Stadtholder*.

It is agreed that his Highness shall take the Title and Arms of *Orange*, but without Prejudice to the Royal House of *Prussia*, by whom the Title and Arms of that Principality are to be likewise borne. His *Prussian* Majesty was by this Treaty to have for himself, his Heirs and Successors, as his Share of the Succession beforementioned, the Principality of *Meurs*, the County of *Lingen*, the District of *Montfort*, the Lordship of upper and lower *Swaluwe*, the Lordships of *Naltwick*, *Hoendorland*, *Wateringen*, *Orange-Polder*, and *s'Gravesand*, the Customs of *Gennep*, the Barony of *Herstal* entire, the Lordship of *Turnhout*, the House at the *Hague* called the *Old Court*, and the House of *Honstaardyk*.

All the rest of the Succession was left to the Prince of *Orange*, who charged himself with all the Debts of the Family; and all the Pensions payable to certain Persons therein mention'd, and all the Demands of the House of *Orange* on the Crown of *Spain*, for an annual Pension of fifty thousand Florins, as well as a Debt of one hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, are assigned to the Prince, with the King's Promise to assist him with his Interest at that Court, to procure a Satisfaction for them. This definitive Treaty, by which an End was put to a very tedious as well as a very perplexed and troublesome Affair, was ratified by his *Prussian* Majesty on the thirtieth of *May*, by the Prince of *Orange* on the thirtieth of *June* following; and soon after notified to their High Mightinesses the *States General*, who had charged themselves with the Administration of the said Succession, in due Form, and who were consequently deeply interested therein.

The Desire his *Prussian* Majesty had to preserve the Peace of his Dominions, and to avoid, as far as he was able, taking any Share whatever in the Disturbances of *Europe*, induced him to act with great Caution and Reserve when the War broke out between his late Imperial Majesty *Charles VI.* and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, in Reference to the Election of the King of *Poland*. There is no doubt, that both the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* were extremely pressing in their Instances to his *Prussian* Majesty to enter into this Dispute, by which, in all Probability, the Scale must have turned, according to his Pleasure; since it was very apparent, that if the Election of King *Stanislaus* had been immediately supported by a tolerable Force, the Affection of the *Poles* would have engaged them

them to have shewn themselves much more effectually than they did ; and on the other hand, it is no less evident, that if the King of *Prussia* had declared absolutely on the other Side, the Party for King *Stanislaus* could not have made any Resistance at all, but must have submitted immediately, and that too upon any Terms.

But no Intreaties could prevail upon that wise Monarch to act on either Side in this Dispute, by which, no doubt, he was a very considerable Gainer. It is true, that tho' he did not give King *Stanislaus* any Assistance in support of his Pretensions, yet after the Ruin of his Affairs, and the close Siege of the City of *Dantzick*, he suffered that Prince to take Shelter in his Dominions, where he was treated with all the Respect due to a crown'd Head ; and with the Remittances he received from *France* kept up a great Court, and lived at a vast Expence, which was of considerable Use in that Part of his *Prussian* Majesty's Dominions.

There were many People, who from their Attachment to the House of *Austria*, treated this Conduct of his as unworthy of a King, and inconsistent with his Obligations to the Emperor ; but such were certainly too hasty, and had not sufficiently reflected, that the Obligations of a Prince to his Subjects are infinitely superior to those he contracts with his Allies ; and that with respect to the Safety of his Dominions, and the true Interest of the Crown of *Prussia*, he was not at all bound to interfere farther than by good Offices in this Dispute ; so that the Measures he took as a Sovereign and independent Prince were certainly right. As to the Engagements he was under, as a Member of the Empire, they were so punctually complied with, that even his Imperial Majesty himself had no Reason to complain.

The same Method in respect to all other Affairs his Majesty of *Prussia* constantly pursued, shewing himself alike prepared for War and inclined to Peace : for tho' he made his Troops his Delight, and led all his Days rather a Military than a Court Life, yet this was more with a View to save Expence, to keep his Troops in Motion, and to maintain strict Discipline, than with any Thoughts of distressing or disturbing his Neighbours. In the latter Years of his Life the King was dropsical, and in a very bad State of Health ; so that he was frequently thought near his End, and yet in some Measure recovered.

At last he was carried off by a short Illness, on the 31st of *May* 1740, in the fifty-second Year of his Age ; and tho' like other Princes, he had his Faults and Failings ; among which the Love of Money, and draining it by various unpopular Methods

out of the Purfes of his Subjects was the chief; yet in respect to his great Regard for Justice, his prudent Œconomy, ſtrict Frugality, and Eaſineſs of Access, he was much to be and here therefore is commended; ſince with regard to the general Maxims of his Politicks, they are like to do his Memory more Credit, than they acquired him Glory while living.

This Monarch eſpouſed in his Father's Life-time the Princeſs *Sophia Dorothea* of *Hanover*, Siſter to his preſent *Britannick Ma-jeſty*, who was born the 16th of *March* 1687, and is now Queen Dowager of *Pruſſia*, by whom he left a numerous Iſſue, viz. *Charles-Frederick* his Succeſſor, *William-Auguſtus* Prince Royal of *Pruſſia*, born *Auguſt* 9th 1722, who eſpouſed the Princeſs *Louiſa-Amelia* of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle*, by whom he has already two Sons; *Frederick-Henry* Prince of *Pruſſia*, born *January* 8th 1726; *Auguſtus-Ferdinand* Prince of *Pruſſia*, born *May* 23d 1730; *Frederica-Auguſta* Princeſs Royal of *Pruſſia*, born the 3d of *July* 1709; and who on the 20th of *November* 1731, eſpouſed the Hereditary Prince of *Brandenburgh Bareith*; *Frederica-Louiſa* Princeſs of *Pruſſia*, born *September* 28th 1714, who on the 30th of *May* 1729, eſpouſed the Margrave of *Anſpach*; *Dorothea-Sophia*, Princeſs of *Pruſſia*, born the 26th of *January* 1719, and married the 10th of *November* 1734, to the Margrave *Frederick-William* of *Schwed*; *Louiſa-Ulrica* Princeſs of *Pruſſia*, born *April* 24th 1720, who on *July* 17th 1744, married *Adolphus-Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein-Eutin*, elected Succeſſor to the Crown of *Sweden*, and now in Poſſeſſion; *Anna-Amelia* Princeſs of *Pruſſia*, born *November* 9th 1723, and who remains ſtill unmarried.

Charles-Frederick, the preſent King of *Pruſſia* and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, was born *January* 24th 1712, and confequently was in the twenty-ninth Year of his Age when he mounted the Throne; and in his Father's Life-time eſpouſed the Princeſs *Elizabeth-Chriſtina* of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle*, born *November* 8th 1715. He began his Reign with an Act of the greateſt Generoſity; for whereas it was publickly known that his Marriage was a pure Act of Obedience to his Father, abſolutely againſt his own Conſent, and therefore never conſummated, every body expected that his firſt Care would have been to have taken the Opinion of ſome of the Proteſtant Univerſities in *Germany*, in order to have procured its Diſſolution.

But when that Princeſs, in Company with the Queen-Dowager, came to compliment him upon his Acceſſion, he addreſſed her in the following Terms: *You are ſenſible, Ma-dam, that your becoming Princeſs Royal was contrary to my Inclination; but having obſerved the Amiability of your Beha-*

viour,

viour, and the Regard that you have shewn for my Person, I find myself under a Necessity of making you suitable Returns; and now therefore that I am a King, I acknowledge you for my Queen-Consort, and the lawful Partner of my Throne and Bed. It is impossible to express the Surprize and Joy of the whole Court upon this Declaration; a Declaration which every body desired, but no body expected; and which gave the greatest Hopes of a Reign that opened with so extraordinary a Mark of Justice, Tenderness, and Generosity.

The very Dawning of this young Monarch's Government, drew the Attention of all *Europe*, and gave his Neighbours very just Ideas of what might be expected in the Progress of it. He had been but indifferently treated in his Father's Lifetime; and there were many who dreaded his Resentments; but he punished no body except the Councillor *Eckard*, whom he ordered to depart his Dominions, because he had been a constant Deviser of Taxes, and the principal Instrument of the late King in laying Burthens upon his Subjects; so that in his Manner of treating him, the new Monarch shewed that he could avenge the Wrongs done to his People, tho' he was at the same time patient under his own. He was no sooner possessed of the Crown, that he declared himself a Protector of Learning; and by a Letter written with his own Hand invited the famous Mr. *Maupertuis* from *Paris*, to take upon him the Direction of the Academy of *Berlin*; or, as the King himself elegantly expressed it, to graft the Slips of true Science on the wild Stocks in the North.

But I forget the proper Business of this Article, while I pretend to draw the Picture of a Prince, whose great Qualities are so numerous, that they would require more Room than I have left, should I attempt their Description. I will content myself therefore with a bare Detail of the principal Facts of his Administration, that I may keep within due Bounds.

In the succinct Account which has been given of his Father's Reign, it has been shewn, that tho' he took care to put his Army on a better Foot than any of his Predecessors, yet he was very far from being inclined to War, which probable arose from the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe* in his Time; but whatever his Motives were, most certain it is, that he was rather careful in ascertaining his Rights, than vigorous in asserting them, as appears from his suffering the Bishop and Prince of *Liege* to continue in the Possession of the Barony of *Herfwall*, which had been yielded to the King as a Part of the Succession of the late King *William*, and offering to compromise his Dispute with that Prelate for 100,000 Florins, which however he could not obtain.

But upon his Son, the new King's coming to the Possession of his Dominions, and going to receive the Homage of the Duchy of *Cleves*, he demanded the same of the Inhabitants of *Herftall*, who positively refused it, alledging that they were, and had been always Subjects to the Prince of *Liege*. The King, to cut this Dispute short, sent a Body of his Forces into that Bishoprick, who took Possession of *Maseyk*, and who declared they had their Master's Orders to live at Discretion, till he had received Satisfaction for his Barony of *Herftall*. It was on the 14th of *September*, 1740, that the *Prussian* Troops entered his Territories, upon which the Bishop of *Liege* published a long Manifesto, setting forth the great Injury that had been done to him, but confessing at the Close, that the Price set by the late King of *Prussia* was very moderate; and that he had offered to pay him Interest for that Sum at the Rate of Four *per Cent.* which in his own Opinion was better than so much ready Money.

He remonstrated at the same time to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Paris*; but while he was thus busy in drawing Memorials, and making Complaints, the *Prussian* Troops lived on his Subjects at Discretion; so that at last he was forced to send two Deputies to *Berlin*, to put an End to this Dispute, who were obliged to consent that his *Prussian* Majesty should receive 200,000 Florins for his Pretensions upon *Herftall*; and this Money being paid on the 23d of *October* in the Evening, the *Prussian* Forces evacuated *Maseyk* the next Morning. Thus, according to his new Method, the King ended this Controversy without the Formalities of a Law-suit.

It was not only with the Bishop of *Liege* that his Majesty had Disputes; for about the same time the Duke of *Chevreuse*, and the Marquis de *Nesle* set up their respective Claims to the Principality of *Neufchatel*, against what they were pleased to call the King of *Prussia*'s Usurpation; and the former sent an Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*; the latter two Advocates of the Parliament of *Besançon*, to assert their Claims; but the Governor of *Neufchatel* decided the Matter presently, by directing that they should all quit the Principality in twenty-four Hours, on Pain of being treated as Criminals. This, however, was but a Prelude to the great Stroke of all, by which his Majesty added a great Part of the rich and fruitful Country of *Silesia* to his Dominions; which, inasmuch as it has been considered as the Occasion of the late general War; the Reader will very naturally expect that we should be a little more particular in the Account of this singular Transaction,

We have already shewn that the House of *Brandenburgh* had a very fair Title to the Principality of *Jagerndorf*, and other Territories in that Country, which the Emperor notwithstanding united to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; but as the Elector still kept up his Claim, and the House of *Austria* had great Need of his Assistance, it was found necessary to give him some Satisfaction; and accordingly a Treaty was set on foot at *Berlin* in 1686, whereby it was stipulated, that the Elector should renounce all the Pretensions of this House to the Principalities of *Jagerndorf*, *Lignitz*, *Brieg*, and *Wolau*, upon Condition that the Emperor should yield to the Elector the Territory of *Schwibus*. The Baron *de Frytag*, who managed this Negotiation for the Court of *Vienna*, with the Elector *Frederick II.* set on foot at the same time another clandestine Treaty with the Electoral Prince *Frederick*, who was afterwards *Frederick III.* Elector of *Brandenburgh*, though he is generally called *Frederick I.* because he was the first King of *Prussia*.

The Nature of this secret Negotiation was very dark; for there were some Family Disputes, in which the Emperor threatened to take Part against the Prince, if, at the same time his Father subscribed the Treaty before mentioned, he did not subscribe an Obligation to give up, as soon as it should be in his Power, the Territory of *Schwibus* for a small Sum of Money. Accordingly when he became Elector of *Brandenburgh* the Money was offered, and the Territory demanded; but all the Counsellors of the new Elector advised him not to part with it, as he had been compelled to make this Agreement, which in its own Nature therefore was void; but the Emperor *Leopold* insisting upon it, and threatening to use Force, he yielded up the Territory, but refused to confirm the Renunciation made by his Father of his former Rights. Upon this Occasion he expressed himself to his Ministers in these Words: "I shall yield the Territory of *Schwibus*; it becomes me to be as good as my Word; I must and I will do what I promised. As to prosecuting my Rights to *Silesia*, I leave that to the Care of my Posterity, whose Hands I cannot, I will not bind under my present Circumstances, when it is necessary for me to submit to this Injustice. If Providence and Time do not suffer the Thing to take another Turn, the only Way is to be quiet; but if God orders it otherwise, my Descendents will know what they have to do."

Thus the Reader sees in few Words the Nature of the King of *Prussia's* Claim; he represented both *Frederick II.* and *Frederick III.* consequently the Rights of both were in

him; and as the House of *Austria* had taken away the Equivalent, he conceived he had a just Title to the Territories formerly in the Possession of his Family, viz. the Principality of *Jagerndorf*, and other Countries, of which he resolved immediately to take Possession. He had two Reasons for acting in this Manner, without any previous Declarations made to the Court of *Vienna*; the first was, that the Male Line of the House of *Austria* being extinct, and the Power of that Family thereby weakened, he thought this a favourable Opportunity of doing himself Justice; and that he should be wanting to himself and his Posterity, or Successors, if he neglected it. His second, that the Elector of *Bavaria* and the King of *Spain* forming Pretensions upon the Emperor's Succession, he was desirous of reconciling his View of doing himself Justice to the Inclination he had of assisting *Maria Theresia*, Queen of *Hungary*, in maintaining her Rights to her Father's Dominions, agreeable to the Pragmatic Sanction.

At the same time therefore that he ordered his Troops to march into *Silesia*, which was in *December 1740*, he declared to the Court of *Vienna*, that notwithstanding this Step he was disposed to promote the Election of the Duke of *Lorraine* to the Imperial Dignity; that he was willing to advance the Queen of *Hungary* two Millions of Florins; and that he was ready to employ all his Forces in defending her Dominions against all her Competitors. But these Propositions were absolutely rejected, upon which a War ensued. It is to be observed, that in this Article I am stating the Claims, Pretensions, and Measures of his *Prussian* Majesty, as Matters of Fact, and am very far from taking upon me to decide whether the former were well or ill founded, and consequently whether the latter were right or wrong; but thus much I think I may be allowed to say, that if the Court of *Vienna* had accepted his Proposal, the War in *Germany* had been prevented, and the Empress Queen had not yielded more to the King of *Prussia* than he is possessed of at present, after all the Blood and Treasure spent on both Sides in this fatal Quarrel.

His *Prussian* Majesty carried his Point in the first Instance, that is to say, he made himself Master of *Silesia* without much Opposition, and the *Austrians* having brought a great Army into that Country, under the Command of Field-Marshal Count *Nieuperg*, in the Beginning of the next Spring his *Prussian* Majesty gave that Army Battle, the tenth of *April*, 1741, at *Molwitz*, in which, though with great Effusion of Blood, he gained the Victory. In the succeeding Year having
marched

marched to the Assistance of his Allies the *French, Bavarians, and Saxons*, into *Bohemia*, after being basely deserted by them, he, *May* the twenty-fourth, 1742, fought the famous Battle of *Czaslaw*, in which he also claimed the Victory; but both Parties being now weary of the War, a Treaty of Peace was negotiated between his Majesty on the one Part, and the Queen of *Hungary* on the other, which was concluded and signed *June* 11th, at *Breslaw* in *Silesia*; by which the greatest Part of that Dutchy, and the whole County of *Glatz* were yielded to his Majesty.

But this valuable Cession did not hinder him from entering into the League of *Frankfort*, in support of the Emperor *Charles VII.* in Consequence of which, he invaded *Bohemia*, and took the City of *Prague* *September* 6th, 1744, which obliged Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* to march from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, with the *Austrian* Army; upon whose Approach his *Prussian* Majesty retired with his Forces towards *Silesia*, but Prince *Charles* pressing hard upon him in his Retreat, a Battle ensued at *Friedberg*, *June* 4th, 1745, in which his *Prussian* Majesty gained a clear and very compleat Victory. It was believed that this Action would have made an End of the War; but the *Austrians*, who were now joined by the *Saxons*, and had formed great Views of distressing the King of *Prussia*, continued their Military Operations with the utmost Vigour; and on the thirtieth of *September*, by a forced March, surprized that Prince near *Stadentz*, and plundered his Baggage; but by the great Military Skill and inimitable Prudence of the King, his Troops were soon brought into Order, the Battle renewed, and a glorious Victory obtained.

Yet the *Austrians* still persisted in continuing the War, presuming on the Diversion to be made by a great Body of *Russian* Auxiliaries, which it was supposed would have marched through *Poland* into his Territories. But his *Prussian* Majesty took Advantage of the Season, and while his Enemies were pleasing themselves with the Hopes of invading and ruining his Country, the old Prince of *Anhalt Dessau* with a *Prussian* Army entered theirs. The King of *Poland* was obliged to abandon his Hereditary Dominions, and to retire to the Frontiers of *Bohemia* for Safety. *Leipsick* opened her Gates to the Conqueror, and though a numerous Army of *Saxons* and *Austrians* interposed to preserve *Dresden*, yet *December* 4th, 1745, they were totally defeated by the Prince of *Anhalt Dessau*, with half their Number of *Prussian* Troops.

The King entered *Dresden* in Triumph, and having overcome all his Enemies, on the fourteenth of the same Month over-

overcame his Provocation and Resentment, and in the full Warmth of Victory gave them a fair and equitable Peace. By which *Silesia* was again solemnly yielded to him; the *Saxons* gave him one Million of Crowns for the Expence of the War; his Majesty acknowledged the Emperor, guaranteed the Dominions of the Empress Queen, and included his Ally the Elector Palatine in the same Treaty, which was negotiated under the Mediation of his *Britannick* Majesty, and the Conclusion of which once more settled the Tranquillity of *Germany*.

The Interests of this Monarch, if they were to be considered at large, would require a considerable Treatise; but we shall reduce them into a narrow Compass, and treat of them with as much Perspicuity as we are able. In Quality of King of *Prussia*, he is one of the greatest Powers in the North; and therefore it is his Interest to see the Ballance in that Part of *Europe* kept exactly even; with this View, there is no doubt, that he will have a constant Eye to the Measures pursued by *Sweden* and *Denmark*, pay still more Attention to the Behaviour of *Poland*, and be most assiduously watchful of the increasing Power of *Russia*. Upon his Diligence and Success in those Points, the Security, Welfare and Grandeur of his own State will depend.

How far it is possible to manage all these with such Address as to draw some Advantages from several of those Powers, and to be in no Danger from any of them, may best be known by considering the Practice of the present King, who has actually carried this Scheme into Execution in the most difficult Conjunction. The late Revolution in *Russia* changed the whole System of his Affairs with respect to that Empire; instead of a close Conjunction, it brought about a Division of Interests, and from an intimate Union, created a distant Civility intermixed with some Degrees of Jealousy, so much harder to be removed because they were natural, as being derived from his close Alliance with the excluded Family. The Power of *Russia* also was vastly increased, for by the Election of the Successor of the Crown of *Sweden*, that Kingdom came in some Measure to depend upon her: *Denmark* was aw'd by her superior Force, and by the old Differences between that Royal Family and the House of *Holstein*; while *Poland* was firmly tied, as well by the Interest of the reigning Prince, as by a long and uninterrupted Alliance.

But the admirable Policy of the *Prussian* Monarch has got the better of all these Connections. By marrying his Sister to the then Successor, and now King of *Sweden*, he gain'd an Interest in that Country which is daily increasing. *Denmark* is bound

bound to live upon good Terms with him as a Neighbour, at the same Time that she needs his Assistance as an Ally. He has always kept a good Correspondence with the Republick; and notwithstanding their late Quarrel, has now as good a Correspondence with the King of *Poland*; so that he has exactly modelled the *North* to his Mind: And notwithstanding the vast Power of *Russia*, has nothing to fear from her Jealousy, and still less to apprehend from her Influence; which easy Situation of his on this Side, is entirely owing to his own great Parts as a Politician; and must, to every competent Judge, raise his Character, in that respect, to the greatest Height.

As a Prince of the Empire, he plainly considers himself as the Guardian of the *Germanick* Constitution; and as he has all Things to hope, and nothing to dread from the Independency of all the Members of the Empire, he has very wisely shewn as warm and steady a Concern for their Rights as for his own. At the very Beginning of his Reign he compromised the Disputes which had so long subsisted between his Family and the Elector *Palatine*, upon very equal and moderate Terms; he embraced the Friendship of the House of *Bavaria* when it was necessary to him; and he gave the highest Proofs of his Fidelity to the Interests of that Family, when they stood in the greatest Need of his Friendship.

In a Word, he has lost no Ally in the Empire, but has gain'd many; he has restored the Credit of the Diet of *Ratisbon*, by giving Power to the Princes of the Empire to send their Ministers thither, to speak their true Sentiments, and explain themselves freely, instead of submitting implicitly to the Imperial Decrees, as in Times past they were wont to do. In short, he has so conducted his Affairs, as to be universally considered as a *German* Patriot; that is, as one resolved to maintain the Essence of the *Germanick* Constitution, and to preserve the Liberty of its Members from all interior Influence, as well as foreign Subjection; and what Effects this may produce, Time has already, and will hereafter declare.

As one of the principal Powers of *Europe*, the present King of *Prussia* seems to have formed to himself a Design of establishing a more effectual Ballance than has been hitherto known, in Virtue of that Increase of his own Dominions, which has put it into his Hands. This Point was never sufficiently considered by any of our Politicians, or to speak plainly, has never been considered by them at all. The Situation of *France* enabled her formerly to preserve the Balance against the House of *Austria*; the Situation of his *Sardinian*

dinian Majesty's Dominions, enables him to hold the Ballance of *Italy*, and to keep it even between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*; but with respect to the King of *Prussia*, he has no less than three Ballances in his Hands, that of the North, that of *Germany*, and the great Ballance of Power against *France*.

It is very true, that during the Course of the last War, he acted in Confederacy with *France*; but, as we have shewn before, this was absolutely against his Will. If the Court of *Vienna* and the Allies of that Court had not considered his Expedition into *Silesia* as an Infraction of the Pragmatick Sanction, in which Light he never regarded it himself, or thought it would be regarded by others; he had certainly taken the contrary Side, as having no Reason to be a Friend of *France* longer than he has the House of *Austria* for an Enemy. He shew'd in his last Treaty with the King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, a true Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and without Doubt it is his Interest to put himself at the Head of the Protestants in *Germany*; he is too clear-sighted a Prince not to see this; and it is upon this admirable Faculty we ground all our political Doctrines in this Section.

But it will be objected, that some of the Admirers of the present King of *Prussia* have magnified his Power to a Degree much beyond what he is ever like to acquire, have promised many Things for him which he is never likely to perform, and have kept such a Silence in reference to the Points he has really pursued, as might induce the World to suspect their having very dark Notions of that Monarch's Forces, Inclinations or Interests. In answer to this I must intreat the Reader to observe, that there is no such thing as mathematical Certainty in Discourses of this Nature; and therefore those are equally in Fault who pretend magisterially to decide what such a Prince will attempt, or what he may be able to atchieve; and those who on the other hand expect that every thing should fall out exactly according to a Plan laid down from Conjectures.

But still this Art of foreseeing future Events from prudentially applying the Knowledge of human Nature, the Forces of Government, and the Lights of Experience, ought not to be despised. Physicians cannot always cure, because they cannot always form a right Judgment from their Acquaintance with the human Œconomy, and their Skill in discerning Symptoms of the Nature of Diseases; and yet none but Fools disparage the Study of Physick, or decry the Knowledge of Physicians. There is no Doubt that Statesmen derive vast Advantages from secret Intelligence; but it was a very wise Saying of *Lewis XIV.* that he was much less in Pain about what his Enemies might learn

learn by this Method, than from the Hints they received from the *Dutch Gazettes*. It is difficult indeed, but not impossible, to guard against the Effects of Influence or Money, in penetrating the Transactions of a Cabinet; but it is far more difficult, and borders more closely upon Impossibility, to hinder speculative Politicians from prying into even the closest Designs, by the Knowledge they have of Men and Things. To be convinced of this, we need only consider what sanguine Promises were made by the Statesmen in some Countries, before the opening of every Campaign during the last War, and the bold Judgments passed by undignified Politicians, that few or none of those Promises would ever actually be fulfilled.

It would be no difficult Thing to shew the Reader, that the Revolutions in *Russia*, in *Sweden*, and in *Holland*, were foreseen and foretold some Years before they happened; but we will confine ourselves at present to the Points immediately before us. And tho' all the World allows that there never was a Cabinet more impenetrable than that of the present King of *Prussia*, yet we shall endeavour to shew, that as our past Conjectures have not been altogether vain, so we are able to guess at what his Politicks may produce in Time to come. We were inclined to think that upon the Conclusion of a general Peace, that Monarch might have been induced to change his System; but upon seeing the Peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, and considering the Conduct of other Powers, we are clearly of Opinion, that Time is not yet come. We are satisfied that the Schemes formed for abasing or circumscribing the Power of this Monarch will have a contrary Effect, and that instead of diminishing, there is the highest Probability that they will increase his Power. We were always and are still of Opinion, that he might be detached from *France*, and that he will never be the Dupe of *France*; but we see no Ground for supposing that proper Measures have been taken to bring about the former, or that by the Steps he is now taking, he is in Danger of falling into the latter.

He has great Forces, large Revenues, a Genius capable of conducting both, and a Moderation that will restrain him from Attempts superior to these. He knows perfectly well the Grandeur of the Sovereign must be established upon the Welfare of the Subject, and this has excited him to shew the same Regard for the Happiness of his People, as for the Extension of his own Power, or rather has induced him to make the latter always subservient to the former. He is known to have an Inclination to become a Maritime Power, or which is the same thing in other Words, to enable his Subjects to increase their

Industry and Spirit, whenever the Tranquillity of *Europe* shall be so thoroughly settled, as that he has no reason to suspect his Neighbours may force him suddenly into a War, while his Councils are wholly taken up in cultivating the Arts of Peace. His erecting an *Asiatic* Company demonstrates what we have advanced to be Truth.

He will by that Time have served himself to the utmost of whatever Assistance *France* may have found it her Interest to give him, for more than that she will never give; and his Sense of this will engage him not to persist any longer in the Prosecution of Measures acceptable to the Court of *Versailles*, than they are conducive to the Extension or Establishment of his Power and Influence. He will then see that Independence, and being at the Head of the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, is sufficient to gratify his utmost Ambition, and to raise him to the highest Point of Authority, by making him courted and respected by all his Neighbours, and as Occasions offer, the Umpire of all their Differences.

These are indeed but Suppositions, but then they are built upon solid and rational Foundations; whereas those who fancy that he will be some time or other swallowed up by a Confederacy of powerful Neighbours, or despoiled of a great Part of his Territories, are not able to offer either Facts or Arguments to countenance their Opinion, since hitherto we have never seen him attempt beyond his Strength; nor has it appeared after many Months spent in Regulations, fresh Establishments, new Discipline, and other military Improvements, that the Power most concerned, or which thinks herself most concerned, to traverse the Designs of *Prussia*, has been able to do it with any great Effect, even in Conjunction with a very useful Ally, who after being once sacrificed, will most certainly take care to prevent being involved again in the like Quarrel. In Points of this Nature it is inexcusable to mistake twice.

These are all the Reflections we dare hazard at present upon this Subject, and perhaps there are very few political Writers who would have ventured to say so much; but as we have only the Reader's Advantage in View, it was not necessary for us to be so nice in that Particular, since whether our Conjectures are justified or refuted by Events, the Advantage to the Reader will be the very same; for as in one Case he will have an Opportunity of discerning in what manner probable Judgments may be drawn from political Principles, so in the other, the Detection of those Errors will contribute not a little to the Increase of his Sagacity. We are so far from pretending to Infallibility, that what we offer is only in the nature

ture of an Essay, which must be submitted to those Corrections that all Writings of this kind require, and in Consequence of which only, they can be brought at length to a tolerable Degree of Certainty and Perfection.

C H A P. VIII.

In which is comprehended a clear though concise Account of the Rise and Progress of the Power of the House of AUSTRIA, the Opposition it has met with from that of BOURBON, and the present State of the first-mentioned House.

THE Disputes between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, having been the principal Causes of those Troubles that have disturbed the Peace of *Europe* for several Ages past, and there being but too just Grounds to believe that these Debates will be no less fatal to the Tranquillity of succeeding Times; it may be easily conceived from hence, that nothing can contribute more to the forming a just Idea of the present State of Things, and of the Maxims of Policy, by which the several Powers of *Christendom* regulate their Views, than a clear and distinct Account of the Acquisitions, Pretensions, Interests, Controversies, and Connections of these two great Families.

It is indeed true, that this is so wide, and so ample a Field, that it might well afford Matter sufficient for several large Volumes; but our Business is to contract it, to select from the Materials proper for so large a History, those Particulars that are fittest for the Purposes before mentioned, and by ranging these in right Order, to afford the Reader such a Prospect of this Subject, as it would be very difficult for him to obtain, even from so large a History, though written with all the Skill and Accuracy possible. This Attempt indeed is hardy and difficult, but then it is both rational and requisite; there is no proceeding in our Plan without it, and he who aims at pleasing the Publick, and who has already received Marks of their Willingness to be pleased with his Endeavours, will never think any thing hard or impracticable, which he is convinced is necessary for their Service.

With this View, and with these Hopes, let us begin with the History of the *House of Austria*, and use our utmost Care and Diligence to free those Circumstances that are most suited to our Design, from that Obscurity, and Embarrassment, in which they have been hitherto involved; chiefly from the Prejudices and Prepossessions of almost all the Historians, who have undertaken to afford us Light into these Matters; and who, instead of representing Things as they really were, have made it their Business to misrepresent them in such a Manner, as might bring the World in general to embrace for Truth their particular Opinions.

As to the Original of this great and flourishing Family, there is no need of troubling ourselves, or our Readers, with the Disputes of various Writers about it; these very Disputes incontestably prove its great Antiquity, and the different Sentiments that have been published about it, are pregnant Evidences of a Desire to entitle many antient and illustrious Houses to the Honour of being allied to this. The most probable and best attested of these Accounts, make *Rodolph* Count of *Hapsbourg*, generally reputed the Founder, because he was the first Emperor of this Family, to be descended by his Father's Side from the Counts of *Tierstien*, near *Basil*, in *Switzerland*; and by the Mother's Side from the antient Counts of *Hapsbourg*.

He enjoyed from his Father the Landgravate of *Alsace*; and the Glory with which he extricated himself from several unjust Wars that were made against him by his Neighbours, induced the Cantons of *Uri*, *Schwitz*, and *Underwald* to demand his Protection; the Cities of *Zurich* and *Fribourg* did the like; the Counties of *Kyburgh*, *Lentzburg*, and *Baden*, came to him by the Death of his Cousin; and some other Lordships were added to his Dominions in Right of his Consort.

The Extent of his Reputation exceeded by very much that of his Territories; and the Prudence with which he governed them, induced *Ottocarus* King of *Bohemia*, to make Choice of him for his Prime Minister; which Dignity he enjoyed with the Title of Great Master of his Household. In this Situation of Things, the Empire became vacant by the Death of *Henry II*, and the Affairs of *Germany* fell into the greatest Confusion; for some endeavoured to raise *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, others *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, to the Imperial Dignity. Indeed both took the Title, but neither enjoyed the Authority of Emperor.

During the Time of these Disputes, three of the most antient Families extinguished; by which the Duchy of *Swabia*, and the Margravates of *Austria* and *Thuringia* were without Sovereigns
or

or lawful Princes, which increased the Disorders in *Germany* to such a Degree, that several great Cities had no other Way to secure themselves from those Bands of Thieves and Plunderers, that ravaged whole Countries with Impunity, than to enter into a League from mutual Defence, in some measure to supply the Want of that legal Government, by which they had been formerly protected.

At last, in the Year 1273, when this Scene of Confusion had wearied out even those by whom it was occasioned, the Elector of *Mentz* suggested, as the only Remedy for these Disorders, raising *Rodolph* of *Hapsbourg* to the Imperial Dignity; this Proposal was immediately embraced, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* not only gave their Votes, but, to strengthen his Interest, and to render him more able to support his new Dignity, they each of them married one of his Daughters. It was not long after his becoming Emperor, that he formed a Resolution of obliging *Ottocarus* King of *Bohemia* to submit himself to the Laws of the Empire. This Prince relying on his Power, and taking Advantage of the publick Calamity, had seized the Duchy of *Swabia*, and the Margravate of *Austria*; but *Rodolph* soon forced him to give up the Duchy to his second Son; and even insisted, as he had a Right to do, upon his rendering him Homage for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; which was extremely mortifying to the proudest, and most ambitious Prince of his Time; who could not forget that the Emperor had been once Master of his Household.

At length however he submitted to what could not be declined, but upon Condition that he should do Homage to the Emperor in his Tent, and before the great Officers of the Empire only. *Rodolph* condescended thereto; but when, according to the Ceremony, the King was on his Knees with his Hands upon the Gospels that lay open in the Emperor's Lap, the great Officers of the Household who were present, threw themselves flat upon their Faces, and the Sides of the Tent being drawn up, exhibited this extraordinary Scene to the whole Imperial Army, ranged in two Lines on each Side of the Tent for that Purpose. This provoked the King so much, that at the Persuasion of his Queen he renewed the War, in hopes of recovering *Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola*; but instead of this, in the first Battle he fought, he lost the Victory and his Life together.

The Emperor *Rodolph* gave another Instance of the Quickness of his Wit, and his great Presence of Mind, in the Ceremony of his Coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, when the Electors made some Difficulty because the Scepter was wanting:

There is a Crucifix yonder, said the Emperor, *let us use that for a Scepter*. There was no rejecting this Expedient, so that they were obliged to do their Homage, and receive the Investiture of their Dominions, which they held as Fiefs of the Empire, by laying their Hands on the Crucifix instead of the Scepter. He answered in all other Respects the Expectations of those who had raised him to the Empire; for he restored its Domestick Tranquillity, and its Reputation with regard to Foreign Nations; by suppressing such as made use of their Power to harass and disturb their Neighbours, as well as by giving new Vigour to the Laws for the Punishment of lesser Offenders every where throughout the Empire.

It is true, that he took great Care of his own Family, obliging *Henry Duke of Bavaria* to restore him the Towns of *Wetzel, Lintz, Steyr*, and other Places upon the River *Enns*, mortgaged to him by *Ottocarus King of Bohemia*, which the Duke parted with to prevent being punished for the Assistance he had given that Prince against the Empire. It is also said, that the Emperor *Rodolph* sold several Rights of the Empire in *Italy*, and made many of the Cities free. But in doing this, he conceived that no Prejudice was done to the Empire, since he never affected to be powerful in *Italy*, and therefore declined being crowned King of the *Romans* by the Pope, or of *Lombardy* by the Archbishop of *Milan*, which his Predecessors affected at a vast Expence.

He thought an Emperor might become powerful enough by minding his Affairs in *Germany*; and that their frequent Journeys into *Italy* had been prejudicial to the *Germans*. Until this Emperor's Time all Acts of State, all Laws, and all Proceedings in Courts of Justice, had been written in *Latin*; but he changing that Custom, used the *German Language* himself, and established this Usage for the future; in a Word, he laid the Foundation of the Power and Grandeur of the *German Empire*, as well as of the House of *Austria*; and after a glorious Reign died in 1291, leaving behind him two Sons, *Albert Duke of Austria*, and *Rodolph Duke of Swabia*.

After the Decease of this Prince, the Archbishop and Elector of *Mentz* procured *Adolphus of Nassau* to be elected Emperor, with an Intention of governing the Empire under his Name; but finding that Prince of too high a Spirit to bear such a Treatment, he deserted him, and engaged other Electors to do the same, who soon after took upon them to depose him, and to elect *Albert Duke of Austria*, Emperor. This produced a civil War, which was ended in the Year 1298, by a decisive Battle, in which *Albert* was not only

victorious, but also killed his Competitor *Adolphus* with his own Hand, and thereby secured to himself the Possession of the Imperial Dignity.

The Elector of *Mentz* in a very little Time grew as uneasy in Regard to him, as he had been in respect to *Adolphus*; and relying on his own great Power and the Influence he had over the Electors, had the Insolence to tell him once, when they were hunting together, that he had nothing more to do, than to blow his Horn, which hung at his Side, and immediately there should start up another Emperor. But in this he shewed his Vanity and Ambition, more than either his Wisdom or his Interest; for *Albert* had immediately recourse to Arms, and forced him and the Electors who sided with him, to a speedy Submission. He was a powerful and prudent Prince, and, like *Rodolph* his Father, alike careful of the Concerns of his Family, and the Interests of the Empire.

But with many great Qualities he had (and indeed what Prince has not?) some Mixture of Vices. His Ambition was boundless, and his Government arbitrary. The Governors he sent into *Switzerland*, which belonged to him, oppressed the People to such a Degree, that the Cantons of *Uri*, *Schwitz*, and *Underwald*, resolved to make themselves free; in order to which they entered into a Confederacy in the Year 1307 for ten Years, which afterwards they renewed in 1315, and made perpetual: And this was the Origin of the *Switz* Republick, which has since made such a Figure in *Europe*. For tho' the Emperor neglected nothing to reduce them again under his Dominion, yet it was in vain; for partly by the Situation of their Country, and partly by the Bravery of the People, they preserved their Liberty in spite of all his Endeavours.

He married his eldest Son *Rodolph* to *Blanche* the Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*, by which he gained some Advantages to his Family. After her Decease he espoused *Isabella*, Queen Dowager of *Bohemia*, and in her Right acquired that Kingdom, which now for the first Time was possessed by the House of *Austria*; but he dying soon after, they lost it again. As for the Emperor *Albert*, he continued to govern the Empire with great Honour and Reputation several Years, in which Space he lessened the Power of the Clergy, made several good Laws, and endeavoured to fix the Imperial Authority upon a firmer Foundation than it had hitherto stood.

But while he was meditating this, and other great Designs, an Act of Injustice he had committed, brought him to an

untimely End; for having undertaken the Tutelage of his Nephew *John*, the Son of *Radolph* Duke of *Swabia*, he refused when of Age, to put him in Possession of his Country, which provoked him to such a Degree, that he took an Opportunity when the Emperor was hunting, to assassinate him on the first of *May* 1308, in a Place where the Monastery of *Keningsfield* was afterwards built by his Widow the Empress Dowager *Isabella* or *Elizabeth*.

By the premature Death of this great Monarch, the House of *Austria* lost the Imperial Dignity, which they did not recover for one hundred and thirty Years; though her Chiefs continued all that Time to be reckoned amongst the greatest and most powerful Princes of the Empire; and this notwithstanding their Dominions were divided into several distinct Principalities, the Possessors of which frequently differed amongst themselves. At length, *Albert* surnamed the *Magnanimous*, having married *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Sigismund*, revived the Glory of his House; for on the first of *January* 1438, he was elected King of *Hungary*; on the sixth of *May* the same Year, he became King of *Bohemia*; on the twenty-sixth of *June* following, was elected Emperor. He was one of the bravest, and at the same Time one of the most prudent Princes of his Age. He met with great Difficulties in maintaining the many Dignities to which he was raised; but by degrees he found Means to bring the *Hungarians* to Submission; he next drove *Uladislaus* King of *Poland* out of *Bohemia*, by which he reduced that Country into a State of Tranquillity; and afterwards engaging in a War against the *Turks*, he forced their Emperor *Amurath* to raise the Siege of *Belgrade*, when he had lain before it a Year.

He would undoubtedly have performed still greater Things, if he had not been removed by sudden Death on the twenty-sixth of *October* 1439. He left behind him a posthumous Son called *Ladislaus*, who had the Titles of King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; but he never enjoyed either, though the *Hungarians* were desirous enough of putting him into Possession of their Country, if his Cousin, who succeeded his Father in the Empire, would have consented to it; but whether through Ambition, or from some other Point of false Policy, he kept him at *Vienna*, where at last he died about the Age of eighteen, not without great Suspicion of Poison.

Frederick, surnamed the *Peaceable*, was elected Emperor on the Death of *Albert* II. in the Year 1440, and two Years afterwards he married the Infanta *Eleonora*, Daughter of *Edward* King of *Portugal*, by whom he had his Son and Successor

cessor *Maximilian*. He interposed his Authority at the famous Council at *Basle*, by which he prevented a Schism, when at the very Point of breaking out; he reformed the Laws of the Empire, and digested those relating to Fiefs into one Code, which prov'd very beneficial to all the Members of the *Germanick* Body. He engaged in several Family Disputes, which ended in a War; but by Degrees, and by dint of Patience and Prudence, he extricated himself out of numberless Difficulties, not with Safety only, but in almost every Instance with Advantage.

He was a very saving Prince, which drew upon him the Reproach of being covetous; but in reality Frugality was to him a very necessary Virtue; for his Predecessors in the Empire having possessed with it the two rich Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, were consequently able to spend liberally, and to keep very magnificent Courts. But as he held neither of those Kingdoms, and drew but a small Revenue from his own Territories, he could not live with the same Splendor that they had done. He was very slow in his Measures, but withal very secure, and with great Prudence established the Grandeur of the House of *Austria* upon that Basis on which it has hitherto subsisted, notwithstanding all the vigorous and repeated Efforts of its numerous Enemies.

There were two Things that contributed extreamly to this Establishment: the first was the Length of his Reign, which exceeded half a Century, and gave him an Opportunity of doing greater Things for his Family, than hitherto any Prince had done: And on the other, the Marriage of his eldest Son *Maximilian* to *Mary* Duchess of *Burgundy*, the greatest Heiress in *Europe*, by whom the House of *Austria* acquired an immense Treasure in ready Money, and those that are still called the *Austrian Netherlands*, with the Provinces which have since composed the *Dutch Republick*, included. This Match enabled the Emperor also to procure his Son to be elected King of the *Romans* in his Life-time, which was a very wise Precaution, since after a Reign of fifty-three Years, this Monarch was taken off suddenly; for having eat plentifully of a Melon after Dinner, and drank too much Water upon it, this proved the Cause of his Death, on the 14th of *August* 1493.

Maximilian I. succeeded his Father, having been chosen King of the *Romans* in 1486. He was in his Temper one of the most generous, as well as in his Person one of the handsomest Princes of his Time. The former gained him the Affection of his Subjects, as the latter had procured him the Heiress of *Burgundy*, to whom all the great Princes on the Continent had pretended. It may not be amiss to observe,

that it was this Lady who brought the large Lip into the *Austrian* Family, at *Brantome* observes on the Authority of *Eleanor* Queen of *France*, who was Sister to *Charles V*, who told it that Gentleman.

Besides the other Blessings he possessed, *Maximilian* was one of the most extraordinary Princes of his Age in respect to his natural Abilities, and conquered many signal Disadvantages which would have weighed down an inferior Genius. He could scarce speak plain at ten Years old, and afterwards spoke so fast, that he could hardly be understood. His Father put him under the Care of *Peter Englebert*, who was a downright Pedant, and behaved towards him in such a Manner as gave him a Disgust to Learning; but as he grew up, he corrected these Errors by his own Care and Diligence, and became not only extremely eloquent in his own Language, but spoke also the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian* Tongues with the greatest Purity.

After the Death of *Mary of Burgundy*, he projected a second Marriage with *Ann of Bretagne*, which if it had taken Effect, would have been no less beneficial to him than the former, but he was supplanted in this by the *French* King *Charles VIII*. Upon this Disappointment he married *Blanche* Daughter to the Duke of *Milan*, with whom he had a prodigious Sum in ready Money, which enabled him to recover that Part of *Austria* that had been conquered by *Mathias Corvinus* King of *Hungary*. His Care of his own Concerns did not hinder him from being very attentive to those of the Empire; for in the Year 1495, he established, in a Diet at *Worms*, the famous Constitution for the Security of the publick Peace, and at the same Time created an Imperial Chamber, for hearing and determining in a legal Manner the Differences and Disputes between the Princes of the Empire, which before his Time had been seldom decided any other Way than by the Sword. He continued the War which his Father had begun against the *Swiss* Cantons; but after being defeated in eight Battles, concluded a Treaty of Peace with them in 1499.

The Year following he settled a Council for the Government of the Empire; and at the same Time divided it into Circles, of which there were originally but six, viz. *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Swabia*, the *Rhine*, *Westphalia*, and Lower *Saxony*; but in 1512, there were four other Circles added; viz. those of *Austria*, *Burgundy*, the Lower *Rhine*, and Upper *Saxony*. Authors are very much divided, as to the Time in which *Austria* was erected into an Arch-Duchy; and there are good Authorities which ascribe this to five several Princes; but however the most probable Account is, that *Maximilian* gave

gave it this Title, to distinguish it from all the other Principalities of the Empire and of *Europe*.

The *Venetians* having refused him a Passage thro' their Territories, he was offended with it to such a Degree, that he engaged the Pope and the King of *France* in the League of *Cambray* against that Republick, which was very near being fatal to it. The Loss of the Battle of *Agnadel* had infallibly drawn after it that of all their Territories upon the Continent, if some Misunderstanding had not arisen between the Powers embarked in that Alliance. The *Venetians* themselves were so astonished when they saw the Emperor become Master of *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Lodi*, and other fortified Places, that they offered him an annual Tribute of fifty thousand Ducats to be taken under the Protection of the Empire; and without doubt it was the greatest Mistake in his Reign, that he neglected this Offer: for the Republick, recovering from their Fright, and having prevailed upon *Lewis XII.* of *France* to quit the League, soon brought most of these Places again under their Obedience; so that except *Riva* and *Roveredo*, the Emperor kept nothing at the Peace, which he sold the *Venetians* for two hundred thousand Ducats, one half of which Sum was paid by *France*.

In this War the Emperor had the Assistance of the *Swiss*, in virtue of the hereditary Convention he had made with them; so that he found them more useful to him as Allies, than he could have made them as Subjects. In 1515, he united the County of *Goritz* to his Dominions, upon the Death of the last Count without Heirs. He received with great Magnificence, *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, and *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary*, at *Vienna*; at which Interview he renewed the Treaty of Succession with the last of these Princes, by which he gained the Kingdom of *Hungary* for his Posterity. His Reign, though short in Comparison of his Father's, was glorious for himself, very useful to the Empire, and exceedingly happy for his Family. He died at *Wells* in *Austria*, on the twelfth of *January* 1519.

This great Monarch had only one Son, *Philip*, who died before him; he espoused *Jane* the Daughter of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and *Isabella* of *Castile*, who brought him the whole Kingdom of *Spain* for her Fortune. Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, a *Spanish* Historian, gives us this Character of him: "His Temper and his Manners, says he, gained him not only the Love of his Subjects, but also of his Enemies; he was very beneficent, but his Gifts were small, and like those of
" a private

“ a private Man, for he had not Time to shew that he had the Soul and Generosity of a King. His Queen was so fond of him, that his Death, which happened in the Year 1506, cost that Princess her Senses; she directed his Body to be embalmed, and carried it every where about with her; a memorable Example of conjugal Tenderness! and though in itself an Act of Folly, has been admired by Men of the best Sense.”

King *Philip* left behind him two Sons, *Charles* born the twentieth-fourth of *February* 1500, and *Ferdinand* born the tenth of *March* 1503. He had likewise four Daughters; *Eleonora*, who espoused Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, and afterwards the *French* King *Francis* I. *Isabella*, who married *Christian* II. King of *Denmark*; *Mary*, who espoused *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; and *Catharine*, first promised to *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and afterwards married to *John* III. King of *Portugal*.

Philip made a Treaty with *Lewis* XII. of *France* for the Division of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and by his last Will directed, that he should have the Tuition of his eldest Son, desiring that he would provide some able Man to have the Care of his Education, which that Prince faithfully fulfilled, by appointing *William de Croy* of the House of *Chievres* to that Employment, who was one of the wisest and best-bred Men of his Time, and who laid the Foundation of his Pupil's Fortunes, by an excellent Education.

This young Prince *Charles*, whom his Grandfather *Maximilian* I. could not prevail upon the Electors to choose King of the *Romans* in his Life-time, succeeded him after his Decease, and became Emperor by the Name of *Charles* V. chiefly by the Influence of the Electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony*. He yielded to the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* his Brother, all the Dominions belonging to the House of *Austria* in *Germany*, reserving to himself the Successions of the Kings of *Spain* and Dukes of *Burgundy*. He added to the *Low Countries*, the Lordships of *Utrecht* and *Over-Yssel*, which came to him by the Donation of *Henry*, Bishop of *Utrecht*. He afterwards acquired the Duchy of *Guedres*, and the County of *Zutphen* on the Death of their last Duke *Charles*. The Countries of *Frieze* and *Groninguen*, he purchased from *George* Duke of *Saxony*, for one hundred and fifty thousand Florins in Gold. He annexed likewise the Towns of *Cambray* and *Lingen* to those Provinces; and for their Security, incorporated the whole into the Empire, under the Title of the Circle of *Burgundy*. He had in the Course of his Reign many Wars, and was in most of them very successful.

In the Year 1521, he entered into a League with Pope *Leo X.* in Consequence of which he made himself Master of *Parma, Placentia, and Milan*, which last he restored to Duke *Francis Sforza*. He raised to the Papacy *Adrian VI.* who had been his Preceptor. The Constable of *Bourbon* quitting the Service of his natural Prince, and entering into his, he made an Irruption into *Provence*, where he took the Cities of *Aix and Toulon*, but was obliged to raise the Siege of *Marseilles* by the steady Resistance of the Inhabitants. He afterwards repassed the *Alps*, which encouraged the French King *Francis I.* to invade the *Milanese*, and lay Siege to *Pavia*, which by making an obstinate Defence, gave the *Imperialists* Time to collect their Forces; and the King, against the Sentiments of his principal Officers, having ventured to give them Battle, not only lost it, but with it his Liberty.

This could not but give the Emperor much Satisfaction, since King *Francis* had been Competitor against him for the Imperial Dignity; and perhaps it was in some measure owing to this, that he sent him Prisoner into *Spain*, where he remained under a hard Captivity for three Years, and even then did not obtain his Liberty, but upon very severe Terms; for the Performance of which he gave his Children as Hostages. A Proceeding that does this Emperor's Memory no great Honour.

On his Return into his Dominions however, the French King enter'd into a League against the Emperor with the then Pope *Clement VII.* and the *Venetians*; which so provoked *Charles*, that he ordered his Forces under the Command of the Constable of *Bourbon*, to enter the Ecclesiastical Territories, where he soon carried all before him, took and sacked the City of *Rome*, and besieged his Holiness in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, while by an unaccountable Strain of Popish Bigotry and Hypocrisy, they were making solemn Processions in *Spain* for his happy Deliverance.

The Doctrines of *Luther* prevailing in *Germany*, the Emperor, who at first did not give much Attention to them, or perhaps inclined in his own Mind to a Reformation, surmising afterwards they might prove dangerous to his Authority, resolved to extinguish them; and for that Purpose assembled a Diet at *Spire*, and by a Decree dated the 13th of *October* 1529, directed that the *Lutherans* should be proceeded against; upon which, several Princes who had embraced those Sentiments, protested in favour of their Religion, and so they came to be called *Protestants*, and the Doctrine of *Luther* was thenceforward stiled the *Protestant Faith*.

The same Year the Emperor concluded a Peace with *Francis I.* at *Cambray*, but it did not last long; for the Duke of *Milan* having caused, as it was said, a *French* Ambassador to be killed in his Dominions, King *Francis* raised a great Army in order to revenge this Affront; but the Duke of *Savoy* having refused him a Passage through his Territories, he turned his Arms against him, and took from him without any Pretence, but that of superior Force, all his Countries.

In the mean time the Duke of *Milan* died without Issue, upon which the Emperor entred into Possession of that Country, as devolving to him in the nature of a Fief; which kindled a new War in *Italy*, and in the *Low Countries*; however in the Year 1557, a Truce was concluded for ten Months at *Terouanne*; which was prolonged soon after at *Nice* for ten Years. It was in this Space, that upon a popular Insurrection in the City of *Ghent*, the Emperor demanded, and was permitted to pass through *France*, where he received very great Honours, and was treated with much Generosity by *Francis I.* to whom it is said he promised on that account to restore the Duchy of *Milan*; which however it is certain he neither did, nor intended to do; which, with some other Grievances, engaged the *French* King to break the Truce, and enter into a War with the Emperor; who thereupon made a League with the King of *England*, whose Assistance at that Time was of great Consequence to him.

Yet the *Imperialists* being defeated near *Carignan*, and the Emperor being afraid that the *French* would take Advantage of the Religious Disturbances in *Germany*, resolved to conclude a Peace in Time, which, tho' some Years after, was accordingly done at *Crespy*. There never lived a Prince who had a better Title to the high Characters of a great Captain and a consummate Politician, than *Charles V.* He gained every Advantage by his Arms that it was possible to gain by them; and he very soon saw when these Advantages were no longer in his Power, and then he had recourse to Treaties, in which no Monarch knew better how to manage his Interest than he did, or gained more in the Course of several intricate Negotiations.

The Protestants were now become extremely formidable in *Germany*; for upon publishing the Decree of the Diet of *Spire*, they formed, as it was very natural for them to do, a Confederacy for their own Preservation; which, from the Place where it was concluded, had the Title of the League of *Smalcald*, and makes a great Figure in the *German* History. The Emperor going to *Bologna* to be crowned by the Pope, had a very serious Conference with him upon this Subject; in which
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he pressed him to call, before it was too late, a general Council for the Reformation of the Church, as the surest and most effectual Means for remedying these Disorders; the Mischiefs attending which he foresaw, and represented in the strongest Colours. But his Holiness was of a different Opinion; he thought that this was being too complaisant to Hereticks; and therefore insisted that they should be compelled to Obedience, in which the Emperor acquiesced, but resolved to do it in his own Method.

On his Return therefore to *Germany*, he summoned a Diet to be held at *Augsbourg* on the eighth of *April* 1530; where the Protestants appeared, and presented a Confession of their Faith, shewing plainly that they adhered to the true Church of *Christ*; and that they rejected only the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, which were of late Date, and, so far from being authorised by, that they were incompatible with the Gospel. This however was so far from having the designed Effect of procuring Peace and due Liberty of Conscience, that it brought about quite the contrary, through the Emperor's Management.

For in that Diet an Edict was framed for restoring all Things to their former State, and for maintaining the Church, that is, the Church of *Rome*, by the Secular Arm; so that the Protestants saw themselves obliged either to part with their Religion or to fight for and defend it, and they chose the latter. This opened a long and bloody War in the Empire; in which at first the Emperor was successful; for in the Battle of *Mulberg* he defeated the Confederate Army, and made the famous *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, who was at their Head, Prisoner, which gave the Protestants a dreadful Blow.

He soon after got into his Hands the Landgrave of *Hesse*, by an Artifice of the famous Cardinal *Grenvelle*, a great Politician, but one of the wickedest Men of that Age; who by changing the Letter in the safe Conduct given to that Prince, furnished the Emperor with a Pretence for detaining him; which pitiful Artifice, how much soever it might be for his Interest, was highly and will be ever detrimental to his Honour. He carried those two illustrious Princes about with him, and thereby so terrified the Protestants, that they began to fall off from their League; by drawing over Prince *Maurice* of *Saxony* to his Party, through Hopes of granting him the Investiture of his Cousin's Dominions, under Pretence that his War against the Elector was founded on Motives of State, and not of Religion, he divided them still more; and by besieging some of the Imperial Cities that had taken their Part, he frightened them into such Compositions, as cost them much more Money than
would

would have been necessary to secure their Freedom, by supporting the Confederacy into which they had entered for that Purpose.

The City of *Magdebourg* alone remained firm to those Engagements, its Inhabitants resolving to hazard their Lives and Fortunes rather than their Consciences; and those generous Sentiments of theirs enabled them to make a long and vigorous Defence, which afforded the Protestants time to recover their Spirits, and to consider of Ways and Means for restoring their Affairs, and obtaining the free Exercise of their Religion. This was the first great Crisis of what was called the new, but which in reality deserved better to be stiled the old Religion; and if the Inhabitants of *Magdebourg* had been less zealous, or to speak plainly, if Providence had not enabled them to triumph by their Constancy over all the Fury, as well as over the superior Forces of their Enemies, Papal Authority would have regained by the Sword all that it had lost in Consequence of that general Reception the Arguments of *Luther* and his Followers had met with throughout all *Germany*.

From hence by the Way, the Reader may discern two Points of very great Consequence in Politicks. The *first* is, that religious Principles are much more capable of sustaining and supporting a firm and determined Courage, than either political Notions or Views of Interest; which should induce Statesmen to be very cautious of running down Religion in general, which can never have any better Effect than corrupting and dastardizing such as are deluded into these loose Sentiments; for this is an infallible Maxim, that he who does not think himself accountable to God, will never do any thing worthy of a Man. The *second*, that Firmness and Resolution, with any competent Degree of Strength, will, generally speaking, command Success, and that frequently beyond the Reach of Probability; so that in a good Cause, Men ought seldom or never to despair, but rather consider how they may discharge their Duty to God and their Country, and leave the Issue to Providence, by which they are to be protected here, or rewarded hereafter. But to proceed with our History.

The *French King Henry II.* saw the false Step he had taken in not supporting the Protestants in time, and therefore resolved to repair his Error if it was possible, by sending them powerful Succours, provided he was sure they would not come too late. He first enter'd into Intrigues with their Chiefs, and finding they were beginning to recover their Spirits, and that they were yet able to raise great Numbers of Men, he furnished them with considerable Sums of Money; and next attempted the
Fidelity

Fidelity of *Maurice*, to whom the Emperor had given the Investiture of the Electorate of *Saxony*, and who then commanded his Army before the City of *Magdebourg*. That Prince was a great Politician, and foreseeing the Dangers to which he might be exposed, in case the Protestants were crush'd, he resolved to assist them; with much Secrecy at first, by protracting the Siege, and, when they had gathered Force sufficient to support him, to declare openly in their Favour.

He executed this Scheme with such Dexterity and Success, that he constrained the Emperor to retire into *Tyrol*, and was very near seizing his Person at *Innsbruck*; from whence he was obliged to make his Escape with the utmost Precipitation to *Villaco*, in the Dominions of the State of *Venice*. The *French*, who assisted the Protestants merely with a View to their own Interest, in hopes of recovering the Duchy of *Milan*, and seizing some Places that lay conveniently for them in *Germany*, found themselves deceived in their Expectations by the Wisdom of the Emperor, and the publick Spirit of Prince *Maurice* of *Saxony*; for the former having given full Powers to *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, to treat of Peace upon the best Terms on which it could be had, it was very soon concluded, by a Treaty signed the 2d of *August* 1552, which, from the Place where it was negotiated, received the Title of *the Pacification of Passau*; and the *French* were entirely excluded, of which they complain'd highly, and charged Prince *Maurice* with the greatest Perfidy.

But the Truth of the Matter is, that when the Elector discovered the real Designs of the *French*, and saw at the same Time how much they tended to the Ruin of *Germany*, he thought that no Engagements could bind him to concur in Measures tending to the Destruction of his Country; in which he certainly acted like a good Patriot and a Man of Sense, deceived the Deceivers, put an End to the Troubles of the Empire, and secured to the Protestants what they fought for, the Freedom of their Consciences, and the Liberty of exercising their Religion.

The Resentment which the Emperor had of the Behaviour of *France* upon this Occasion, engaged him in a War with that Crown; and, which plainly shewed his great Capacity, he brought over to his Service the greatest Part of that very Army, by which he had been driven into *Tyrol*; and having done this, he march'd directly to recover *Metz*, which was one of the Places the *French* had seized, and into which the Duke of *Guise* threw himself with an Army, rather than a Garrison; by which the Place was preserved, and the Emperor forced to retreat; which put him in Mind of a Design he had

had form'd when at *Inspruck*, of quitting all his Dignities, and retiring for the Remainder of his Days to a private Life. This, one would have thought, might have been easily executed; but the Emperor judged otherwise.

He resolv'd to shew himself in that, as well as in all other Things, a Hero and a Statesman; and therefore there were many Points which he resolv'd to see settled before he abdicated the Thrones of the Empire and of *Spain*. He was contriving in his own Mind, how to weaken the Force of the Protestants; but before he had fix'd upon a Scheme, that was likely to be attended with Success, the Protestants did his Work without his Interposition; for the Hatred between *Maurice* of *Saxony* and *Albert* of *Brandenburgh* rose to such a Height, that it came at last to a decisive Battle, in which the Army of the former gain'd the Victory, tho' their Chief was killed; and *Albert*, who was defeated, found no other way to preserve himself but by Flight. His Brother *Augustus*, who succeeded *Maurice* in the Electorate of *Saxony*, became so firmly attach'd to the Emperor, that he had no longer any Cause to be apprehensive of Dangers in *Germany*.

He then march'd into the *Low Countries* with a powerful Army to expel the *French*; and while he was carrying on the War there, he meditated and accomplish'd another great Design, which was the Marriage of his Son *Philip* with *Mary* Queen of *England*, and Daughter to *Henry VIII.* which took Effect in *July* 1554, and confirm'd the Emperor in the Resolution he had taken to resign his Dominions to his Son, in order to which he was willing to have concluded a Peace with *France*; but finding that, after a long Negotiation, impracticable, he resolv'd to proceed to what was entirely in his own Power, and to make an Exchange of Splendor and Power, for Retirement and Peace of Mind.

It is necessary, for the Sake of Perspicuity, to treat this Affair of his Resignations more at large, because many Writers confound their Readers Notions about it, by representing it as a single Act; whereas the Emperor made three distinct Resignations, which all of them deserve to be considered. In the first, which was perform'd with great Solemnity at *Brussels* on the 28th of *October* 1555, he declared his Son Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Sovereign of the Seventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries*. In the second, two Months after, he resign'd to him all his hereditary Dominions; but still reserv'd to himself the Empire, with a View to have secured that likewise, if it had been practicable, for King *Philip*; and the Method by which he propos'd to succeed in his Design, was this:

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He labour'd to persuade his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, to consent that *Philip* should be elected to that Dignity, in Consideration of his resigning the Empire to *Ferdinand*. But this Project, tho' managed with great Secrecy and Address, fail'd of Success by the Assiduity of the Archduke *Maximilian*, Son to King *Ferdinand*, who traversed all the Emperor's Endeavours for that Purpose, and secured the Succession to himself. A whole Year was spun out in this manner; and then the Emperor sent *William* Prince of *Orange*, attended by the Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and his own Secretary, to carry his Resignation to his Brother *Ferdinand*, which put an End to that Affair. *Charles* soon afterwards made a Voyage to *Spain*, where he resolv'd to spend the Remainder of his Days in a Monastery.

At *Valladolid* he pass'd a few Days in taking Leave of the Ladies, and some Persons of Distinction, who came on so strange an Occasion to pay their Respects to him. Amongst the rest came his Fool, or Jester, *Pedro de San Erbas*, who, upon seeing the Emperor make a low Bow, could not help saying, *Sire, you are very complaisant to pull off your Hat to me; is it to shew that you are no longer Emperor?* No, *Pedro*, answered that Prince gravely, *it is because I have now nothing in my Power to give you, save this Mark of Civility.* We may collect from this Answer, that he began already to be chagrin'd on the Subject of his Abdication. He retired however, as he propos'd, to a Convent of *Hieronimites*, where he died on the 21st of *September* 1558, at the Close of the second Year after his Resignation. By the Manner in which he parted with his Dominions, he created two distinct Branches of the House of *Austria*, viz. the *Spanish* and the *German*. Of the former we shall speak in its proper Place, at present it is our Business to pursue and finish the History of the latter.

Ferdinand I. the younger Brother of the Emperor *Charles* V. was born in the Year 1503, and was a Prince of a mild Disposition, very learned himself, and a Lover of learned Men, He married the Princess *Ann*, Daughter of *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary*; and in her Right, on the Death of her Brother *Lewis*, who was kill'd in the Battle of *Mohatz*, he claim'd that Crown, as well as the Diadem of *Bohemia*, in 1526. He obtained the Possession of the latter immediately; but the Party which oppos'd him in the former call'd in the *Turks*, which gave Rise to a long and bloody War. In 1531, his Brother *Charles* procur'd him the Title of King of the *Romans*, notwithstanding a vigorous Opposition made thereto by the Elector of *Saxony*. The two Brothers, however, considered this

His Goods were seiz'd, and his Estate confiscated on this Account, and he obliged to conceal himself, sometimes in one Part of *Germany*, and sometimes in another, to avoid further Punishment. At last, grown weary of this Vagabond Life, he assembled a Body of Men, in Circumstances as desperate as his own, surpriz'd the City of *Wurtzburg*, disarm'd the Inhabitants, pillag'd the Churches, ravish'd the Nuns; and, after all those Acts of Violence, forced the Gentry and Clergy to assemble, and declare him innocent of the Bishop's Murder, and to restore him to his Estate both personal and real; as also to take an Oath to defend him against all who should attempt any thing to his Prejudice, even if it were the Emperor himself.

Maximilian looked upon this as an Indignity done to the Empire, and therefore procured a Resolution in the Diet of *Augsbourg*, that all who had any Concern in surprizing *Wurtzburg*, should be delivered up to legal Punishment; for this Action was done in the Time of his Father *Ferdinand*, and he had put *Grombach* under the Ban of the Empire, who thereupon retired to the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*, who not contented with giving him Protection, declared him his Privy-Counsellor; upon which the Emperor put the Duke likewise under the Ban of the Empire, and committed the Execution of the Sentence to *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony*; who, after trying fair Means to no Purpose, at length besieged *Gotha*, and took it. The Duke being sent Prisoner to the Emperor, was depriv'd of his Dominion, and sentenced to be confin'd for Life; a Judgment severe in itself, but so just, that it drew no Imputation upon *Maximilian*, whose Unwillingness to proceed to these Extremities was known and acknowledged.

He was far from being a Bigot in Religion, as appears from his granting the free Exercise of their Religion to his Protestant Subjects in *Austria*, and by his publicly blaming the *Parisian* Massacre, tho' committed by the Authority of his Son-in-Law *Charles IX.* of *France*. His Justice and other Royal Virtues induced many of the *Polish* Nobility to elect him for their King; but *Stephen Batori* Prince of *Transylvania*, having a stronger Party, supplanted him, and held that Kingdom, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Emperor to recover his Rights. He died in the Year 1576, at *Augsbourg*, where he had assembled a Diet, of a violent Palpitation at the Heart; which, it is suspected, was occasioned by a Dose of Poison given him by the Cardinal *de Granvelle*, whom we have mentioned before, as a Man very capable of such an Action.

This Monarch, by the Infanta *Maria*, Daughter to *Charles V.* had a numerous Posterity: viz. *Rodolph*, who succeeded him; *Ernst*, Governor of the *Low Countries*, born in 1553,

and who died in 1595; *Matthias*, who succeeded his Brother *Rodolph* in the Empire; *Maximilian*, Great Master of the *Teutomick* Order, afterwards elected King of *Poland*, who died in 1618; *Albert*, born in 1597, who was first an Ecclesiastick, and obtained a Cardinal's Hat, which afterwards he resign'd; and marrying the Infanta *Clara Isabella Eugenia*, Daughter to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, was made Governor of the *Low Countries*, and died in 1621, without Issue; *Ann*, born in 1549, and married in 1559 to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; *Elizabeth*, born in 1554, and married in 1570 to *Charles IX.* King of *France*; *Margaret*, born in 1567, who lived a Nun, and died in 1633, and *Eleonora* born in 1563, and died in 1581.

Rodolph II. was a Prince of an excellent Disposition, very learned himself, and a great Encourager of Learning, to a Degree, in the Opinion of many, prejudicial to his Affairs; because it led him to spend more of his Time amongst his Books, and with his learned Friends, than the Affairs of Government would permit; but in other Respects he was a very wise and worthy Prince, one desirous of living quiet himself, and of maintaining the Peace of the Empire, without attempting upon the Rights of others. He was King of the *Romans* at the Time of his Father's Decease, and so succeeded of Course, without any new Election; and had been crown'd King of *Hungary* in 1572, and of *Bohemia* in 1575, so that his Power was great, and his Dominions very extensive.

He came to the Empire in a very difficult Juncture, because of the Differences about Religion. He forced *Gerhard Trusches*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, who turn'd Protestant, and married *Agnes* Countess of *Mansfield*, to quit his Dominions. By a Truce of fifteen Years he prevented the Consequences of the Quarrel betwixt the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and *John-George* Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who were both chosen Bishops of *Strasbourg*; the former by the Popish Canons, and the latter by the Protestants. After the Death of Count *John Manderscheid*, to prevent the War that might have been occasioned by the Succession of *Fu-liers*, he would have sequester'd that Duchy; but the Pretenders to the Succession opposed it. The Protestants concluded an Association, which they call'd THE UNION, in 1609, of which *Frederick V.* Elector *Palatine*, was Chief. The Papists made a Confederacy for nine Years among themselves at *Wurtzbourg*, which they call'd THE LEAGUE, and thus the *Germans* were on the Point of arming against each other.

The Imperialists were engaged in a War with the *Turks* from 1549 to 1606, when they took several Towns, and com-

mitted great Ravages. *Rodolph* demanded Assistance of the Princes, and made a League with the Prince of *Transilvania*, which had very untoward Consequences. His Army however engaged the *Turks*, who had taken *Agria*, and defeated them; but being too intent upon the Plunder, the *Turks* rallied, and destroyed many of them. During this War *Philip-Emanuel of Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercoeur*, General of the Imperial Army, made the famous Retreat of *Canisa*. His Imperial Majesty granted the free Exercise of their Religion to the Protestants of *Bohemia*, at the Request of the Elector of *Saxony*; but he took away the same Privilege from his Subjects in *Austria*, which, as we have observed, was granted them by his Father; but it was believed this proceeded from Political rather than Religious Motives.

He would have taken Advantage of the Disputes about the Succession to the Duchy of *Cleves*, in order to have secured it to his own Family; and with that View sent his Cousin, the Archduke *Leopold*, to take Possession of it; but the Princes of *Germany*, and the neighbouring Power, concurr'd to defeat this Design; so that the Succession was preserved to the Families of *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*, tho' the Emperor made a Decree in Favour of the House of *Saxony*. But what chiefly disturb'd the Emperor's Repose, was the Party form'd against him by his Brother the Archduke *Matthias*; who persuaded himself that the Emperor intended to defeat him of his Succession, in Favour of his Cousins the Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, who were Princes exceedingly dear to him.

Being full of this Jealousy, he form'd such a Faction against *Rodolph*, that in 1608 he found himself obliged to yield up *Hungary* and *Austria* to the Archduke; which was so far from procuring that Quiet which he desired, that on the contrary it made the Archduke more uneasy and importunate; so that in 1611, he forced from him the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; and then forming a Party, in order to his being elected King of the *Romans*, this had such an Effect upon the neglected and disconsolate Emperor, that he died in *January* 1612, of a broken Heart. He was never married, but had several Natural Children. His Inclination to Books, and great Application to Chymistry, tho' they disturb'd his Affairs, were far enough from exhausting his Coffers, in which he left a larger Treasure than any of his Predecessors had possess'd, or any of his Successors have been since able to collect, amounting in ready Money and Jewels to seventeen Millions of Florins.

Matthias King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* succeeded his Brother, notwithstanding that a strong Party was formed against him.

him. His Reign was a continual Scene of Troubles and Uneasiness, occasioned chiefly by Religious Disputes: for there were now three powerful Factions in the Empire, all covering their private and ambitious Views with the plausible Pretence of Religion. The *Papists* formed what they called a *Catholic League*, at the Head of which was the Elector of *Bavaria*. The *Protestants* of the *Augsbourg* Profession, or *Lutherans*, had for their Head the Elector of *Saxony*; and the *Calvinists*, or as they stiled themselves the *Reformed*, finding there was no Security to be had but by some such League, framed a Confederacy likewise, to which they gave the Title of the *Evangelick Union*, at the Head of which were the Elector *Palatine* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*.

The Emperor now fully experienced all those Difficulties which he had taken Pains to excite in the Days of his Brother, and found it a very unpleasant Task for himself to go through, as being able to shew no Countenance or Favour to any Party without inflaming and exasperating the rest; neither was it long before these Religious Differences, which disturbed and distracted the Empire, begun to spread themselves into his Hereditary Dominions; to which the Haughtiness of his own Spirit, and the Errors of his Government, gave but too much Encouragement, and afforded the Malecontents many just Grounds for Complaint. Instead of being more vigilant and active from these threatening Circumstances, *Matthias* grew more averse to Business, and left it altogether in the Hands of Cardinal *Klesar*, who was his Chief Minister and Favourite.

He disputed the Right of naming the Prince of *Transylvania* with the *Turkish* Emperor *Amurath*; but at last made a Peace with him for twenty Years. He preferred the Archduke *Ferdinand* his Cousin, to *Philip III.* of *Spain*, who was his Nephew, to be his Heir, out of his natural Aversion to the *Spaniards*, a Point which deserves great Notice. He regulated the Succession at *Prague* in 1617, by the Advice of the Archduke *Maximilian* his Brother; and at the same Time a secret Treaty was made betwixt *Philip III.* of *Spain* and the Archduke *Ferdinand*, by which *Philip* quitted to *Ferdinand* and his Heirs Male, the Hereditary Countries that should fall to him by the Emperor's Death, on Condition that the Daughters of the Branch of *Spain* should be preferred to those of the House of *Germany*. At this Time happened the Revolt of *Bohemia*, because the Emperor's Ministers invaded the Laws and Privileges granted them by *Rodolphus* the Second, for securing their Religion and Liberty.

The Emperor assembled the States at *Prague*, where his Ministers so provoked the People, that they threw them out of the Windows of the Castle; by which however they received no Hurt. After that they chose new Magistrates, took up Arms, and published a Manifesto to justify their Proceedings. The Emperor published another, and his Council, in order to accommodate Matters, were for turning out his Favourite *Klesar*, who was hated by the *Bohemians*. But the Emperor being against it, the Archdukes *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* sent him Prisoner to *Tirul* by their own Authority. The Emperor however went on with the War, but the *Bohemians* being much more diligent, raised thirty thousand Men under Count *Mansfield*, and took several Towns; upon which the Emperor's Troops entered the Country, and committed such Cruelties as moved several neighbouring Princes and States to pity the *Bohemians*, and intercede for them in the Name of all the *Protestants* of the Empire; who also laid their Grievances before him, and complained that he gave the Command of his Army to Strangers, sworn Enemies to their Religion, which shewed there was a Design rather to destroy them than to redress their Complaints.

They made Application to several of the Electors to endeavour to procure an Accommodation. But the Duke of *Bavaria*, who loved to fish in troubled Waters, prevented it. The Emperor at last began to grow weary of the War and Fatigue, and resign'd the Kingdom of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* to his Cousin the Archduke *Ferdinand*. Soon after by his Grief for the Loss of the Archduke *Maximilian* and the Empress, he fell into a Distemper, and died the twentieth of *March* 1619; leaving his Successor embroiled in a War of thirty Years Continuance, which almost exhausted *Germany*.

The Emperor *Matthias* espoused *Ann* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Archduke *Ferdinand*, by whom he had no Issue; so that all the Pains he had bestowed in endeavouring to secure the Empire to his Posterity, were vain and to no Purpose. But he was more successful in his Endeavours on the Behalf of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, whom he procured to be elected King of *Bohemia*, and afterwards of *Hungary*, and thereby made Way for his succeeding him in the Empire, tho' he was not a little jealous of his Power; and therefore stipulated that he should not meddle with the Affairs of the Empire during his Life; whence it may be justly affirmed, that as he made it his Business to trouble his Brother's Reign on the Score of his own Pretensions, so he enjoyed as little Peace while he held the Imperial Dignity, the Power of which

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he laboured greatly to extend, and thereby increased those Troubles with which *Germany* was vex'd in his Time, and which rose still higher after his Decease, as the Reader will see in the Account of the next Reign.

Ferdinand III. mounted the Throne at a very critical Conjunction, and became Emperor of *Germany* at the very Instant almost, that the *Bohemians* determined that he should no longer be their King. They charged him with the most flagrant Breaches of the Laws, with violating the Privileges of his Subjects, and thereby losing all Title to rule over them; for which Reason they solemnly deposed him, and offered their Crown to the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, who all very wisely refused it; but *Frederick V.* Elector Palatine, being pressed thereto by his Wife, the Daughter of our King *James*, accepted it, in hopes of being assisted by several great Princes.

But engaging unluckily in a decisive Battle with all his Forces, he was totally defeated at *Weissenberg* near *Prague*, on the 18th of *November* 1620. This Defeat not only cost him his new Kingdom, but his Hereditary Dominions, which were given by the Emperor to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* in 1623. The Protestants, astonished at this Blow, began to form a Confederacy for their own Security; the Princes of the Lower *Saxony* also joining themselves to the King of *Denmark*, ventured to act openly against him; upon which the Emperor's General Count *Tilli* attacked that Prince, and routed his Forces, prosecuting his Victory with such Effect, that the King of *Denmark* was glad to make his Peace upon the best Terms he could obtain in 1629, which were indeed very indifferent.

The Emperor's good Fortune had an Effect but too common amongst Princes, it induced him to flatter himself with the Hopes of erecting an absolute Power in *Germany*; and therefore the very same Year, he published an Edict, that the Protestants should restore all the Ecclesiastical Livings they had seized since the Pacification of *Passaw*. The History of these Troubles, and of this War, is a Point of the greatest Importance towards a thorough Understanding of the History of *Europe* even at this Day; for it changed the whole Face of Affairs, and produced a new System, which it is absolutely requisite the Reader should comprehend, in order to his becoming Master of those Disputes in the Empire, which then engaged the Attention of all *Europe*, and have never failed to engage them as often as they have been renewed from that Time to this, which has been in almost every Reign.

The Emperor, who as we before observed, had given the Palatinate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, supposed that he had most effectually secured him and all the Papists to his Interests; and he also thought, that by giving the Marquisate of *Lusatia* to the Elector of *Saxony*, he had secured him likewise, and so had the rest of the Protestants at his Mercy. In all Probability he would scarce have been deceived in his Expectations, if the latter had not called to their Assistance a Prince, of whom he had then but little Jealousy or Apprehension.

They held for this Purpose a general Assembly at *Leipsick*, in which after mature Deliberation on the distressed State of their Affairs, they came at last to a Resolution of applying themselves to the King of *Sweden*, at that Time the brave *Gustavus Adolphus*, who had various Reasons to listen to their Proposals: For in the first Place, the Imperialists had already carried their Arms as far as the *Baltick*, so that they were become formidable to him as Neighbours; next, they had assisted the *Poles* during the Time in which he was engaged in a War against them, and so were his Enemies; and besides these and some other inferior Motives, as a zealous Protestant he could not be a calm Spectator of the Ruin of that Interest in the Empire. Upon these Motives therefore, and the Assurances he had received of Assistance both from the *French* and *Dutch*, who with great Reason were become very jealous of the then exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, he determined to enter *Germany* with an Army, which accordingly he did in 1630, tho' that Army was very small.

The Elector of *Saxony* seeing plainly, that his Ruin must be included in that of the Protestants, fell off from the Emperor, and his Forces having joined the *Swedes*, in Conjunction with them attacked and defeated the Imperial General *Tilli*, in the first Battle of *Leipsick*, by the Loss of which the Emperor was at once deprived of the Fruits of all those Victories which he had obtained in the Space of ten Years. After this, the *Swedes* marched towards the *Rhine*, and, as we have shewn in a former Article, had all the Success that could be expected; but the Elector of *Saxony* did not prosecute the War with that Vigour which he ought to have done, and this gave the Imperialists Time to recover themselves, and to gain some Advantages in their turn. *Gustavus* however, leaving all Things safe behind him, marched directly into *Bavaria*, where he attacked Count *Tilli* at the Head of his numerous Army, and after an obstinate Engagement defeated it, chiefly by his own wise Conduct, and the great Intrepidity of the *Swedish* Troops, which were excellent, both Horse and Foot.

In this Battle Count *Tilli* was dangerously wounded, and being carried to *Ingolstadt*, died there four Days afterwards. The Emperor, whose Affairs were now in a very dangerous Condition, gave the Command of his Armies to Count *Wallestein*, the ablest General in his Service, who marched with a new Army into *Bavaria*, in hopes of surprizing the *Suedes* and their Allies; but *Gustavus* wisely entrenched himself in a strong Camp, within a League of *Nuremberg*, where he amused the Imperialists till he was joined by the Duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, and General *Banier*, and then divided his Army into three Corps, marching himself towards *Winheim*. *Wallestein* thereupon pretended to move towards *Bamberg*, but turned short of a sudden, and marched back into *Saxony*. *Gustavus* foresaw this, and by very hasty Marches came up with them at *Lutzen*, a small Place in *Saxony* between *Leipsick* and *Weisensels*. He would not fight that Day, that his Army might have Time to recover their Fatigue: but the next, which was the sixteenth of *November* 1632, he gave them Battle, and though in the Beginning of the Action he lost his Life, yet his Troops obtained a signal and complete Victory, which did inexpressible Honour to their Courage and Discipline.

The Protestants were so much dejected by the Loss of this Conqueror, that they began to act with less Vigour; but the *Suedish* Generals *Horn* and *Banier* continued to behave with great Spirit and Resolution, which contributed to restore by degrees the Affairs of their Party, as well as an Accident that could scarce be foreseen, which was the Necessity the Emperor found himself under of causing *Wallestein*, whom he had made Duke of *Fridland*, to be assassinated, on Account of his having form'd a Design to make himself Master of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; and as he was an Officer of the greatest Reputation in his Service, this could not but have a very bad Effect upon his Affairs, especially at so critical a Season as that in which it happened.

The Emperor had declared his eldest Son *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* in 1625, two Years after he was crowned King of *Bohemia*; and being a young Prince of great Parts and Expectation, his Father put him at the Head of his Armies, after *Wallestein* had been taken off in the Manner before mention'd. He recover'd the Towns of *Ratisbon* and *Donauwert*, and afterwards besieged *Nordlingen*; to the Relief of which the Protestant Princes, having join'd their Forces to the *Suedes*, march'd with all the Diligence possible, in hopes of restoring their Affairs by the Defeat of that young Monarch. Upon their Approach he intrench'd his Army, rais'd several Batteries of Cannon,

non, and made the best Dispositions possible for giving them a vigorous Reception.

The Confederates however attack'd him; but, after a long and obstinate Engagement, they were totally defeated; the Imperialists quitting their Lines as soon as the Enemy began to break, and improving their Advantage to the utmost, cut off the greatest Part of the Confederate Army, and took Marshal *Horn* Prisoner. This decisive and important Action happen'd November 16, 1634, and was by far the greatest Defeat the *Swedes* had received from the Time of their entering *Germany*. The Effects of it were such as might well have been expected; for several of the Protestant Princes fell off from the League, particularly the Elector of *Saxony*, and concluded a separate Peace with the Emperor at *Prague* in the Year 1635; the principal Articles of which were, That the Restitution of the Estates of Ecclesiasticks should be suspended for forty Years; that *Magdebourg* should be restored to Duke *Augustus* of *Saxony*, and *Halbersted* to the Archduke *Leopold*; so that now the Emperor though he had the Protestants once more at his Mercy, and behaved accordingly.

The greatest Princes and the ablest Politicians are sometimes mistaken in their Views, which was the Case of the Emperor *Ferdinand III.* in relation to this great Victory gain'd by his Son at *Nordlingen*. He treated the *Swedes*, and those that still remain'd firm to their Alliance, as absolutely within his Power, and to whom he might prescribe what Terms he pleased; whereas, if upon such reasonable Terms as they would gladly have accepted he had made Peace at that Time, he might certainly have kept the Conditions of it only as far and as long as he pleased. War is a hazardous and dangerous Thing, and, till it is absolutely over, there is no knowing who has the better. The *Swedes* had at that Time a Statesman, whose Abilities saved them and their *German* Confederates: This was Count *Oxenstiern*, who undertook to draw the *French* into the Dispute, and, which was more extraordinary, render them firm and faithful in the Prosecution of it; in which he succeeded so well, that the Emperor finding himself at last quite tired out, and his Subjects in a manner absolutely exhausted, resolved to consent to a Peace upon the best Conditions that the Circumstances of the Times, and a Train of unexpected Events, would allow.

The *Swedes*, on the other hand, were also much disposed to a Negotiation, because their own Armies being entirely worn out, they had now only *German* Troops under *Swedish* Officers to fight their Battles, and they knew not how soon these People might grow weary of ruining their native Country,

try, and fighting for them against their Countrymen. The Troubles that about this Time broke out in *France*, made that Crown likewise very inclinable to Peace; which being the sole End and Aim, from the Beginning of the War, that the Protestant Princes in *Germany* propos'd to themselves, they omitted nothing on their Sides that was necessary to bring it to a speedy Conclusion. It was this Disposition in all the Parties that brought about, in 1648, the famous *Treaty of Westphalia*; by which a reasonable Satisfaction was given to all that had been concern'd in the War, and consequently a Foundation was thereby laid for a solid, lasting, and honourable Peace.

As the Intention of this historical Deduction is to give the Reader, from the Consideration of past Events, a perfect Insight into the present State of Things, it is absolutely necessary that we should insist more particularly upon this Treaty, than upon any thing of the same Nature that has gone before; because it entirely changed the Face of Affairs not only in *Germany*, but throughout all *Europe*. When we speak of it generally, and in its full Extent, it is called the *Peace of Westphalia*, tho' strictly speaking, there be really no such Treaty existing; and therefore, to understand this perfectly, the Reader is to observe, that the Disputes with *Sweden* were first regulated by a Treaty concluded at *Osnabrug* the 16th of *August*, 1648, by which that Crown acquired certain Provinces in the Empire, a Seat in the Imperial Diet, and a considerable Sum in ready Money: Satisfaction being likewise given to the Elector of *Brandenburgh* for his Pretensions, as has been already shewn in the Articles of *Sweden* and *Prussia*: And at the Time this Treaty was concluded, there was a Proviso inserted, That it should be of no Force till another Treaty, then negotiating, was likewise sign'd and concluded.

This other Treaty was carried on at *Munster* between the Empire and *France*; which was also brought to Perfection, and sign'd the 25th of *October* the same Year. By this last Treaty a great Variety of Interests were settled. The Emperor restored to the Elector of *Treves* all that had been taken from him. The Electoral Dignity was confirm'd to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and he had also the *Upper Palatinate* given him; but the *Lower Palatinate* was restored to the Elector *Palatine*; who, as we have before shewn, had been deprived by the Emperor, and a new Electorate was created in his Favour. The three Bishopricks, and best Part of *Alsace*, were yielded to *France*; and, on the other hand, that Crown restored a great Part of her Conquests.

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the *Swedes*, who would otherwise have over-run their Country; and it was by this Means also, that the *Danes* were engaged to take the same Step, and to break with the *Swedes*; but he did not live to see the Issue of this War, dying of a Consumption, occasioned, as has been said, by his Concern for the Loss of his eldest Son, on the 2d of *April*, 1657. He was in every Respect a very wise and great Man, in most Things a very fortunate Prince, and if his Ambition had been less, his Authority had been greater; but the too great Warmth he discovered in Matters of Religion, and the Desire he had to extend the Imperial Power beyond the Bounds prescribed to his Predecessors, induced the Protestant Princes of the Empire to take such Measures for their Security, as in the End, notwithstanding all his Victories, proved in that Respect very effectual.

Leopold I. the younger Son of the Emperor *Ferdinand III.* did not immediately succeed his Father, because he was under Age; he was originally intended for the Church, but upon the Death of his Brother *Ferdinand*, he was crown'd King of *Hungary* on the 25th of *June* 1655, and King of *Bohemia* on the 14th of *September* the same Year. On the 18th of *July* 1658, he was elected Emperor, and on the 5th of *August* following, was crown'd at *Franckfort*. In the beginning of his Reign, the War, which lasted so long betwixt the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, the *Poles* and the *Brandenburghers*, was concluded by the Treaty of *Oliva* in 1660, under various Guaranties.

A War broke out soon after betwixt the Emperor and the *Hungarians*, who complained that their Privileges were invaded; that the *German* Troops maintained there on Pretence of defending them, which they were able and willing to do themselves, committed all Sorts of Violence and Cruelty; that the *Hungarians* in Possession of Offices were not suffered to discharge them; that the Liberty of Religion, which had been allowed them by several Dicts, was denied, their Churches taken from them, and their Ministers banished, because they were not of the Religion of their Prince. That the Nobility, who ought to be try'd by their own Judges, were brought to answer before *Germans*; that tho' the Revenue was more than sufficient to maintain the Troops, yet they were not paid, but lived by Extortion, or invading the *Turks*, who made severe Reprisals on the peaceable Inhabitants of the Country.

The Grand Seignior improved this Difference, and the Emperor taking Part with the Prince of *Transilvania*, set up without his Consent, he therefore gave that Title to Prince *Abaffi*. The *Turks* defeated the Imperialists at *Clausenbourg*,
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and took *Newheusel* in 1663, but were routed at *Levents*, where they lost 6000 Men; and afterwards at *St. Gotthard*, where they lost above the same Number, and many General Officers, which brought on a Peace. The *Hungarians* finding that their Privileges were not restored according to the Emperor's Promise, being oppress'd by *German* Troops, and the Office of *Palatine* being abolished, which had continued many hundred Years; they joined with the *Transylvanians* to obtain Help from the *Turks*. The very Monks preached that their Yoke was easier than that of the *Germans*; for this Insurrection the Counts of *Serini*, *Frangipani*, and *Nadaſti* were put to death, which hinder'd Prince *Ragotski's* taking Arms; and Count *Tekely* dying in his Castle, just as the Imperialists had invested it, they were left without a Head, till young Count *Tekely*, who was then but fifteen Years of Age, and from his Prison escaped to *Transylvania*, came to espouse their Cause; for a bare Suspicion of being well-affected to which, he had been treated with much Severity.

He was received by this exhausted Nation with the utmost Joy, and the Revolt of the *Hungarians* became almost general; but however, the *German* Forces in that Kingdom soon reduced them to the Necessity of repining in secret against the Emperor's Measures, instead of openly taking up Arms, as they certainly intended.

His Imperial Majesty's Thoughts, which were entirely turned towards the Settlement of his own Dominions, without the least Inclination to incroach on, or disturb his Neighbours, were called off by the ambitious Views of a Monarch who spent his whole Life in disturbing the Peace of *Europe*; for in 1672 the *French* invaded *Lower Germany*, and over-run most of the *United Provinces*. The Elector of *Treves* having no Force to oppose to these Troops, was obliged to allow them a Passage through his Dominions. And the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, joined with them in this Expedition against their Country. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded Assistance of the Emperor to protect his Duchy of *Cleves*, but the *French* over-run it before he could procure any.

The *French* in 1673 entered *Alsace*, where they took several Towns, and laid part of the Palatinate under Contributions. The Duke of *Lorrain*, who commanded the Emperor's Army, would have joined *Caprara*, but was prevented by *M. Turenne*, which occasion'd the ineffectual Battle of *Sinsheim*. The Elector *Palatine* was so much provoked at the ravaging his Country, that he sent *M. Turenne* a Challenge, which he would not accept, without Allowance from the *French* King, his Master. These Things, with the taking

was deposed, and his Brother set up in his Stead. The Emperor's good Success put him upon getting his Son, the Archduke *Joseph*, crown'd King of *Hungary*.

He went himself to *Presburg* upon this Occasion, where he assembled the States, and told them, He would have the Crown made hereditary. The States took it into Consideration; represented their Grievances as usual, and said they were willing to elect the Archduke; but desired their Freedom of Election might be continued, and that the Crown should not become hereditary: That the *German* Troops might be recalled when Peace was made with the *Turks*, and all their Grievances redressed before the Coronation. The Emperor allowed them fourteen Days to deliberate and draw up their Grievances; but told them he had been at more Charge to defend their Kingdom against the *Turks* than it was worth, and therefore had a Right to look upon it as one of his hereditary Countries. A strange Instance of boundless Ambition founded in false Politicks!

There were great Debates about this in the Diet; and Count *Drasewitz*, the chief Judge of the Kingdom, having represented the Consequences of it, they most humbly prayed the Emperor not to make such an Alteration in their Constitution. But the Count being found dead in his Bed some Days after, no body knew how, those of his Sentiments durst not mention it any more. Some desired they might be at Liberty to chuse any such Prince of the House of *Austria* as they should think fit; but this was also rejected with Disdain.

There were two other Points which for some time retarded the Coronation; the first was, that according to an Article of King *Andrew's* Declaration, any of the three Estates had a Right to oppose the King when he acted against the Laws of the Kingdom, without being guilty of Treason: But the Emperor would not allow of that. The second was, that the Protestants, who had joined with the Court to get the Crown made hereditary, thought it a proper Season to demand that they should be maintained in their ancient Privileges: That the Churches and States which had been taken from them since 1667 should be restored: That they should have Deputies in every Diet: That the Jesuits should not meddle in Affairs of State, or what related to the Protestant Religion: That they should not be allowed to settle in any other Place than where they then were: And that Count *Caraffa*, who had got many innocent People cut off upon Pretence of Plots, should be turned out of his Places and the Ministry.

But the States did not think it a seasonable Time for the Protestants to insist on these Things. And thus, on the
twenty-

twenty-ninth of *December*, the Kingdom was declared hereditary, and the Power of the Prince became in a manner absolute, so that the People could do nothing but sigh for the Loss of their Liberty: For Count *Tekely*, who had formerly acquired so much Glory, had failed of late in most of his Attempts, and was not able to keep up their Spirits, or afford them any probable Hopes of Relief.

The War against the *Turks* was still prosecuted with various Success for several Years, notwithstanding that the *French* in 1689 fell into *Germany* with a great Army, and committed such Outrages as were inconsistent with the Laws of War. This Conduct of theirs so totally destroyed the Interest they had among the *German* Princes, that in 1690 the Emperor procured his Son the Archduke *Joseph*, who was already King of *Hungary*, to be elected King of the *Romans*; and the Year following, the *Turks* were defeated by the *Imperialists* in the Battle of *Salankeman*, in which they lost their Grand Vizier *Cuperli*, and twenty thousand Men. The War continued notwithstanding, chiefly from the Encouragement given to the Infidels by the *French*, and the vast Efforts they made in their Favour. The *Turks* likewise did all that lay in their Power to ballance the former Successes of the *Imperialists*; but in 1697, Prince *Eugene* defeated one of the most powerful Armies the Infidels ever brought into the Field, at *Zanta*, in which decisive Action no less than 25,000 *Turks* perished.

The *French* perceiving that this Blow had put it out of the Power of their good Allies to do any thing more for their Service, resolved to get out of the War in Time, and make the best Peace for themselves they could; which they accordingly did at *Ryswick*, whereby they quitted all their Re-unions in *Alsace*: But the Popish Religion was to remain where they had settled it. The Elector Palatine was restored to his Territories, on paying 200,000 Livres per Annum to the Duchess of *Orleans*, till her Pretensions were decided. *Dinant* was restored to the Bishop of *Liege*; *Straßbourg* resigned to *France*; and *Fort-Kiel*, *Fribourg*, *Star-fort*, *Old Brisac*, and *Philipsbourg* restored to the Empire.

The *French* were to demolish the Fortifications over-against *Hunningen* and *Fort-Lewis*; the Castles of *Trarbach*, *Ehrenburg*, *Kirnburg*, and the Fortress of *Mont-Royal*, were to be demolished and given to their right Owners. The Duke of *Lorraine* was restored to his own Country, and to *Nancy*; and the Castles of *Bischo* and *Homburg* were to be razed. The Protestant Princes of the Empire gave in a Memorial against establishing Popery in *Alsatia*, because contrary to the

fundamental Laws of the Empire, *i. e.* to the Peace of Religion made in 1588, to that of *Westphalia* and to that of *Nimeguen*, which were the Basis of this Treaty : And that this Article was likewise contrary to the Capitulations of the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*, by which the said Peace of Religion was secured ; but this Remonstrance was without Effect.

The *Turks*, finding themselves abandoned in this manner by those who drew them into the War, and who had more than once binder'd them from making Peace upon reasonable Terms, resolved to accept the Mediation of the Maritime-Powers, and to conclude a Peace with the Emperor and his Allies on the best Terms that, in their present Circumstances, could be had. Accordingly, after great Pains taken by Lord *Paget* and Mr. *Collier*, who conducted this Negotiation, on *January 26, 1699*, a Truce was sign'd for 25 Years between the Emperor and the *Turks* at *Carlowitz*. The chief Articles of which were, That *Transilvania* should remain intire to the Emperor, but the Province of *Temiswaer* to the *Turks* : That the Emperor should demolish *Carensseis*, *Lippa*, *Zemock*, *Berske*, and *Sabla*, and never re-fortify them. The Islands of the Rivers *Save* and *Morosch* were to belong to the Emperor, but the Use of those Rivers to both : All Prisoners taken during the War to be exchanged, or ransomed : No Protection on either Side to be given to Rebels and Malecontents : The Papists in the *Turkish* Territories were to have the free Exercise of their Religion. The *Czar*, the King of *Poland*, and the Republick of *Venice*, were comprehended in this Treaty ; but Count *Tekely* was excluded. The Grand Seignior made him, by way of Compensation, Prince of *Weddon*, *Carensseis*, and *Lugos*, with their Dependencies, that he might still retain him in his Interests.

At the Time the great general War broke out on the Score of the *Spanish* Succession, the Affairs of the Emperor *Leopold* were but in a very indifferent Condition. He saw plainly, that without the Assistance of the Empire it was impossible for him to act effectually against *France* ; and he saw at the same time, that it would be very difficult to engage the Princes and States of *Germany* in a War, with which they had no farther Concern, than as *Philip V.* King of *Spain* had taken Possession of the Duchy of *Milan*, which was a Fief belonging to the Empire ; and the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* declaring against the Emperor, whose Vassals they were. Yet so great an Interest his Imperial Majesty had, that by degrees he engaged all the Circles to enter into the Alliance he had form'd with the Maritime Powers, which was brought to bear in the

Year

Year 1701, when it was agreed that the Empire should raise an Army of 120,000 Men; which, however, were never assembled but upon Paper.

The Elector of *Bavaria* sided with *France*; as did also his Brother the Elector of *Cologne*: The former arm'd in his own Dominions, and the latter admitted *French* Troops into his Towns. The Duke of *Wolfenbüttele* also raised Troops for the Service of *France*; but before they were in a Condition to act, the Elector of *Hanover*, our late Sovereign, surrounded his Forces, and obliged them to enter into the Imperial Service; which was a Point of very great Importance at that Time, and so acknowledged to be by the Emperor.

In 1702, the Elector of *Bavaria* seized the City of *Ulm*. The Army of the Empire, under Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, was beat at *Fridlinghen*; and *France* took Possession of the Duchy of *Lorrain*, and the greatest Part of the Electorate of *Treves*. In 1703, the Elector of *Bavaria* defeated another Imperial General, made himself Master of the City of *Ratisbon*, and seized there all the Ministers assembled at the Diet of the Empire. He afterwards made an Irruption into *Tirol*, out of which he was driven by the Inhabitants: But upon his Return into *Germany*, being join'd by M. *Villars* with a Body of *French* Forces, he defeated the Imperialists at the first Battle of *Hochsted*, and soon after made himself Master of *Augsburg*. This Year also Prince *Ragotski* raised an Insurrection in *Hungary*; and by these several Misfortunes the Emperor was driven to the last Degree of Distress; the *Bavarians* being on the Frontiers of his Dominions on one Side, and the Malecontent *Hungarians* making Inroads to the very Gates of *Vienna* on the other. In the midst however of all these Difficulties, his Imperial Majesty declared, in the Month of *September*, the Archduke *Charles* King of *Spain*, by the Name of *Charles III.* who in that Quality, was acknowledged, received, and supported by the Allies, the Court of *Vienna* having nothing to give but the Title.

In 1704, the Duke of *Marlborough* form'd the glorious Resolution of delivering the Emperor and Empire at once; with which View he advanced with the Army of the Allies into *Suabia*, and on the 2d of *July* forced the Lines at *Schellenberg*, which open'd his Army a Passage into *Bavaria*. On the 13th of *August* following he defeated the *Bavarians* and *French*, in the second Battle of *Hochsted*, or *Blenheim*; in which, with the Loss of about 5000 Men, he kill'd 12000 of the Enemy, took as many Prisoners, together with all their Artillery and Baggage; after which he drove the *French* intirely out of *Germany*, and return'd with his victorious Army into the *Low*

Countries. The Emperor was no less successful against the *Hungarian* Malecontents; so that, as this was the last, it might be accounted the most glorious Year of his Life. He died at *Vienna* on the 5th of *May* following, in the 64th Year of his Age, and 46th of his Reign. He was thrice married; first to *Margareta Theresa*, Daughter to *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*; secondly to *Claudia*, Daughter to the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* his Cousin; and thirdly to *Eleanora*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, by whom he left two Sons and three Daughters.

The Emperor *Joseph* who succeeded his Father, was in the Flower of his Age; being at that Time about Twenty-five, and a Prince of as great Hopes as any in *Europe*. It was believed, that at the very Beginning of his Reign an End might have been put to the War, by the Recovery of *Lorrain*, and entering that way into *France*; and it was likewise proposed to bring about an Accommodation with the *Hungarians*. The former was defeated by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden's* failing the Duke of *Marlborough*, whom he ought to have join'd; and the latter came to nothing through the Obstinacy of the Malecontents, who tho' they might be beaten, could never be humbled.

In the Beginning of the Year 1706, there happened a kind of general Insurrection among the Peasants in *Bavaria*, out of meer Loyalty to their Sovereign, at that Time an Exile in *France*; but it was suppressed, tho' not without vast Effusion of Blood; some thousands being kill'd in the Field, and many afterwards hanged, in order to terrify the rest. This only served to sharpen the Emperor's Resentment; who, on the first of *May*, proceeded to put the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* under the Ban of the Empire. The *French* not only relieved *Fort Lewis*, but also recover'd *Drusenheim* and *Haguenau*, which they had lost the Year before; and in the last-mention'd Place they became Masters of a fine Train of Artillery, which drew a Suspicion upon Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, as if he had left it there for them; but his Highness dying soon afterwards, and the military Affairs of the Empire going then rather worse than before, convinced the World that he had been aspersed, and the Losses under his Command owing to Misfortune, and not any Fault in him.

In 1707, the *French*, under the Command of Marshal *Villars*, forced the Imperialists in their Lines, and over-ran all *Suabia* and *Wirttemberg*, raising most dreadful Contributions, for which that General was ever famous: And it is very highly probable he would have push'd still farther into the Empire, if
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he had not been prevented by the Siege of *Toulon*; so that none of the Allies reap'd so great Profit from that Expedition as the Emperor, who was most against it. The Negotiations with the *Hungarians* went on, but to no Purpose; tho' the Maritime Powers offered their Mediation, and laboured all they could to have brought about a Peace on equitable Terms.

In the Beginning of 1708, there happened a Dispute between his Imperial Majesty and the Pope, in which the latter was reduced to submit to such Terms as were prescrib'd him, and amongst others obliged to acknowledge the Archduke *Charles* in Quality of King of *Spain*, and consequently of *Naples*, much against his Inclination. In *Flanders* the *French* were beat at *Oudenard*, and lost *Lisle*; but the Army of the Empire was able to do nothing.

In 1710, the Emperor propos'd sending to that Army 11000 of his own Troops, and to contribute a large Sum of Money towards the Expences of the Campaign; yet these Promises were so indifferently comply'd with, that the Elector of *Hanover*, who was to have commanded the Army of the Empire, thought fit to return into his own Dominions. In *Hungary* however, the Malecontents were so effectually beaten, that their Chiefs thought fit to retire; and in all Probability an End had been put to the Troubles in that Kingdom, if the Emperor had not died of a very short Illness, on the 17th of *April* 1711, in the 33d Year of his Age, and at the Close of the sixth Year of his Reign; leaving by his Empress, who was a Princess of the House of *Hanover*, no Male Issue, which produced those Events which have exercised the Politicks of *Europe* ever since.

Charles VI. the late Emperor's only Brother, and the sole Heir Male of the House of *Austria*, was elected his Successor in the Month of *August* the same Year, and was crowned in *December* following. By his Return out of *Catalonia*, he lost all Hopes of recovering the Kingdom of *Spain*; and the Peace of *Utrecht*, in the following Year, put it out of his Power to carry on the War in the *Low Countries*. On the 22d of *May* 1712, he was crown'd King of *Hungary* at *Presbourg*, and began to employ all his Thoughts on settling the Succession in the House of *Austria*, in case he should die without Issue; and in finding out Ways and Means for carrying on the War with *France*.

In respect to the former, he declared the eldest of his Nieces his sole Heiress; and in regard to the latter, he march'd a great Body of Forces into the *Low Countries*; but was soon after forced to employ all his Troops in securing the Frontiers of the Empire, which were again attack'd by the *French*;

self would not have been at all prejudicial to his Interest, supposing that his Alliances would have secured him effectually even against the whole Power of the House of *Bourbon*.

He depended in the North upon the *Czarina*, and her placing on the Throne of *Poland* the present King *Augustus III*. He looked upon the Empire's declaring in his Favour as a Thing of Course, he depended upon the King of *Sardinia*, and had not the least Scruple about the Maritime Powers. Yet for all this fair Prospect, that War had very near cost him all his Dominions in *Italy*. The Empire did indeed assist him, but unwillingly. The Elector of *Bavaria* kept a kind of armed Neutrality. The Elector Palatine desired to be excused from contributing to the War, an Account of what his Dominions suffered by it. In short all the Princes of the Empire were as slow as ever; and some of them suspected. The King of *Sardinia* entered into the Alliance against him. The *Dutch* took care of themselves, by a Neutrality, which made it unfit and unreasonable for *Great Britain* to engage in the War; but after a great deal of Blood spilt, and the almost total Ruin of the Countries contended for, the War was concluded in 1735, by a Peace as favourable for the Emperor as he could well expect.

He lost indeed the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which were given to *Don Carlos*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* made an absolute Cession of his Country to *France*, but then the Emperor had *Parma* and *Placentia* in Exchange; the Duke of *Lorraine* had *Tuscany*; which by his Marriage with the Archduchess, was to become part of the hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*. *Augustus III*. was left in the peaceable Possession of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and *France* guaranty'd the Pragmatick Sanction. As soon as this War was over, the Emperor most unaccountably engaged in another with the *Turks*, in Conjunction with the *Czarina*, tho' he had no Quarrel with them of his own; in which he was very unfortunate; and at last, by the Interposition of *France*, made an indifferent Peace at the Expence of *Belgrade*, which was given up to the Infidels.

He saw, when it was too late, the Error he had committed, and the Consequences that would attend it, against which he endeavoured to provide in the best Manner he could; and the War which broke out between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, might possibly have given him an Opportunity of doing it effectually, if in the Midst of the Political Measures he was taking for that Purpose, he had not been cut off by Death,

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after a few Days Illness, on the 20th of *October* 1740, leaving behind him only two Daughters; one married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, then stiled Grand Duke of *Tuscany*; the other intended for his Brother Prince *Charles*, whom she afterwards espoused; tho' she did not long survive.

The late Emperor *Charles* VI. Father to her present Imperial Majesty, having had Time sufficient to consider the Misfortunes that might arise from his Want of Issue Male, in Case the Succession in his Family was not effectually settled before his Decease, resolved according to the Custom of his Ancestors, to publish a *Pragmatick Sanction*, or perpetual Edict for that Purpose, which was accordingly done in 1713; and afterwards proclaimed with great Solemnity at *Vienna*, in the Month of *December* 1724; and on the 15th of *May* 1725, at *Brussels*, that is, in the Capitals of his hereditary Countries.

By this *Pragmatick Sanction* all the Dominions of the House of *Austria* were entail'd on the eldest Daughter of his Imperial Majesty, the Archduchess, now the reigning Empress *Maria Theresa*, and afterwards on her Issue; next, to her Sister; and then to the Nieces of his Imperial Majesty; with due Preference to the Heirs Male. The sole Design of this Settlement being to preserve the Possessions of the House of *Austria* entire, this Succession was accepted and confirmed in his Imperial Majesty's Dominions. But as the Emperor very easily discerned this Affair of the Succession of the House of *Austria* regarded not only his own Subjects, but all the Princes of the Empire, and indeed all the Princes and States of *Europe*; he consequently judged that it would be necessary to obtain their Consent likewise, by Way of Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction* before mentioned.

It was with this View, that he took the Advantage of every favourable Conjunction that offered, to carry this Point with his respective Allies; and was so fortunate to obtain, at different Times, all that he proposed to himself from the great Powers of *Europe*, viz. From *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, by particular Treaties: From *Spain*, by the famous Treaty of *Vienna*, in Consequence of the close Alliance then subsisting between the two Courts: From *Great Britain* and *Holland* in 1731, in Consequence of the Emperor's consenting to the Regulations stipulated by the Treaty of *Seville*: From the States of the Empire assembled in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in the same Year: And from *France*, on the Conclusion of the Peace which followed the War in *Italy*.

As we have already spoken particularly of each of these Periods, it is not necessary that we should enter more largely into

absolutely in the Affections of her Subjects, than over their Persons. Her Government was just, prudent, and gentle; her Behaviour firm, equal, and constant; but the Zeal of her Subjects was boundless. She desired a reasonable Supply for the Necessities of her Administration, and they made her a ready Tender of their Lives and Fortunes. Leaving it to the Wisdom of their Sovereign to settle as her Occasions required, the Instances she might expect of the Sincerity of their Offers; and they complied with her Demands, when known, with that Chearfulness and Alacrity, which shewed how much they were in earnest, when they made those warm Professions of Duty.

She caused all her Troops to be compleated before any Necessity appeared for employing them, and it was to this wise Precaution that she owed the Preservation of her Dominions; for it became quickly evident, that the Enemies of the House of *Austria* were resolved not to let slip this Occasion of lessening the Authority of that Family, and disturbing the Peace of *Germany*. The single Error committed at this Time, was neglecting to comprize the Disputes with *Prussia*, for if this would not have extinguished the Rancour of other Powers, it would very probably have hindered its Irruption.

The late Elector of *Bavaria*, a Prince of great Qualities and greater Virtues, was so far misled by his Ambition, as to form immediate Pretensions on the *Austrian* Succession, in Virtue of the Will of the Emperor *Ferdinand I.* made in the Year 1543; and of a Codicil added to that Will, dated the 4th of *February* 1547, in favour of his eldest Daughter *Ann*, married to *Albert* of *Bavaria*. This Will was in the Nature of a Pragmatick Sanction; and not only the Spirit of that Instrument was clearly in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, but the very Letter of it gave her a prior Right to the Elector of *Bavaria*, if the Expressions therein were so to be understood, as to make the Will and Codicil consistent with each other, and with the plain Intention of the Emperor to preserve the Dominions of his Family entire, for the Sake of its Safety, Benefit, and Grandeur.

At first it looked, as if the Elector of *Bavaria* alone meant to contest the Queen's Title, under the Pragmatick Sanction; but it very soon appeared, that he was not without Hopes of being supported by other Powers. While this Dispute was confined only to Paper, the King of *Prussia* attacked *Silesia* in the Manner before mentioned, purely, as he gave out, to secure to himself what of Right belonged to him.

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This Incident produced the War not long since ended ; for the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* resolving to defend her Territories, and looking upon this as an Infraction of the Pragmatic Sanction, demanded on that Account, and in Virtue of their Guaranty, the Assistance of her Allies.

By this Requisition of Succours, an Opportunity was given for the *French* to interfere ; who had it always in their Intention to support the Claim of the Elector of *Bavaria*, tho' they were perplexed about the Manner of declaring it. His *Prussian* Majesty seeing himself exposed to the Danger of losing not only what he had acquired by his sudden Irruption into *Silesia*, but much more, if Fame speaks Truth, resolved at last to take that Step which hitherto he had declined ; and on the seventeenth of *August* 1741, concluded with *France* a Treaty, to which the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, acceded. By which, it is said, the following Agreement was made: viz. That the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with *Upper Austria* and *Tirol*, should be given to the Elector of *Bavaria* ; *Upper Silesia* and *Moravia* to the Elector of *Saxony* ; and *Lower Silesia*, with the Town and Territory of *Neiss*, and the City and County of *Glatz*, to the King of *Prussia*.

As soon as this Alliance was made, the *French* began to be in motion ; and his *Britannick* Majesty, in Quality of Elector of *Hanover*, having augmented his Forces, and shewn his Willingness to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, as he was bound by Treaty to do, tho' she was then attacked only by the King of *Prussia* : The first Step that was taken by the new Allies, was to put this out of his Power ; in order to which, the *French* marched a great Army into *Westphalia* on one Side of the Electorate ; and at the same Time his *Prussian* Majesty assembled a numerous Body of Troops upon the Frontiers of that Electorate on the other ; which produced what it was intended to produce, and which indeed it was impossible at that Season it could fail of producing, a Treaty of *Neutrality* for that Electorate for a small Time only.

Things at this Juncture looked as if the Allies must necessarily have carried all before them ; for the *French*, besides their Army in *Westphalia*, sent another to the Assistance of the Elector of *Bavaria*, which enabled him to march directly into *Austria*, at the same Time that the *Prussians* and *Saxons* were in the Field ready to execute what they had undertaken, and thereby secure the Shares that had been allotted them out of the Spoils of the House of *Austria*. Her Majesty, the Queen of *Hungary*, in the mean time, found it requisite to retire

retire into that Kingdom from *Vienna*, in Sight of which her Enemies were now arrived ; but in the midst of this Distress, than which no Princess had felt a greater, she preserved her Prudence and Firmness of Mind, relying always on the Protection of the Almighty, and the Loyalty of her Subjects, Resources on which all good Princes may well depend.

The Application of the Allies to their Military Operations, did not hinder them from attending to another Point of equal Consequence, which was the Election of an Emperor. The Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies intended to have set up the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, as a Candidate for that supreme Dignity ; but it very quickly appeared that this would have been at that Conjunction to little or no Purpose.

The Ecclesiastical Electors were inclined to the Duke of *Bavaria*, one of them (*viz.* the Elector of *Cologne*) being his Brother ; the King of *Prussia* as Elector of *Brandenburgh*, had engaged by Treaty to give him his Vote ; the King of *Poland* as Elector of *Saxony*, was under the like Obligation ; the Elector Palatine had entered early into these Measures ; and his *Britannick* Majesty as Elector of *Hanover*, was oblig'd to act in the same Manner, by the Neutrality which he had concluded, for the Reasons before mentioned.

Thus the Election was secure : but the Allies not contented with this, were resolved that it should be likewise unanimous ; and in order thereto, they suspended the Vote of *Bohemia*, which tho' prejudicial to the Queen of *Hungary's* Interest, was a tacit Acknowledgment of her Right ; since otherwise the Elector of *Bavaria*, now stiled King of *Bohemia*, might as well have voted for himself by that Title. This Scheme being well laid, was attended with all imaginable Success ; for upon the 24th of *January* 1742, the Elector of *Bavaria* was chosen Emperor at *Frankfort*, and crowned there on the 13th of *February* following, by the Name of *Charles VII.* to the general Satisfaction of the Princes and States of *Germany*.

The Joy of the Allies on this Occasion was very great, but it was soon lessened by the News of the Capitulation of *Lintz*, where 10,000 *French* and *Bavarians* had been surrounded by the glorious Count *Kevenhuller*. This was followed by a long Train of Successes in *Bavaria*, by which the Face of Affairs was very soon changed, and the Queen return'd in Triumph to *Vienna*. In the Month of *May* the same Year, was fought the famous Battle of *Czasslaw*, between the *Austrians* and *Prussians*, which about three Weeks after produced the Peace of *Breslaw*, between the same Powers.

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The *French* that were in *Bohemia*, having received several considerable Checks, and being deserted by the *Prussians* and *Saxons*, from whom, however, they had first separated; contrary to all the Rules of Policy and War, shut themselves up in *Prague*; from whence they afterwards made an happy Escape under the Command of Marshal *Belleisle*, with about one fourth Part of the Forces they had brought into *Bohemia*. A Circumstance that in all Probability will deter them from venturing, at least in our Times, to attempt the carrying into Execution Schemes of such vast Extent as these, which are always liable to Disappointments; and in which Disappointments are not barely fatal but irreparable.

The succeeding Year, viz. 1743, was no less glorious to the Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies. The *Spaniards* had invaded the *Austrian* Dominions in *Italy*, his Catholick Majesty *Philip V.* claiming the whole Succession of the House of *Austria*, without so much as any plausible Pretence, and in direct Breach of the several Treaties concluded by himself with the late Emperor *Charles VI.* at *Vienna*, as well as his solemn Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction.

But the Queen of *Hungary*, with the Assistance of her unalterable Ally, the King of *Sardinia*, defeated all the Attempts of the Duke *De Montemar*, one of the greatest and most fortunate Generals (before this Time) in the *Spanish* Service; and after he was recalled, the Field-Marshal Count *Traun* defeated, or at least repulsed, his Successor, the Count *De Gages*, an excellent Officer likewise, at *Campo Santo*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, in the latter End of *April* beat the *Imperialists* and *French* at *Braunau*; and on the 16th of *June*, his *Britannick* Majesty gained the famous Battle of *Dettingen*, which forced the *French* to think in earnest of abandonning their military Operations in *Germany*.

In 1744, the *French* and *Spaniards* were worsted in *Italy*, and Prince *Lobkowitz* drove the Latter into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and block'd up his *Sicilian* Majesty, the Count *De Gages*, and all their Forces, in *Veletri*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* passed the *Rhine*, and drove the *French* before him into *Alsace*, till recalled by a new Irruption of the *Prussians* into the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, from whence upon his Return he soon expell'd them with very great Loss on their Side.

In 1745 a new Treaty was made with his *Prussian* Majesty; and the Emperor *Charles VII.* dying of a broken Heart, the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* compromised all Differences with the young Elector of *Bavaria*, his Son and Successor, by the Treaty of *Fuessen*; and on the 15th of *September*, her Consort *Francis* Grand Duke of *Tuscany* and *Lorraine*,

was elected Emperor¹ at *Frankfort*, and crowned on the 4th of *October* following.

In the Progress of this glorious War, *Munich* the Capital of *Bavaria* was thrice taken by the *Austrians*; the City of *Prague*, the Capital of *Bohemia*, twice recovered from the Enemy, the *French* entirely driven out of *Germany*, and this Year out of *Italy*; the *Austrians* and *Piedmontese* penetrated likewise into *Provence*; so that the Seat of War was removed from the Gates of *Vienna* and *Turin*, into the most fruitful Provinces of *France*; and the Republick of *Genoa*, that took part with the Enemy, was now reduced to lie absolutely at the Mercy of the Empress Queen, who was also Mistress of the Dominions of the Duke of *Modena*, and had it in her Power to conquer those of the King of the *Two Sicilies* whenever she pleased. A Change so surprising that it was altogether unforeseen.

But as nothing is more uncertain than the Events of War, in the Year 1747 Affairs begun to run retrograde in *Italy*, and the Successes of the common Enemy, which had already rendered them Masters of a great Part of the *Austrian Low Countries*, still continued, notwithstanding all the Measures that were taken to prevent them. The Revolt of the City of *Genoa* in the preceding Winter, was the principal Cause of all the Misfortunes that happened on that Side.

At first this was ascribed entirely to the Madnefs of the Populace, the Nobility and the Republick pretending to adhere to the Capitulation they had made with the Marquis de *Botta*; but when they were powerfully supported by the *French*, who upon this Occasion exerted themselves with all the Vigour imaginable, and at length sent the Duke de *Boufflers* to command their Forces in that City, it was no longer necessary to retain the Mask; and therefore the *Genoese*, without either Scruple or Ceremony, resumed their former Sentiments, and not only acted offensively against the *Imperialists*, but attacked them whenever Occasion offered, with inexpressible Fury.

It was to this Situation of Things that the Disappointment in *Provence* was chiefly owing, for tho' General Count *Brown* maintained himself in that Country all the Winter, yet it was not without Difficulty; and tho' the very important Fortrefs of *Savona* surrendered to the King of *Sardinia*, and by affording him a safe Port and a strong Place, enabled that Prince to send frequent Supplies to his own and the Imperial Troops that had entered *France*, and notwithstanding the Islands upon the Coast were reduced, yet Count *Brown* found it impracticable to extend his Conquests, or even to reduce *Antibes* for want of a proper Train of Artillery, and a necessary Quantity of Military Stores, before the *French* were in a Condition to act offensively.

Marſhal Belleſſe who commanded their Forces on that Side, behaved with all the Military Skill and Caution poſſible, and did not attempt any thing of Conſequence, till he had acquired ſuch a Superiority of Force, as rendered it utterly impoſſible for Count *Brown* to think of venturing an Engagement, in which, if he had had the worſt, it would not only have been deciſive, with reſpect to the Army he commanded, but muſt have ruined the Affairs of *Italy* entirely. He therefore very wiſely choſe to make a timely and prudent Retreat, and having raiſed the Siege of *Antibes*, repaſſed the *Var* in the Sight of a much ſuperior Army, without any Loſs either of Troops or Credit.

In the mean time the Imperial Army in *Italy* under the Command of Count *Schulemberg*, formed the Siege of *Genoa*, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* Fleet, which had alſo contributed as far as could be expected to the Support of Count *Brown*, while he remained in *Provence*. But the *Genoeſe*, prompted by Neceſſity and Deſpair, and at the ſame Time thoroughly ſupported by *France*, who will be always ſolicitous for the Safety of her Allies, when upon that alone her own Security depends, defended themſelves ſo obſtinately, that when Marſhal Belleſſe paſſed the *Var*, and advanced again into the County of *Nice*, the *Imperialiſts* found themſelves obliged to retire, that they might provide againſt that double Invaſion which the Enemy meditated, and which, as ſhall be elſewhere ſhewn, was happily defeated.

The Campaign this Year in the *Low Countries*, tho' it promiſed fair at the Beginning, and ſome plauſible Hopes there were that *Antwerp* would have been recovered, was notwithstanding very unfortunate in its Concluſion. The *French* King in Perſon commanded his Army, and under him thoſe two great Officers who owed their Fame and Fortune to that War, and to the Manner in which they conducted it, having the Addreſs to procure by the King's Preſence ſuch an extraordinary Attention to all their Demands, as ſeldom fails to render any Army victorious.

They had already ruined the Barrier, and not only taken but d ſtroyed thoſe important Fortreſſes which had been conſidered as the Bulwark of the Imperial and *Dutch* Territories, and in that Light were likewise held of the higheſt Conſequence to *Great Britain*. They now fell directly upon the *Dutch* Territories, and having gained an Advantage over the Allies in the Battle of *Maeftricht*, formed the Siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and with a prodigious Expence of Men, as well as by improving the fatal Miſtakes in the Conduſt of the *Dutch* Officers, made them-

themselves Masters of that strong Place, and gave such a Turn to Affairs on that Side, as made a Peace very desirable.

There had been a Negotiation for that Purpose at *Breda*, in which however it did not appear that the House of *Bourbon* was much in earnest. But notwithstanding this, towards the Close of this Year, the Courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid* seemed to change their Sentiments, and finding all their Efforts for dividing the Allies, and making a separate Peace ineffectual, they began to think in Reality of restoring the general Tranquility, which was now become to the full as requisite for them, as for those whom they had forced into a bloody and expensive War, in support of publick Faith and the Liberties of *Europe*.

Before these pacifick Measures could be put into a regular Train, it was requisite to provide for the Continuance of the War, in such a Manner, as that the House of *Bourbon* might perceive, that the House of *Austria* and her Allies were in a Condition to insist upon reasonable Terms, and to expect that this ruinous and expensive War should not end in a precarious and ill-concerted Pacification. At least this, which would have been a very right and prudent Measure, was very strongly given out, and many Engagements mentioned as entered into for this salutary Purpose, neither is it impossible that these Suggestions were of Use.

With this View a Convention was actually signed for assembling a formidable Army in the *Low Countries*, which might procure Time for a Body of *Russian* Auxiliaries to make the long March necessary before they could arrive at the Scene of Action, and afford thereby a moral Certainty of putting a Stop to the *French* Conquests, or even giving a new Turn to Affairs on the Side where they had hitherto gone worst, and where any Turn once given must have thrown the Concerns of the House of *Bourbon* into the greatest Confusion. But notwithstanding this Convention, the *French* knew how to profit by their immediate Superiority, and taking the Field earlier than could be expected, by a lucky Temerity invested the Fortrefs of *Maestricht* before the Allies were in a Condition to offer them Battle.

Affairs in *Italy* however were more upon an Equality, and tho' the Duke de *Richlieu* commanded the Succours of the House of *Bourbon* in the Room of the Duke of *Boufflers*, which were very considerably reinforced, yet the Imperial Generals in *Italy* threatened the Dominions of *Genoa* with another Invasion, and that Capital with a fresh Siege. It is true that Marshal *Belleisle* on one Side made such Dispositions in the County of *Nice*, as seemed to foretel a fresh Irruption into the *Sardinian* Territories; and on the other, the Motions of his *Sicilian* Majesty's Troops on his Frontiers looked as if he was inclined to assist the
Genoese;

Genoeſe; but then his *Sardinian* Maſteſty was in a Condition to ſtop the Progreſs of the *French*, and there were juſt Reaſons to believe that the King of the *Two Sicilies* would hardly commit another Breach of that Neutrality, which had been obtained for his Dominions by the Intereſt of his *Polish* Maſteſty.

The Negotiations for the general Peace, agreeable to what has been before intimated, were opened as early as the Campaign, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and tho' the Houſe of *Bourbon* and its Allies had not acknowledged the Emperor in that Quality, and for this Reaſon oppoſed the admitting an Imperial Miniſter at *Breda*; yet now that Scruple was no longer inſiſted upon, and the Count *de Kaunitz Rittberg* in Quality of Miniſter Plenipotentiary from her Imperial Maſteſty, aſſiſted at this Congreſs; to which the Earl of *Sandwich* was ſent on the Part of the King of *Great Britain*, the Count *de Chavannes* for the King of *Sardinia*, and Count *Bentinck*, with four other Plenipotentiaries, from the *States*; his Moſt Chriſtian Maſteſty entrusted the Care of his Intereſts with the Count *de St. Severin d'Arragon*; the Plenipotentiary of his Catholick Maſteſty was Don *Jaques de Soto Major*; and the Duke of *Modena* and the Republick of *Genoa* ſent their Plenipotentiaries alſo.

Things went very leiſurely there at firſt, but the Siege of *Maeftricht* being puſhed in a very extraordinary Manner by Marſhal *Saxe*, who is ſaid to have flattered himſelf with the Hopes of over-running *Holland* before the *Ruſſians* (notwithſtanding the boated Expedition of their March) could join the Allies; quickened the Pace of the Plenipotentiaries, and that to ſuch a Degree as to produce the Plan of a general Peace under the Title of Preliminaries, which were ſigned very unexpectedly *April* the 30th 1748, *N. S.* by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Holland*, to which their reſpective Allies thought proper ſoon after to accede.

There were indeed ſome Exceptions taken at the Manner in which this great Affair was concluded, as well as to the Matter of the Preliminaries; but upon the whole, as the Neceſſity of this Meaſure at that Juncture excuſed the former, ſo the Advantages that were expected from the reſtoring publick Tranquility, were in the End judged a ſufficient Equivalent for the latter; and therefore the Negotiations of Peace proceeded, and a Ceſſation immediately took place in the *Low Countries*, as the March of the *Ruſſian* Auxiliaries, who by this Time had reached the Frontiers of the Empire, was on the ſame Account likewiſe ſuſpended.

In *Italy*, by the Dilatorineſs of the *Genoeſe*, ariſing from ſome Cauſe hitherto concealed, the Operations of the War ſtill

went on, till that Republick found sufficient Reason to repent her languid Manner of acting, and to claim the Benefit of those Preliminaries which she seemed to accept with Reluctancy; in this Situation Things continued for about five Months, notwithstanding some Impatience expressed by the Publick, for the Delay of a Blessing which they expected with so much Ardour. Yet if we consider how many Difficulties there were to get over, what a Variety of Interests to reconcile, and how hard it must have been to make the particular Schemes of certain Courts bend and give way to a general System calculated for the common Advantage, we shall rather wonder at their Expedition than entertain a Doubt that any Time was lost. The Defensive Treaty was signed *October* 18th 1748, and was concluded in the same Manner with the Preliminaries, that is to say, *France, Great Britain, and Holland*, as being now most interested, were the only contracting Parties, and the rest of the Powers at War acceded thereto.

This Method proved very agreeable to the Sentiments of the Court of *Vienna*, where, notwithstanding all that had been suffered by the War, and all the Evils that were to be feared from the Continuance of it, the Sacrifices to be made by this Peace made it relish but indifferently. It was particularly thought hard, that as the Peace itself was to be purchased by an Establishment for the Royal Infant Don *Philip*, at the Expence of the Empress Queen, she should also be obliged to adhere to those Cessions that were made by the Treaty of *Worms* purely to avoid this Necessity, and to prevent the giving any such Equivalent. But tho' at first Sight, and more especially upon the View of a certain Paper made publick upon this Occasion, there seems to be great Force and Weight in this Objection; yet, when thoroughly weighed and candidly considered, it will not perhaps to impartial Judges appear so conclusive as to induce an Opinion, that her Imperial Majesty departed in the least either from her Dignity or her true Interest in complying with it.

For as to the Establishment, the real Expediency of granting it was altogether independent of the Treaty of *Worms*, so far as regarded his *Sardinian* Majesty, to whom certain Cessions were made by that Treaty, and who was to suffer by this as well as her Imperial Majesty; on the other Side, his *Sardinian* Majesty having complied with his Stipulations in that Treaty, and by this Méans contributed to the great Successes in *Italy*, had from thence a very clear Title to the Advantages derived to him from that Treaty, more especially when it is considered how deeply his Dominions had suffered during the Course of the War, into which he had entered merely from a Principle of publick Spirit, and out of which he might at any Time have

extricated himself with equal, not to say greater Advantages, than he was to reap by this Definitive Treaty.

But having now deduced Things as low as can be expected in this Chapter, we shall conclude it by taking a short View of the Alterations made by this Definitive Treaty, in respect to the Possessions of the Empress Queen, and the Advantages in consideration of which those Alterations were admitted ; for this being done, we shall have a distinct Idea of the present State of the House of *Austria*, with Respect to its Power and Influence, and be from thence in a better Condition to judge of its true Interests in Time to come. In the first Place then we are to observe, that by the twenty-second Article of the Definitive Treaty, the Duchy of *Silesia* and the County of *Glatz* are guarantied to his *Prussian* Majesty by all the contracting Parties ; which however is not to be considered as an original Concession by this Treaty, but as a Confirmation of what had been yielded to him by her Imperial Majesty in former Treaties, and more especially by that of *Dresden*.

By the thirteenth Article, her Imperial Majesty stipulated to restore to his Serene Highness the Duke of *Modena*, the Fiefs he possessed in the Kingdom of *Hungary* ; which was also no new Concession, but a bare Restitution of what her Imperial Majesty had seized, upon that Prince's entering into a War against her. By the twelfth Article, her Majesty confirmed to the King of *Sardinia* the Cessions formerly made him, as well as those granted by the Treaty of *Worms* in the Year 1743 ; and this likewise was no new Concession by the Definitive Treaty, but a Confirmation of what was yielded before.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles, her Imperial Majesty consented to restore the Duchy of *Modena*, and all its Dependencies, to the Duke its lawful Sovereign ; and undertook to give the same Prince Satisfaction for his Rights to certain allodial Estates in the Duchy of *Guastalla* ; and all these except the last, which was a Point of Equity, are barely Restitutions, as is also what is farther stipulated in the same Articles with respect to the Republick of *Genoa*.

But in the seventh Article, her Imperial Majesty makes an entire Cession of the Duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*, to the Infant Don *Philip*, to be held by him and the Heirs Male of his Body born in Marriage, till such Time as he or his Descendants shall obtain the Possession of the Kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, or of *Spain*, when those Duchies are to revert to their former Possessors, and consequently except what was formerly granted to his *Sardinian* Majesty, to the Empress Queen or to her

her Descendents. This is the great, one may say the only Concession, that for the Sake of Peace and the Restitution of the great Towns, strong Fortresses, and large Districts that had been taken from her in the *Low-Countries*, her Imperial Majesty has made.

How far these Cessions infringe the Settlement of the *Austrian* Territories by the Pragmatick Sanction, and in what Degree the Loss of them affects the Power of the House of *Austria* in *Italy*, will be shewn in another Place ; let us observe at present, that these Cessions are but temporary, and that the same Guarantees which secure the Establishment of the Royal Infant Don *Philip*, secure likewise the Reversion of this Establishment to the Empress Queen, or to her Heirs ; we may likewise venture to assert, without pretending to the Gift of Prophecy, that the recovering the Possession of those Countries will be then effected without involving *Europe* in a new War.

As to the Advantages which arise to her Imperial Majesty and her August House, from the Definitive Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, we are first to reckon the Acknowledgment of his Imperial Majesty in that Quality, tho' strictly speaking this was an Effect of the Preliminaries ; we may next give place to the second Article, by which the Treaties of *Westphalia*, *Nimeguen*, *Ryswick*, *Utrecht*, *Baden*, the Quadruple Alliance, and the Treaty of *Vienna*, are renewed. By the sixth Article it is stipulated, that all the Conquests made by the *French* in *Flanders* should be restored ; and by the twenty-first Article, the Pragmatick Sanction made by the late Emperor *Charles VI.* April 19th 1719, is again most solemnly guarantied by all the contracting Parties, except in the Alterations made by the Definitive Treaty itself.

On the whole therefore it appears, that considering the high Demands made at the breaking out of the War, the formidable Alliance by which those extraordinary Demands were supported, and the Backwardness shewn by several Powers (exclusive of those who actually attacked the Queen of *Hungary*) to maintain their Guaranties of the Pragmatick Sanction, that the Power of the most August House of *Austria* has not suffered any considerable Diminution ; and if we reflect upon procuring the Imperial Crown for the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and the conciliating the Affections of the *Hungarian* Nation, we shall run no Hazard of being refuted if we assert, that its Lustre and Credit were rather augmented than diminished ; and how cavalierly soever this Remark when first made was treated, the Consequences have since made the Truth of it very evidently appear.

It will pass with some for a high Piece of Imprudence to add any thing farther upon this Subject ; but as the professed Design of this Work is to shew, that human Prudence alone

is very capable of penetrating, in some Degree, into future Events, we will venture to own it is in our Opinion highly probable, that the Establishment of the House of *Austria* will, within the Compass of the present Age, grow more solid, and become more firmly rooted, than ever it has been esteemed in our Times; and will consequently have a stronger Influence, as it must always retain the same Interest in supporting the Balance of Power in *Europe*, upon which its Fame and Authority, and, what is still more, its Safety, will always depend. In saying this, we oblige ourselves to assign the Reasons of this Opinion; for in political Treatises nothing is to be asserted from Motives that must be concealed: Such as predict Things from their Knowledge of what was formerly stiled Occult Philosophy, claimed a Privilege of this Sort; but no such Claim will ever be put in by any one who either is, or believes himself to be a Politician.

There are then three Causes that have led us to this Assertion; we will first state them freely and fairly, and then leave the Reader to approve or censure them as he thinks fit. In the first Place, it is highly likely that the Guaranties contained in the Definitive Treaty will be punctually performed, and that for many Reasons; let us only mention a few: The Breach of good Faith in that respect was attended with such fatal Consequences in the last War, that it will teach the Statesmen in all Courts and Countries, to discern that nothing great or good can flow from such a Conduct. The Parties are reciprocally interested, and any Chicanery upon one Point of the Guaranty would afford a Precedent fatal to the whole; and therefore tho' there may be Courts not over tender of the Concerns of their Neighbours, they will nevertheless be unwilling to take such Measures as in their Consequences may be dangerous to their own. It is not improbable that certain Powers, whose Goodwill in the Performance of their Stipulations there is most Reason to suspect, may have the first Occasion to recur to the general Guaranty in this Treaty, for their own Security. More might be advanced upon this Subject, but, to the Intelligent, what has been already said will certainly be sufficient.

The second Cause is this, That their Imperial Majesties have a numerous Issue, and as these Princes and Princesses grow up, they will certainly contract Alliances by Marriages; that cannot but strengthen the Power of the House of *Austria* exceedingly; and this is so fair a Prospect, that whoever considers it attentively, and compares it with the different View in which that August House was considered from the Beginning of the present Century, as well as with the Light in which another House

House at present stands ; whoever, I say, coolly and attentively contemplates this, cannot fail of perceiving, that we have not guessed at random.

The third Cause is, the Discovery, that this last War has made of the real and inherent Strength derived to this illustrious Family from its hereditary Dominions, and the new Turn that this has given to the Politicks of the Court of *Vienna*, where no longer regarding the antiquated Maxims of those who would make the Customs of former Ages, whether reasonable or not, the Laws of the present, it is now thought necessary to employ Men in the Cabinet for their Abilities, for their military Virtues in the Field, and for their eminent Integrity on the Benches of Justice, where the Piety of their Imperial Majesties heightens the Lustre of their secular Stations, and where their own Examples, in Point of Virtue, Vigilance, and Clemency, merit the universal Approbation and Applause of their Subjects, and seem to have attracted the Blessing of God upon their Counsels, and that in a Degree very conspicuous even to the People of this Age, who amongst all their numerous Follies, are not justly chargeable with Credulity, at least upon this Head.

After so ample Detail as this, of the History of the House of *Austria*, from the Time of its becoming possessed of the Imperial Scepter, down to the present, we are next, according to our Plan, to consider its Interests ; and these will fall naturally under five several Heads. The First, in regard to the Imperial Dignity, so happily restored to this august Family ; and what we have to say upon this Head, may be reduced within a very narrow Compass. As it is the Interest of the Princes and States of the Empire, for preserving a Bulwark against the Infidels, a proper Ballance of Power against *France*, and the Tranquility of *Germany*, to continue the supreme Power in this Family ; so on the other Hand, it is certainly the Interest of the House of *Austria*, while possessed of the Imperial Dignity, to maintain the Freedom and Independence of the Empire, together with the Privileges and Immunities of all its Members.

This Conduct can alone secure to that House the Support of the Empire upon all Occasions, and which though from past Experience Politicians may possibly consider as a Thing rather of Shew than Consequence, yet it may become of very great Efficacy and Importance. For as the Interests of the Emperor and Empire are always the same, so if they were constantly and firmly united, it is very evident that the *Germanick* Body would be always an Equal, if not an
Over-

Over-match for *France*, without the Assistance of any ^{future} and Power whatever. ^{he}

A gentle and mild Administration therefore, that may conciliate the Hearts of the *German* Princes, so as to bring them to feel just and warm Sentiments of their own Interest, will be the most easy and expeditious Means of inducing them to confide in and pay a proper Respect and Duty to the Head of the Empire, will detach them from *France*, and from every other Foreign Power, none of which ever had or can have any any Influence over them, but from their real or imaginary Apprehensions of the Ambition and Power of the House of *Austria*.

This once removed, the Emperor would become the greatest and most formidable Prince in *Europe*, that is, considered in a defensive Light, if attacked without Reason or just Provocation, and would therefore be revered by his Neighbours, instead of being dependent upon them; and be capable of protecting his Allies, without ever falling under the Necessity of seeking beyond the Limits of *Germany* for any Assistance. At present this will to many appear a Doctrine very strange and improbable; but to such as examine carefully and attentively, it must seem very just and reasonable, and at the same time no less easy and practicable.

The Emperor by his Prerogative has many Opportunities to benefit and oblige most of the Princes and States of the Empire, and can always defend and protect them. This Power therefore, wisely and seasonably exerted, may suffice to bring about all that I alledge might be expected from it; in the mean time I desire it may be understood, that I do not speak absolutely, but conditionally. I do not say this *will*, but affirm only that it *may* very well happen, of which the Reader must be convinced when he has read and considered what we have to offer in Relation to the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The next Point that claims our Regard, is the Interest of the House of *Austria*, as a Member of the *Germanick* Body. As to this it is apparent, that her Power is already sufficiently great, and that it cannot be for her Advantage to endeavour to increase it at the Expence of her Neighbours, which indeed is the sole Thing that has hitherto turned, or can at any Time turn to her Prejudice. While she remains satisfied with her Possessions, and forms no Pretensions to the Dominions of others, it is highly probable, that as the War is now over, she may find her Neighbours disposed to live with her upon Terms of Friendship and Respect.

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ed to enlarge her Territories, it ought
without the Empire, and even this must
be taken with great Caution; for at present there is
in all Powers, that they cannot with-
out great Con- siderations made, which increase the Strength
of the Empire, consequently alter that Proportion be-
tween them, they conceive their own Safety in a
manner, that the House of *Austria* may, with-
out any augmentation of her real and internal Force, while she
is content to preserve the antient Limits of her Dominions. Al-
most all her Hereditary Countries are capable of great Improve-
ments; the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Provinces that border
on the *Adriatick* more especially.

The reviving of Trade in those Parts, and encouraging the
mutual Commerce of the Subjects in all her Dominions;
might render the Empress Queen a much richer, and conse-
quently a more powerful Sovereign than she is at present. Some
of those Nations that in the late War were famous for furnish-
ing her Armies with Irregulars, are known to have a great
Turn for Trade; and if properly encouraged, would not fail
of rendering her as essential Services in Peace as in War. The
only Check in this Respect, that hitherto has hinder'd their
Genius from appearing, is the Want of Religious Liberty; since
it must be owned the House of *Austria* has in some measure
picqued itself on a Zeal for the Popish Faith, that bordered upon
Bigotry: And yet through the Course of the two last Wars, the
Court of *Rome* has been so far from making any proper Re-
turns, that she has actually shewn a manifest Partiality in Favour
of the House of *Bourbon*.

Any Relaxation in this Kind, arising from Christian Charity,
sound Policy, or the Gratitude of the Court of *Vienna*, would
have wonderful Effects, for it could not fail of rendering all
the Countries under her Obedience more populous, and conse-
quently more rich and fruitful than they are at present. Neither
ought this Liberty of Conscience to extend only to the *Lutherans*
and the Reformed, but to the Members of the *Greek Church*, to
the *Moravians*, and indeed to Christians in general; for this
would draw Multitudes out of the *Turkish* Dominions into
those of the House of *Austria*, and contribute at once to streng-
then the Hands of the Empress, and to weaken those of her
Enemies.

As Sovereigns of *Hungary*, the House of *Austria* is extremely
powerful; and it is with great Pleasure we can observe her pre-
sent Majesty has taken such Measures, as ought to be a Rule to
all her Successors. On the 25th of *June* 1741, she was
crowned at *Presbourg* with all the Ceremonies usual in that
Kingdom,

Kingdom, having first confirmed to the Protestants the future Enjoyments of all their Rights with regard to Religion, and agreed to the Capitulation drawn up by the Diet, of which the following were the chief Articles.

I. That the Kingdom shall never be without a Palatine ; and that after the Death of the Veldt-Marshal Count *Palsy*, the Diet shall be convoked in order to chuse one out of the four Persons that the Queen shall propose.

II. That in case the Queen dies (which God forbid) before the young Archduke is out of his Minority, the Palatine shall be his Guardian in this Kingdom.

III. That the Employments in this Realm shall be given to none but *Hungarians*.

IV. That such of the Noblesse as have purchased Estates of Peasants (or Roturiers) which only are liable to be charged with Imposts, shall pay none for the said Estates.

It was by these Concessions, and by the most gracious and popular Speeches on all Occasions publick and private, that her Majesty, while she remained in that Kingdom, changed the Face of it entirely, and procured such Succours from thence, as enabled her to make head against all her Enemies : Neither was it for once, or from a sudden and passionate Expression of their Affection and Loyalty, moved by the Goodness and the Distress of the Queen, that this Assistance was received ; but it continued through the whole War as constant and regular as her Occasions required, to the just and immortal Honour of that brave and generous Nation.

We have already pointed out in the Course of this History, the sad Condition of this Country in former Reigns, and the mean Opinion her Imperial Majesty's Grandfather had of the Fidelity and Power of the *Hungarians*, when he affirmed that he had spent more in defending them than their Kingdom was worth ; and which if it did not belong to him as a Conqueror, ought to be reputed his as a Purchaser, as much as any of his hereditary Dominions. Notions inspired, no doubt, by Jesuits and self-interested Statesmen, who had nothing in view but to make their court to his Imperial Majesty by a false Shew of Zeal for his Family, at the sad Expence of a gallant and loyal, but then dejected and oppressed Nation : A Nation equally exposed to continual Invasions from Infidels abroad, to the subtil Intrigues of false Patriots, and the base Complacency of false Courtiers at home.

But the present Queen, when except this, she had scarce any other Territories left, was able to draw from it Resources sufficient for the Recovery of all the rest : And thence to demon-

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strate to all the World, that it is not an absolute Prince, but a Prince governing a free People according to their own Laws, that is the most powerful, the most formidable, the most Master of the Lives and Fortunes of his or her Subjects. We cannot therefore doubt that the same Maxims will for the future be pursued; in consequence of which, from being thought the least considerable, *Hungary* will from henceforth be reputed one of the most potent Monarchies in *Europe*.

It may not be amiss to observe in this Place, it was from that unexpected Support the Empress received from the People of *Hungary*, such an additional Weight has been thrown into the Scale of the House of *Austria*, as none of our Politicians have duly considered, and which notwithstanding ought to be looked upon as one of the most singular Events produced by the late War. In all probability it has been the real Cause why the *Turks* have never attempted to interfere, or to give the least Disturbance to her Imperial Majesty, though continually prompted to it by *France*. They saw that the Union which reigns in that Country between the Sovereign and her Subjects, has restored the ancient Vigour of the *Hungarian* Militia; so that if a War should happen, the *Hungarians* alone would be able to make head against their whole Force, and perhaps make some Impression on the *Ottoman* Empire itself, at a time when from the Disorders in the Administration of the Government, its Credit and Forces are equally weak.

Besides, even in regard to *France*, the State of Things is very much changed, in consequence of the Alteration which happened in *Hungary*; for when at a very small Expence, the *French* kept up a Malecontent Party there, which was always sure of private Support, if not of open Countenance from the *Turks*, they were secure of a Diversion on that Side; and have sometimes carried this so far as to bring some of the bold Irregulars, who now serve with so much Reputation in the Imperial Armies, as hostile Plunderers into the Suburbs of *Vienna*. A wonderful and happy Change this! from a divided, discontented, and distracted, to a united, loyal, and well-principled People; from being the Terror, to become the Protectors of the *Austrians*; from being scarce seen, to make, as they now do, so great a Figure in their Armies. In short, this Advantage, which has been the Result of the War just concluded, may be considered as some Equivalent for the Danger and Expence of it.

The House of *Austria* is also to be regarded as one of the greatest Powers in *Italy*; and it will be certainly its Interest to secure the Ballance in that Country, by remaining firmly
united

united to the king of *Sardinia*; for while this Union subsists, it is impossible that the House of *Bourbon* should bring any of her ambitious Projects to bear. The Neutrality of *Tuscany*, the keeping a Court at *Florence*, and the maintaining the Privileges of *Leghorn*, as a free Port, are Measures so right in themselves, and which seem to be so well understood by the Court of *Vienna*, that we can have no doubt of their being constantly pursued.

Another Advantage that will result from her Territories in this Country to the House of *Austria*, is, the having it in her Power to provide for the younger Branches of the Family by the considerable Governments she has to bestow; and by this means she will take at once the most effectual Measure for the Security of these Provinces, and for the suitable Support of the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial and Arch-ducal House without any additional Expence, and this too in the Manner most agreeable to the Genius and Temper of her Subjects, as well as the most capable of defeating either the open or secret Designs of her Enemies. So that on the whole, nothing can contribute more to the reviving and restoring the Lustre of the House of *Austria*, than such a Disposition of her *Italian* Territories.

We now come to the last Article, which is the Interest of the House of *Austria*, as Sovereign of the *Low Countries*, a Point of the greatest Consequence to that Family, and indeed to all *Europe*. It is by her being in possession of these Provinces, that she becomes the natural and perpetual Ally of the Maritime Powers, who have never failed to shew the utmost Readiness to support her Interest. By her being in possession of these Countries, she covers the Republick of *Holland* from the Power of *France*; and may be likewise said to form a Barrier against that dangerous and ambitious Power, in favour of *Great Britain* also.

Whilst she preserves these Countries, she cannot fail of preserving the unalterable Affection of her Neighbours; and therefore it is her Interest to be as tender of these Provinces as of any part of her Dominions. She sees by fatal Experience, what dreadful Consequences follow the neglecting her Frontiers on that side, and therefore she will certainly avoid committing the like Mistake for the future. It is a visible Error, to suppose that these Provinces may be absolutely trusted to the Care of the Maritime Powers, and to imagine that this may be some Excuse for being less mindful of their Security. The contrary is very plain; if the *Austrian* Garrisons in those Countries were kept complete, and their Fortresses in a proper State of
P Defence,

Defence, the *Dutch* would have nothing to apprehend from the Power of *France*, and would consequently act upon all Occasions with Dignity and Spirit; whereas a contrary Conduct leaves them so open to their Enemies, and gives such Opportunities to the Emissaries of *France*, and to the discontented Party in that Country, as must necessarily weaken, or, which is worse, intimidate, a popular Government.

On the other hand, the Conduct of the *Dutch* in all such Conjunctions, must have such an Influence upon that of *Great Britain*, that in respect to both, it will be certainly found the Interest of the House of *Austria* to manifest the utmost Concern for these Provinces, by the Justice of her Government, by encouraging the Commerce of the Inhabitants, by applying the Revenues for their Defence, and by keeping every thing in such a Condition, as that *France* shall never be tempted to think it most for her Advantage to attack her Imperial Majesty on this Side. Thus from a clear and impartial View of the present State and Interest of the House of *Austria*, it is fully and plainly shewn that she has emerged from the late War greater, more powerful, and in a Condition of being a more effectual Ballance against the House of *Bourbon*, than she has been during the present Century. The Imperial Dignity is restored to her; her Power in *Germany* is very little impaired; the Kingdom of *Hungary* is become of infinitely greater Consequence to her than it was; her Dominions in *Italy* are safe, and it is in her own Power, by taking suitable Measures for their Defence, to obtain from her Allies whatever Assistance is necessary to preserve the *Low Countries*. This is all that is requisite to make her as secure as herself can desire, as much respected as her Friends can wish, and as powerful as the present System of *Europe* requires she should be.

Thus this Article stood in the last Edition of the Book, before there was any Rumour of electing the Archduke *Joseph* King of the *Romans*. A Point decisive in favour of these Reflections; and as to which, tho' a Matter of the last Importance, there is no Difference but as to the Means and the Manner. His *Prussian* Majesty professes in the strongest Terms, that the highest Respect is due to that Candidate, when an Election shall become necessary; but he has hitherto shewn rather a Dislike than an Approbation of the Method proposed for elevating that young Prince to the Throne. He seems to apprehend, that tho' a certain Majority may be sufficient when they come to an Election; yet with respect to the previous Question, as to the Necessity, there ought to be Unanimity. On the Vacancy of the Imperial Throne the Necessity is apparent; and there is nothing
absurd

absurd or unreasonable in supposing, that it ought to be apparent also when the King of the *Romans* is elected during the Life of the Emperor. An apparent Necessity infers Unanimity; for Difficulties and Doubts, more especially, if supported by any thing that looks like Argument, is a direct Proof that the Necessity is not apparent. Be this as it will, the proposing this Prince in so tender an Age, and the Manner in which that Proposition has been received, even by those who seem not at present disposed to close with it, clearly demonstrates all that I have contended for, *viz.* That the Figure and Consideration, that is, in express Terms, the Power of the House of *Austria*, is augmented; for in a Government like that of the Empire, Figure and Consideration is actual Power, as the future Course of Events will fully explain.

There has been this Year a Dyet held in *Hungary*, the Conclusion of which, tho' at first Sight it seems otherwise, is notwithstanding wholly in Favour of the Principles advanced in the foregoing Part of this Section. Certain Demands were made on the Part of the Sovereign, and certain Claims on Behalf of the People; but as the latter could not be fully adjusted, the former were not complied with in their full Extent. But a Palatine was chosen according to Law, many other Things were done for the Satisfaction of the Nation, and the Close of her Imperial Majesty's Speech at the rising of the Dyet was exactly agreeable to the Constitution, which, because I have not seen it published, I will subjoin in her Imperial Majesty's own Words: *Majore expectavimus equidem erga nos, fiduciam ac promptitudinem a cara Gente, quam semper distinguimus, Hungarica, cui & plura & nova præ reliquis maternæ nostræ benevolentiae dedimus argumenta.. Deponite igitur in Matrem & Reginam vestram diffidentiam, & satagite omnes definitiones diætales solerter exequi, & mereri, ut pristina fiducia & gratia redeat:* That is, "We did indeed promise ourselves great Confidence and Alacrity on the Part of a Nation so dear to us; from the *Hungarians*, whom we have always distinguished, and to whom we have given many, and those too, late Proofs, in Preference to all others, of our maternal Affection. Banish therefore all Diffidence of your Mother and your Queen; be punctual, be assiduous in carrying into Execution the Measures taken in this Dyet for the Benefit of your Constituents, and merit thereby the full Return of our former Confidence and Favour." This is not the Language of Artifice or Flattery; much less of Pride and arbitrary Power; but the candid Sentiments of a gracious Princess, careful of the Interests, and therefore jealous of the Affections of her Subjects, desirous of reign-

ing in their Hearts, and of augmenting her Authority by extending her Benevolence.

From the Measures that have been taken to settle and secure the Territories in the Possession of this august Family in *Italy*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large in another Place, all Suspicions of new Dangers on that side are removed. We are likewise told that a Congress will be very speedily opened at *Brussels*, in which the Business of the Barrier, and whatever else regards the Safety and Welfare of the *Austrian Low-Countries*, will be regulated, with the Consent, by the Advice, and under the Inspection of her Allies. We have good reason therefore to felicitate ourselves upon the Events that have already happened, and have no Grounds for Dissatisfaction with respect to the future Prospect of Things. We do not pretend to answer for, or to struggle with, Events that are in the Womb of Time; but we may venture to affirm, that if Negotiations are evenly and fairly managed, with a just Regard to the Constitution of the Country in which, and with a becoming Respect for the Princes with whom they are carried on, all things we can reasonably desire or expect, may be fully, and in due Time, accomplished. But the noblest Designs, the best concerted Plans, are not Proof against private Views, indirect Measures, or precipitate Attempts, if they should ever enter into the Heads of those who are employed either to direct or conduct them.

C H A P. IX.

The genuine Constitution, real Power, and natural Interests of the GERMANICK Body, impartially stated from the best and most authentick Writings of their own Lawyers.

THE *Germanick Body* is a Term with which we are very well acquainted in *Britain*, and the Notion we have of it is in the general right enough; but when we come to speak of it more closely, it does not appear, at least from general Conversation, that People enter into it very strictly, comprehend it very clearly, or are able to satisfy themselves whether Propositions relating thereto, are consistent with,

with, or opposite to Truth, or even whether they are probable or improbable. This, if we consider it as a Branch of Political Learning, is indeed of very great Importance; but it is of still greater Importance, when we remember that it is a Point which often concerns the immediate Safety of our own Country.

Men of great Parts, and wholly devoted to the Service of this or that Faction, frequently introduce the *Germanick* Body into their Debates, and either exalt or depress, heighten or weaken it, at pleasure. Sometimes we hear it magnified as one of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, as more than a Ballance for *France*, and as capable of itself to secure and maintain the Equilibrium, not on the side of *Germany* only, but in respect to the North, and to the House of *Bourbon*: By others, perhaps by the same Men when another Purpose is to be answered, we are told that it is a vast, unwieldy, and languid Power, unconnected in its Parts, slow in its Resolves, and dilatory in the Execution of them.

It is to free this Subject from all Embarrassment, and to set it in a clear and natural Light, that we have given place to this Article; and as it is very possible to do this within the Compass of about an Hour's reading, it is hoped that the pains taken thereon will merit the Approbation of the Publick; the rather because it will appear from our manner of treating it, that there is not the smallest Mixture of Prepossession or Prejudice, but that we really mean to render the thing as intelligible as it is in our Power to make it.

The Empire of the *West*, of *Germany*, or as it is commonly stiled, the *Holy Roman* Empire, was founded by *Charles* the Great; and under him and his Son the Government was Monarchical; and the Dominions of those Princes being very large, and accruing to them by different Titles, they were governed either by Persons vested with Powers from the Emperor immediately, or by their natural Princes, Vassals to the Emperor; and both these kind of Governors were stiled *Dukes*. In respect to Spiritual Affairs, they were administered by Bishops, and as there was a great Spirit of Religion in those Days, this rendered those Prelates very considerable.

The Care of Justice within the Districts into which the large Provinces were divided, belonged to an Officer called in *Latin Comes*, from whence the Word *Count* is derived; but in the *German* Language he was stiled *Grave*. From these Courts there was an Appeal to that of the Emperor, and therefore the Chief-Justice or President of the Imperial Court,

was stiled *Gomes Palatinus*, that is, *Count Palatine*, i. e. of the *Palace*, or in *German*, *Palsgrave*. The same Reason of State introduced other necessary Offices, such as a Governor of the Frontiers or Marches, then stiled *Marquis*, and by the *Germans*, *Margrave*, answering to our Lord Warden of the *Marches*; the *Landgrave* was an Officer of the same Nature with the *Grave*, or *Count*, but had a greater Extent of Country, and that generally in the Heart of the Empire; the *Burgrave* was the Emperor's chief Officer in Towns and Castles, that is to say, that which immediately belonged to the Emperor, and in which, when he came into the Country where they lay, he was wont to reside, for in these only he kept such an Officer.

We may from hence plainly see, that except the Dukes, who were Vassals, there were none of the Officers but what depended upon the mere Pleasure of the Emperor, and had not the least Colour to expect that their Offices should become settled and constant, much less hereditary. But Divisions in the Imperial-Family, Civil Wars, and the sinking of the Imperial Dignity, soon brought about a Change. In some Cases the Dukes themselves took such Measures, that it was scarce in the Power of the Emperor to dispossess them, or hinder their Sons from succeeding; in others it became the Interest of the Prince to continue this Power to them and their Descendants, in order to attach them more effectually to his Family; and thus the modern Constitution came in, of distinct Principalities, owning the Emperor for their Head.

All Beginnings are rude, and so was the Commencement of the *Germanick* Body; but it is necessary to ascend to the Origin of Things, if we will understand them; and when this is once fixed in our Minds, it is a very easy Thing to follow the Channel from its Source. Besides, taking Matters thus high, saves time in many other Respects, by explaining in the familiar and perspicuous Way of Narrative, a variety of Terms that would seem harsh and unpleasant in the dry Mode of Interpretation, and introduced without that Caution, might easily be mistaken, or remain for ever obscure.

But it was not long that Things continued in this Situation, and these new Princes in a State of doubtful Authority; for upon the Extinction of the Imperial Line, and the setting *Conrad*, Duke of *Franconia*, upon the Throne by an Election, the Rights of the Emperor and of these Princes came to stand upon the same Foot, which was about the Beginning of the tenth Century. His Successor, *Henry of Saxony*, had indeed
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a Notion of exerting the old Imperial Authority, to which the Princes thought he had no Title; and this produced great Disturbances in his Reign, and a very opposite Conduct in his Son and Successor *Otho I.* who courted the Princes, and might have made himself the most powerful Monarch of his Age, if the Divisions in his own Family had not prevented it.

By the Conquest of *Lombardy*, and annexing the Imperial Dignity to the Crown of *Germany*, he in some measure extended the Power of his Successors; but at the same time brought in certain Inconveniencies, which were not felt before. The Emperor thenceforward claimed the Right of approving the Bishop of *Rome*; and the Popes, who were then much more powerful than they have been since, formed, in their Turns, Pretensions to name or to approve the Prelates; and the Disputes which this occasioned, joined to the Confusions that naturally happen in Elective Governments, brought the Empire into such a Condition, that, as we have shewn in the Beginning of the last Article, it was found necessary to offer the Imperial Dignity to Count *Rodolph* of *Hapsburgh*, in the Beginning of the XIIIth Century: And the Disturbances that happened after the Exclusion of the House of *Austria*, for some time made the *German* Princes very willing to raise *Albert II.* to the Throne in 1437.

Himself and his Successors yielded to several Regulations that were favourable to the *Germanick* Body; more especially the Emperor *Frederick III.* the least powerful, and the least respected of the Princes of the House of *Austria*; who notwithstanding laid the Foundation of its Power, and gave Form and Credit to the *Germanick* Constitution, which was improved by the Emperor *Maximilian*; who, in the Beginning of his Reign, was very well inclined to remedy the Disorders that had been either created or permitted by his Predecessors. Upon his Demise, before *Charles V.* was admitted to the Imperial Dignity, the Electors thought fit to secure themselves against the Effects of his great Power, by a new Step, which has been since constantly followed; I mean, the swearing the Emperor elect to certain Articles of Government, stiled the Imperial Capitulation. In the foregoing Articles we have shewn the Attempts made by the Emperors to enlarge their Authority, the Measures taken by the Princes and States of the Empire to prevent their extending it, the calling in the *Swedes* and the *French* for that Purpose, and the settling all the Pretensions on both Sides, for ever, by the famous Treaty of *Westphalia*.

As the Imperial Dignity was originally absolute and hereditary, and as those Monarchs had very great Powers, their

Successors have always kept up a Claim to, and sometimes, that is, as often as they were able, have exercised such Prerogatives. Those Emperors, being Protectors of the *Roman* Church, the Popes thought it for their Interest to make them greater than any other Princes, and therefore stiled them the Temporal Heads of the Christian World. It was from hence they assumed to themselves Precedence of all Kings, and even claimed a Power of making Kings, not by bestowing Territories, but by granting that Dignity or that Title to such as had them already, but with an inferior Stile. They pretended also to other Rights, even in the Territories of Princes without the Bounds of the Empire; more especially of granting Dignities to their Subjects, which however was frequently controverted, and particularly by our Queen *Elizabeth*.

It was also a long time before they gave the title of *Majesty* to other Kings, whom they treated with that of *Serenity* only; but those Notions are now almost wore out, except in *Germany*; and setting aside the point of Precedence, they have scarce any other Prerogative superior to other Monarchs. In the Empire, indeed, they have, upon particular Occasions, very high Marks of Reverence paid them; and very powerful Princes not only submit to, but contend for the Right of acting as their menial Servants; which, at first sight, may seem to be inconsistent with their own Dignities; but when closely examined, this seeming Humility is really founded on a Principle of Ambition.

All the Electors have great Offices; and those Offices are not only annexed to their Dignities, but seem to have been the Occasion of them, which is the Reason of their being so tenacious in this Respect; and as they are capable of being elected, as well as of electing, as they stile themselves *Coimperantes*, and in the Time of a Vacancy exercise a part of the Imperial Authority, it is no wonder that they are for raising it in point of Stile and Prerogative as high as they can; especially as the Emperors, in return, employ that very Authority in their Favour, and would have the Electors, considered in that Quality, stand upon the Level with Kings. But it is necessary to see who and what these great Princes are, and how they have acquired their Right of Election, which, tho' now long since settled and uncontested, was not always so; the Election of the ancient Emperors differing in many respects from that Form of Election which has prevailed for some Ages past, and which, being now made a Part of the *Germanick* Constitution, is like to remain as long as that shall endure.

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The Kings of *Germany* were always elective ; but originally this did not depend upon the great Officers of State intirely, but also on other Princes : And in process of Time the Deputies of the Imperial Towns repaired to the Diet of Election, and gave at least their Approbation to the new King before he was proclaimed ; but, however, the great Officers, by their being always about the Court, had great Advantages of being earlier present at such Diets, and so came to have a considerable Influence over the Members.

In the troublesome Times, when *Henry of Thuringia*, *William Earl of Holland*, *Richard Earl of Cornwall*, and *Alphonse King of Castile*, were chosen, the Princes and great Towns had scarce an Opportunity of attending ; and this gave such a Countenance to that Right, the great Officers of the Household had assumed of electing, without consulting any other Members of the Empire, that *Gregory X.* either conceived they had such a Right, or was willing to favour their acquiring it ; which induced him to direct a Bull to those great Officers, in which he exhorted them to elect an Emperor, and thereby put an End to the Troubles in *Germany* ; since which they have been considered as the sole Electors.

To secure the Possession of that Dignity, they, in the Reign of *Lewis of Brvaria*, entered into a League amongst themselves, which was called the *Electoral Union*, and which was confirmed by the Emperor, and ratified afterwards by the famous Constitution of *Charles IV.* so well known to the World by the Title of the *Golden Bull* ; by which also it was provided, that the Territories, with the great Offices annexed to them, and by the Possession of which the Electoral Dignity was obtained, should descend according to the Right of Primogeniture, and be absolutely indivisible, that the Right of each Elector might be the better known, and the more effectually secured.

By this Constitution the Number and Titles of the Electors, and the Manner of Election, were fully settled in the following Manner : The Archbishop of *Mentz*, as Great Chancellor of the *German Empire* ; the Elector of *Cologne*, as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Italy* ; the Elector of *Triers*, as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Gaul* and *Arles* ; the King of *Bohemia*, in Quality of Cup-bearer ; the Count *Palatine*, as High Steward ; the Duke of *Saxony*, as Grand Marshal ; and the Margrave of *Brandenburgh*, as Grand Chamberlain, were the Seven Electors.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, tho' in every Respect as powerful a Prince as any of these, was not thought of upon this Ocasion, as having none of the great Offices ; but he being of the same
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House with the Counts *Palatine*, demanded to share the Quality of Elector with them; and on this it was actually settled by Treaty, that the Chiefs of the two Houses should exercise that Right alternately; but of this there is no mention made in the *Golden Bull*. When the Emperor thought fit to deprive the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick V.* of that Dignity as well as of his Territories; the Duke of *Bavaria* came into Possession of it, and kept it, even by the Peace of *Osnaburgh*; by which an Eighth Electorate was erected in Favour of the Elector *Palatine*; and that he might not be without an Office, the Dignity of Arch-Treasurer was conferred upon him.

In 1692, the Emperor *Leopold* erected a Ninth Electorate, in favour of *Ernest-Augustus* Duke of *Lunenburgh*, Grandfather to his present *Britannick* Majesty, which occasioned very high Disputes; but at length all Things were amicably settled. On the putting the Elector of *Bavaria* under the Ban of the Empire, in the last general War, the Post of Arch-Treasurer was given to the new Elector, the Elector *Palatine* getting Possession again of his antient Title of High Steward, which the Elector of *Bavaria* had kept. But upon the Peace of *Baden*, the Elector of *Bavaria* came again into Possession of the Electoral Dignity, and that of High Steward; and the Post of High Treasurer is ever since claimed by both the Electors of *Palatine* and *Brunswick*.

As for the Election of a new Emperor, it is so effectually settled, that there cannot now be any Disputes about it. The Elector of *Mentz*, in Quality of Great Chancellor of the Empire, is to summon the rest of the Electors upon the Demise of an Emperor, within the Space of one Month after he receives Notice of it; and the Day fixed for Election is to be within the Compass of three Months from that of his Summons. The Electors are not bound to attend in Person, but may send their Ambassadors, as they generally do; and they commonly name three of these; but if they neglect to come in Person, or to send an Ambassador, they lose the Right of Election for that Time. The Place of Election is *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*; but that is not a Thing indispensable, yet so that the Right of the City of *Frankfort* must be always saved, in case the Election is at any Time made elsewhere.

As soon as the Diet of Election is met, they begin to settle the Capitulation, to which the Emperor, when elected, is to swear. This is done by the College of Electors, but the College of Princes claim a Right of approving it; which however is a Point in Dispute. When the Capitulation is fixed, the Elector of *Mentz* appoints the Day for the actual Election,
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upon which the Gates of the City are shut, and the Keys delivered to that Elector.

The Electors, or their Ambassadors, repair in great Pomp to Church ; and when the Mass is over, at which the Protestants are not obliged to be present, they take a very solemn Oath to chuse without caballing, or a View to private Interest, the Person that appears to them the most fit for the Imperial Dignity : This done, they retire to the Sacristy, where the Elector of *Mentz* asks if there be any Impediment known why they should not then proceed to an Election ; and next he exacts a Promise, that the Person shall be owned and admitted for Emperor who shall be chosen by the Majority ; and the Declarations of the Electoral Ambassadors upon these two Heads are recorded by two Notaries of the Empire : After which all the Witnesses are commanded to withdraw.

After this, the Elector of *Mentz* collects the Suffrages, which are given *viva voce*, and last of all he gives his own. It is necessary that the Person chosen should have a Majority of the whole Body, and not a bare Majority of Votes ; for supposing there were three Candidates, and one had four, another three, and another two Voices, this would be no Election ; but any of the Electors who has Suffrages for him, may add his own to make up the Majority. When this is over, the Witnesses that were present at the Beginning of the Transaction, are again called in, and the Elector of *Mentz* declares to them the Person whom the Electors have chosen.

The new Emperor however is not proclaimed, till himself, if present, or his Ambassador, if absent, has sworn in his Name to the Capitulation ; and then the Election is looked upon as intirely compleat. There have been several Attempts made to settle a perpetual Capitulation ; and the doing this is looked upon as a Point of great Consequence to the Empire ; but the Debates it has hitherto occasioned in the Diet of the Empire, has hindered it from being brought to a Conclusion.

The Emperors were formerly stiled only Kings of *Germany*, from the Time of their Election to the Time of their Coronation at *Rome* ; and this serves to explain a Passage before made use of in respect to the Emperor *Otho*, and his annexing the Imperial Title to the Crown of *Germany* ; agreeable to which the *Golden Bull* declares, That the Electors ought to chuse a King of the *Romans* for their future Emperor. In respect to this, the Reader will observe, that the Office was conferred by the Election, and only the Title by the Coronation : Sometimes the Popes encouraged, and were very fond of this ; at other Times

Times they were uneasy at the Emperor's Presence: At last the Inconvenience grew so great on both Sides, that the Emperor *Maximilian I.* declined going to *Rome*; and the Pope was so far from taking this ill, that he granted him a Bull, which enabled him to take the Title of Emperor on his being crowned in *Germany*.

It remained long an Article in the Capitulation, that the Emperor should endeavour to be crowned in that City; but at the Election of the Emperor *Leopold*, this was left out as a Thing needless, as being cancell'd by Disuse. His Coronation in *Germany* however is still required by the Capitulation, and it generally follows the Election as soon as may be, that the Electors who are obliged to be present at it, to perform their arch, or great Offices, may not be obliged to give a double Attendance. The Place appointed by the *Golden Bull* is the City of *Aix la Chapelle*, in regard to the Residence of *Charlemagne*; but notwithstanding this, he may be crowned in any other City, saving the Right of *Aix la Chapelle*.

By the *Golden Bull*, the Coronation of the Emperor belongs to the Archbishop and Elector of *Cologn*; but that is upon a Supposition that the Emperor is crowned at *Aix*, which is within his Diocese; and therefore when he is crowned elsewhere, the Ceremony is performed by the Elector of *Mentz*; if the Place which happens to be made choice of for that pompous Solemnity, is situated within the Diocese of *Mentz*; and in the Cities that are in neither of their Dioceses, he and the Elector of *Cologn* enjoy this Honour by turns. When the Emperor is seated on the Throne, the Elector of *Saxony* puts into his Hand the Sword of *Charles the Great*, with which he makes some Knights of the Holy Roman Empire, of his own Motive, and is obliged also to make others who are nominated by the respective Electors.

When he comes to dine in the great Hall, he has the Table to himself, which is raised two Steps higher than those of the Electors, and is served by Counts of the Empire; whereas the Electors, who have each of them his Table, are served only by the Gentlemen of their respective Courts. Such of them as assist at this Ceremony in Person, sit and eat at their own Tables; but those who are represented by their Ambassadors, have only Tables covered for them with empty Plates, at which the Ambassador does not sit down. The Coronation of the Emperor is not only a great Ceremony, but a very significant one also; for it keeps up all the great Offices, and serves to raise the Authority and Dignity of the Emperor, by shewing him in
such

such high Lustre to all who are present upon the Occasion, at his Entrance upon his Government.

We are now to speak of the King of the *Romans*, which is a Title that has had two very different Significations, as relating to two different Persons. From the Time of his Election to that of his Coronation, the Person vested with the Imperial Dignity is stiled King of the *Romans*; and the Presumptive Successor, elected in the Life-time of the Emperor, is also stiled King of the *Romans*; but since the Emperors are no longer crowned at *Rome*, this Distinction is lost; and we mean now by the King of the *Romans*, only the last mentioned Person: And the only Reason I mention the Distinction here, is to let the Reader see, that the King of the *Romans*, mentioned in the *Golden Bull*, is not the last, but the first of these Persons: For as to a Successor, and his Election during the Life of the Possessor, there is no Direction at all given in this Bull, but it came afterwards by an Agreement between the Emperor and the Electors, for the common Benefit of the Empire.

At present the King of the *Romans* is chosen, generally speaking, at the Request and for the Ease of the reigning Emperor, with all the Ceremonies that the *Golden Bull* requires for the Election of an Emperor; and yet this Election gives rather a Title than an Office; for the King of the *Romans*, by an express Article in his Capitulation, promises not to intermeddle with the Affairs of the Empire during the Life of the Emperor; but upon his Demise, he becomes Emperor upon his Coronation, without any second Election. It is true, that in the Capitulation sworn to by the Emperor *Matthias*, there was an Article inserted, that if the Emperor, being duly requested by the Electors to yield to the Choice of a King of the *Romans*, should refuse, without rendering a solid Reason, they should be at Liberty to elect a King of the *Romans* without his Consent: But since that Time this Article has been omitted; probably, because it was ambiguous, and could be of little use, since there was no Judge to determine whether any Reason the Emperor thought fit to assign, was a solid Reason or not.

When therefore there is no King of the *Romans*, and by the Demise of the Emperor the Throne becomes vacant, the *Golden Bull* has provided for the Administration of the Government, by the Electors *Palatine* and of *Saxony*, who have the Title of *Vicars* of the Empire; and this they seem to have in Right of their respective Offices, the one of Count *Palatine*, the other of *Arch-Marshal* of the Empire; but when it is said, that these

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Provisions are made by the *Golden Bull*, it does not follow that they did not exist before, but only that they were ascertained and confirmed by it.

The Disputes between the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Palatine* have interfered very much in this, both claiming to be Vicars, and both in their Turns have enjoyed it ; but at present, this Difference is adjudged by an Agreement between the two Families, so that the Empire suffered no Prejudice from it in the two last Vacancies. Each of these Vicars has his District, and they have likewise an Aulic Council, which is called the Tribunal of the Vicariate; and it is provided by the *Golden Bull*, that the Acts of the Vicars of the Empire, during the Vacancy, shall be valid and binding ; but to prevent Disputes, and for the greater Security, Care is taken to insert an Article in the new Emperor's Capitulation, by which he promises to ratify and confirm in the fullest Manner possible, whatever the Vicars of the Empire have done during the Time of the Vacancy.

We sometimes meet in the *German* History, with Vicars of the Emperor as well as Vicars of the Empire ; and indeed these Offices differ widely : For, by Virtue of his Imperial Dignity, the Emperor may, if he pleases, delegate his Power to any Prince in the Empire, when it so happens that he is not in a Condition to execute it himself. But then this Vicar is very far from having the Powers of a Vicar of the Empire ; for, in the first place, he is accountable to the Emperor, who may revoke or annul whatever he has done by Virtue of that delegated Power ; and besides this, his Office depends entirely upon the Pleasure of the Emperor, who may resume or determine it whenever he pleases.

There is also a Vicariate of the Empire in *Italy*, which has been generally executed by the Dukes of *Savoy* ; but as this is a Matter of some Perplexity, does not immediately relate to our present Subject, and may be considered hereafter in another Place, there is no Occasion for dwelling on it here ; only it may not be amiss to remark, that from the latest Practice, in case of the Vacancy of the Empire, it seems, that the Affairs of *Italy* fall under the Direction of the Vicars of the Empire appointed by the *Golden Bull* ; and as to any Power granted to the Duke of *Savoy*, or any other Prince, by a reigning Emperor, that can only make him the Emperor's Vicar in *Italy*, and does not vest him with the Quality of Vicar of the Empire ; which Offices, as the Reader will now clearly perceive, are very distinct and different Things.

It will also appear, from what has been said, that unless an Emperor is desirous of having a Successor appointed in his Lifetime, there can be no solid Reason assigned for the Electors giving him an Associate under the Title of *King of the Romans*; since the Emperor, if he please, may devolve any Part of his Authority, for his own Ease and the Good of the Empire, upon any Prince he thinks proper, with the Character of his Vicar; and with this additional Advantage, that he may be called to account for his Administration in that Quality, which in the other Case might not be so easy.

This Distinction between the Emperor and the Empire is necessary also in many other Cases; and that we may know how to make it, where and whenever it becomes necessary, we will endeavour to explain the Relation there is between the Members of the Empire and its Head; or, in other Words, the Emperor and the Princes and other Powers of the Empire. This the very best Authors on the *Publick or Constitutional Law*, as it is styled in *Germany*, own to be a very difficult thing, and it appears the more so from their differing about it.

But if we consider that the Empire was first hereditary, and that the Territories held by Lords of all Ranks and Denominations were *Fiefs*, granted to those Lords by *Investiture*; and if we farther reflect, that when the Race of *Charlemagne* ceased to govern *Germany*, the Princes and Lords of their own Motive preserved the ancient Constitution, and resolved, by giving themselves a Head, to continue the Empire, we shall understand this Matter clearly. Their Sovereignty appears in this Resolution: If they had been under any Master, they could not have taken it; but being under none, they associated themselves in a certain Manner, and on certain Conditions; the Performance of which includes all that is properly called Duty to the Empire.

But as this Constitution implies some Center of Dignity, some Head or Chief, by which the Majesty of the Empire may be rendered visible, and its Laws be put in Execution, they agree to chuse an Emperor for this Purpose. In consequence of this Choice, they are to receive from him, or before his Throne, the *Investiture* of their Dominions; that is to say, Electors and Princes are to do this; for as to Counts and free Cities, they obtain their *Investitures* from the Aulic Council; but this marks no more than their Submission to the Empire; since as it is their Duty to demand, it is no less the Emperor's to bestow; and this he promises upon Oath, amongst other Articles in his Capitulation.

The Members of the Empire therefore, are dependent upon it, that from their Union they may derive Protection ; and they are dependent on the Emperor, because in him resides the Majesty of the Empire ; in all other Respects they are independent and free. We may hence discern, that every thing done against a Prince wearing the Imperial Crown, is not done against the Emperor. For such a Prince may have other Dominions and other Titles, and what concern him in respect to them does not concern him as Emperor ; and therefore nothing relating to Things or Persons out of the Empire, can be construed to the Prejudice of any Prince or Power of the Empire.

But to act against the Emperor in quality of Head or Chief of the Empire, is a Crime against the Nature of that Confederacy, which constitutes the Empire, and renders the Member committing it liable to Punishment for it, according to the Laws of the Empire. Yet this is no Infringement on the Sovereignty of such a Member, because he acquires and enjoys it under the Covenant of being true and loyal to the Empire ; and if he continues so, must be secure of their Assistance, which is an Equivalent for the Duty expected from him.

This Account, simple and easy as it is, of the Relation between the States composing the sacred *Romish* Empire, sufficiently explains the Reasonableness and Justice of proceeding against any Prince or State of the Empire, wanting in his or its Duty, or departing from their Fidelity, by putting them under the BAN of the Empire. This at first sight seems to wound even mortally the Notion of Sovereign Authority in these Princes ; for if Sovereigns, how shall they be judged ? But when more closely examined, this Objection will not appear so weighty. The Sovereignty of these Princes springs from that Union which constitutes the Empire, and therefore this Power is necessary for the Preservation of the Empire, so that the Subjection arises from the Consent of these Sovereigns, and the Punishment is suitable to this Notion of the Thing ; viz. Deprivation of those Territories which render such Princes Members of the Empire.

It is very true, that there are some old Examples of putting Persons to Death for Treason against Emperors, but this extended no farther than Counts of the Empire. It is also true that *Charles V.* not only deprived the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, of their Dominions, but also passed Sentence of Death on the former, though he forebore to put it in Execution. But this was done, not in the old legal Way,
by

by an Assembly of the adjacent States, but by the Aulic Council established by the Emperor *Maximilian*, and was considered as one of those Stretches of Power which brought on the succeeding Civil War.

The Deprivation of the Elector *Palatine* on the Score of the War in *Bohemia*, had something more of Formality in it, but still was far enough from being legal, or from being considered as such by the unbiassed Powers of the Empire, who therefore took the first Opportunity of doing the Descendent of that Prince Justice, by restoring him to his Dignity and Dominions.

Since that Time, and indeed in our own, the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* have been put under the Ban of the Empire with far greater Reason, and with much more Shew of Justice; and yet the States of the Empire were not satisfied, but provided by an express Article in the Capitulation of the Emperor *Charles VI.* that no Member of the Empire should be put under the Ban without being heard, and without the Opinion and Consent of all the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire first had and obtained, &c. Thus it appears clearly, that the Ban of the Empire is a Punishment founded in the Nature of the Government, derogates little or nothing from the Sovereignty of Princes, who derive their Sovereignty from and are supported therein by that Constitution, and is now so effectually regulated as to be no longer liable to Abuses.

The Emperors themselves are not above Law, or free from the Danger of feeling its Effects, if they digress from their Duty. The Electors have claimed, and even executed a Right of deposing as well as choosing Emperors, and the same Thing has been done other Ways. At present we see the Capitulations are drawn up and sworn to, in order to prevent such a rigorous Method of Proceeding, from whence, how well founded soever, vast Inconveniencies must ensue; but if in Breach of this Capitulation a *German* Emperor should attempt to subvert the Constitution, there is not the least Doubt that the College of Electors have a Right to remonstrate against his Conduct, and if that has no Effect (in Conjunction with the Diet) to apply proper Remedies to restrain him.

But after insisting so long on the superior or supreme Jurisdiction, it is very natural to descend to the ordinary Tribunals of Courts of Justice. According to the original Constitution of the Empire, there was the greatest Care imaginable taken for the Distribution and Execution of Justice by the Counts, within their Jurisdictions; and by Appeals from them

in the Emperor's Courts, before the Count Palatine. When the Power however of the Emperors came to decline, this Distribution of Justice, which depended entirely thereupon, came to be interrupted. This Mischief was soon perceived, but not so soon remedied; various Attempts indeed were made, but all proved partial, most of them ineffectual.

At last, the Inconveniencies grew so many and so great, that the States solicited the help of several Emperors, for constituting a Court which might answer the End proposed, of having Justice impartially administered in great, as well as in small Causes. *Ferdinand III.* absolutely refused his Consent, but in the Reign of his Son *Maximilian I.* this great Point was settled, and such a Court erected under the Title of *The Imperial Chamber*, at *Worms*, in 1495, removed to *Spire* 1533, and after the *French* had barbarously ruined the Palatinate, to *Wetzlar* in 1696. The Members of this great Court of Justice were, a Judge of the Chamber, four Presidents, and fifty Assessors; but in 1719, this Number was lessened by one half, and these are to be part Protestants, part Papists.

The Reason why the Emperors were averse to the forming so necessary a Tribunal, was, because they had always Hopes of recovering this last Flower of their Prerogative, by bringing all Causes in the last Resort before a Tribunal of their own appointing, whereas the Emperor names only the Judges and Presidents of the Imperial Chamber. What former Emperors had endeavoured in vain by Authority, *Maximilian* obtained by Policy. He foresaw that the large Expence of the Imperial Chamber, which fell entirely on the States of the Empire, would make them unattentive to their new Tribunal; and so it fell out. They knew the Importance of it, they struggled to obtain it, but they neglected its Support.

The wise Emperor, to provide for the Administration of Justice, at such Times as these Accidents kept the Imperial Chamber close, revived his *Aulic Council*; and to shew his Moderation; desired the States to add to the Number of Assessors eight, though the Emperor allows Salaries to them all. By this Means he drew all the Causes before his own Tribunal, by keeping it ever open, and the Seats well filled; and by taking care to see the Sentences pronounced, duly and speedily executed.

The Princes and States of the Empire quickly saw their Error, and that the Emperor had made use of their Negligence to secure what, if they had not lost their Opportunity, must have always depended upon them. They did not fail to remonstrate and expostulate on this Subject, and to represent it as an Infringe-

fringement on the *Germanick* Constitution, by which the *Imperial Chamber* ought not only to be the supreme, but the sole Tribunal of that kind.

To this, however, the *Empéror* returned very plausible Answers. He observed, that in erecting the Imperial Chamber he had complied with the Desire of the States; and by establishing the *Aulic Council*, he had provided for the constant Administration of Justice; he insisted that he had performed his Duty in both Respects, that he was not at all accountable for the Want of Judges in one Court, and that he deserved Thanks for the Pains he took to supply the Deficiency of one Tribunal by the other.

After all these Disputes therefore, these two supreme Courts subsist, and that too in some measure with equal Authority; for which first possesses a Cause, thereby retains it; but some Points, such as the reserved Rights of the Emperor, belong to the *Aulic Council*, but both receive Appeals from inferior Jurisdictions, and decide dubious Titles. The Sentences in both Courts are subject to a Revision, and in case of Injustice there may be a Complaint made to the Diet.

In this Circumstance alone, these Tribunals differ, *viz.* that the Imperial Chamber subsists during a Vacancy of the Throne, when Justice is done in the Name of the Vicars of the Empire; but the *Aulic Council* is immediately dissolved by the Death of the Emperor, and a new one cannot be named till an Emperor is elected.

But before we part with this Subject, it may not be amiss to say somewhat more particular of this *Aulic Council*, which consists of a President, a Vice-President, and seventeen Assessors, of whom six are Protestants; the Vice-Chancellor of the Empire hath also a Right to a Seat therein, and all the Decrees issuing from hence, pass through his Hands, and are directed by him to those who are to put them in Execution. It is by the great Weight and extensive Influence of this Court, that the Emperors are enabled to make their Authority more felt than one would imagine was possible, considering the Constitution of the *Germanick* Body, and the Stipulations about this Matter in the Treaty of *Osnaburgh*.

The Papists and Protestants both complain of the too great Authority of this Tribunal, and the latter, with too much Reason, of its Partiality; but hitherto they have not been able to agree upon the Means of repressing or restraining it within Bounds, and thereby restoring to the true Court of the Empire, *viz.* the *Imperial Chamber*, its original and legal Jurisdiction.

But if the Princes and States have an Interest one Way, the Emperor has no less visibly an Interest the other ; for by Virtue of Appeals from the Tribunals of other Princes, he finds Means to draw out of it a kind of coercive Authority. We are however to observe, that the Electors, and even some other Princes of the Empire, such as the Archdukes of *Austria* and the Duke of *Saxony*, are exempted from this Dependence ; that is to say, their Subjects have no Right at all to those Appeals : Ecclesiastical Causes in like Manner are exempted, and so are Criminal Causes, because of the many Inconveniencies and Delays that must necessarily attend such Appeals in both.

By this Court, and the Exercise of his reserved Rights, the Emperor's Power appears, and by a dextrous Use of them he avails himself of his Dignity, notwithstanding all the Restrictions by which it is bounded. By reserved Rights, are meant the Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Dignity, and are chiefly these, *viz.* Granting to all the Princes the Investiture of their Dominions, which has been explained ; conferring Titles, such as Princes and Counts of the Empire, making Cities, founding Universities, granting Fairs, and other such like Advantages ; in giving Dispensations with respect to Age, that Princes may the sooner come to govern their own Dominions, without waiting the Close of tedious Minorities, which are always destructive ; in deciding Disputes about Rank and Precedency, and granting for once only a vacant Seat in every Chapter of the Empire, which is stiled the Right of *Prima Proces*, and is equivalent to the Prerogative of the Primacy called an *Option*.

In none of these Points however he is absolutely at Liberty ; for as to Fiefs, he is bound to bestow Investitures as the Laws direct ; as to Titles, he promises to bestow them only on worthy Persons, and who have Estates sufficient to support them ; and when bestowed, they only give Name and Respect. To acquire Power and Privileges, these Princes and Counts, after their Creation by the Emperor, must have the Consent of their respective Bodies, in order to be admitted to sit and vote ; yet some Titles are of great Consequence, as for instance, ennobling Ladies that are inferior by Birth to Princes, who incline to espouse them, and thereby legitimating their Descendents ; who otherwise, on account of that Inequality of Birth, are considered as incapable of Succession. In Cases of Minority, no Wrong must be done to the natural Guardian of the Prince, and in all the other Cases many Cautions are to be used ; notwithstanding all which, such are the Politicks of this Court, that these Imperial Prerogatives are attended with many, and those too very considerable Advantages.

After

After reviewing separately the Powers of the Emperor and Princes of the Empire, we are next to regard them as acting conjunctly in the Diets, or Assemblies of the States of the Empire, where the *Germanick* Body appears in its full Lustre, and in which the Legislative Power of the Empire resides. It would be needless to detain the Reader with an Account of the Differences between the ancient and modern Diets, as the Diet is now become necessary and perpetual, this that now subsists having sat since 1653; neither is it requisite to dwell on the Manner of convoking and opening this Assembly, as these are not at all like to occur in our Days; and therefore let us content ourselves with observing, that every Prince and State, every Prelate, Count, and free City of the Empire, has a Right to a Seat in this Diet, which the Princes claim before Investiture, the Prelates before they receive their Bulls, and the Guardians of young Princes during the Minority of their Wards.

The Emperor, when present at the Place where the Diet is held (usually at *Ratisbon*, but may be held in any City of the Empire) presides there in Person; when absent, he does so virtually by his Commissary, or first Commissioner, who lays before the Assembly whatever he receives Orders from his Master to propose, which is done by the Communication of what is called the *Commissorial Decree*.

The Director, or as we would phrase it, the Speaker of the Diet, is the Elector of *Mentz*, in Quality of Chancellor of the Empire; and therefore he has a Chancery there, to which all Things are addressed that are to come before the Diet; and these are made known and published by the Secretary of the Elector of *Mentz* reading the Papers, which are to be communicated to the Secretaries of the other Ministers of the States at the Diet; and this is what they call *per Diſtaturam*, whence the Expression of transmitting Memorials or other Papers of State to the *Diſtature* of the Empire.

It is common in all the Accounts we have of the Debates in the *German* Diets, to find mention made of several Colleges; and this makes it proper to take Notice, that the Diet or general Assembly of the States is considered as divided into or forming three distinct Colleges, each of which has its particular Director. The first is that of the Electors, in which the Elector of *Mentz* directs, not in Quality of Chancellor of the Empire, but as being the first Elector, or as some phrase it, Dean of the College.

The second is stiled the College of Princes, in which sit not only the spiritual and temporal Princes of *Germany* but the

The Prelates also, who are not considered as Princes, and the Counts of the Empire ; but with respect to their Votes, there is a wide Difference ; for the Princes spiritual and temporal, vote distinctly, that is, each of them has a single Vote ; but the Prelates and Counts vote by Benches, each of those Benches having only one Vote.

The Prelates are divided into two Benches, viz. of the *Rhine* and *Swabia* ; but the Counts into four, of the *Weteraw*, *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and *Westphalia*. Neither these Counts, nor their Minister, attend at the Diet ; they content themselves with sending a Minister for each Bench to maintain their Rights, and to give their Suffrages when demanded. The Archduke of *Austria*, and the Archbishop of *Salzburg*, are Directors of the College of Princes, and officiate alternately as the Subjects of their Deliberations fall out ; and it is for this Reason the Archduke of *Austria's* Minister sits on the Right-hand Bench amongst the spiritual Princes.

The third College is that of the free Cities of the Empire ; and the Director of that College is the Minister of the City, in which the Diet happens to sit. The two former Colleges are stiled *Superior* ; and indeed, as we shall presently shew, they are in Effect the Diet.

In all these Colleges the Sentiment of the Majority is considered as that of the Body, except in some particular Cases regulated by the Treaty of *Osnaburgh*, in which the Consent of the whole is still necessary. These are, whatever concerns Religion, what relates to the Empire as a collective Body ; and in a Case in which all the Papists are on one Side, and all the Protestants on the other ; for here, as in many other Instances, this, however unequal the Number of Voices may be, is notwithstanding looked on as an even Division. The Affair of Contributions was proposed to have been added to these Cases, but was referred to the Diet, where it has never been settled, and so is much in the same State as if it had been actually declared one of those Cases.

When any Point comes before the Diet, it is first deliberated and debated in the College of Electors, next in that of Princes : If these Colleges differ, they endeavour to reconcile them by a kind of *Free Conferences*, at which only the Directors assist, with such as the Colleges think fit to name in Conjunction with them. When by these Conferences the Colleges are brought to a Concurrence, then their joint Opinion is signified to the third College, and they are invited to accede to it ; but if they do not, the former is digested and engrossed in the Chancery, and delivered to the Emperor's Commissary,

with

with the Title of the Opinion of the Empire; only Mention is made at the Close of it, what was the Opinion of the third College.

It has been a Point debated with great Warmth, whether according to the *Germanick* Constitution, the Opinion of the Majority of the Colleges be properly the Sentiments of the Empire; a Question of Importance, no doubt, and therefore not like to be decided before the *Greek* Kalands; but in the mean time the Practice is as we have stated it.

After the Ceremonies before mentioned, this Opinion of the Colleges is transmitted to his Imperial Majesty, who gives it his Approbation, and then it is published in his Name, as a *Resolution* of the *Empire*, the States are exhorted to obey it, and all the Tribunals in the Empire are directed to consider it as such.

But after all that has been said, this Matter will yet remain in some measure obscure, if we do not explain the Subjects that come in this manner before the Diet. In the first place the Diet makes Laws, explains Laws, and decides ambiguous Cases; and therefore whenever the *Aulic* Council presumes to do this, they consider it as a real and dangerous Infringement; next they are to be consulted in making War, in which the Emperor can do nothing without them, even though it should be attended with Circumstances that ever so manifestly concern the Empire.

When War is declared, the Diet appoints the Field-Marshal who is to command the Army, and assigns him also a Council of War; nay, after War is declared, in any Case but for the Defence of the Empire, any Prince may notwithstanding remain neuter; as the Elector of *Bavaria* did in 1672, when the Empire entered into a War to save the *Dutch*, and in the last War occasioned by the Election of the present King of *Poland*. The Diet likewise settles the Expences of the Government; and the Quota which each Prince or State is rated at, is stiled the Contingent; these are governed by old Precedents, and the antient name of *Roman* Months is still in use, because of old these Subsidies were commonly given either to enable the Emperor to make War in *Italy*, or for his Journey to *Rome* to be crowned.

Lastly, the Diet enters into and makes Alliances with Foreign Princes, which are however commonly negotiated by the Emperor, who is empowered for that Purpose, and in the End, the Treaty so concluded is ratified by the Empire; and hence arise Wars, in which the Empire is obliged to take part, tho' not attacked; on this score likewise Foreign Princes

have their Ministers at the Diet, though the Empire sends no Ambassador.

But in most of the Congresses for bringing about a Peace, where the Empire has joined in a War, some Regard has been had to her Interposition ; as at *Nimeguen*, where the Imperial Ministers had Power from the Empire ; at *Ryswick* they named a special Commission ; they sent Deputies on the same Account to the *Hague*, when during the last general War Conferences were held there about Peace ; they have also had some Share since in the Approbation of the Treaties of *Baden* and *Vienna*.

The Truth however is, and our Duty obliges us to speak it, that they have been exceedingly ill-used in all these Cases, the Emperor making whatever Terms for them he pleased, and only using their Authority to ratify them. This we may look upon (and justify) as the Cause of that Languor and Inactivity of the Diet, in regard to whatever has so much as a distant Relation to War ; for the States of the Empire knowing, as they very well do, that they have nothing to hope and all things to fear from a War, are unwilling to enter into it, and being embarked act but heavily from the same Notion, which however unreasonable, is after all but natural.

The Peace of *Westphalia* gave rise to the present Diet, and established the *Germanick* Constitution ; but the Diet paid dearly for the Advantages she gained, by consenting to yield such fine Provinces as she did to *France* and *Sweden* by that Treaty ; yet in all succeeding Treaties she has had much worse Luck, as losing in each, and getting nothing by all of them. We need not wonder therefore if the States of the Empire are not suddenly roused, since both Reason and Experience teach them, that while they can keep out of a War, they can lose nothing, of which, whatever its Success be, they can never be sure any other way.

The great and powerful Princes of the Empire may, like other great Princes, be drawn to engage in Alliances and Wars by their Interests and Private Views, and will then act with Vigour and Spirit as other Princes do, and upon the same Motives of Gain and Advantage, having their own Ministers at every Congress to manage their Concerns ; but the *Germanick* Body being so circumstanced as to be able to reap no Profit from such Negotiations, even at the most favourable Conjunctions, but on the contrary, being often called upon and expected to make Satisfaction for what is given by Treaties to other Powers, we need not at all wonder at their Conduct.

But

But to proceed : There is nothing in reference to the *Germanick* Body, that deserves more Attention than their religious Distinctions, because these really divide the States as it were into two distinct Bodies, with different, and in some Cases even opposite Interests. All the World knows, that *Luther* began to preach the Doctrines of the *Reformation* first in *Germany*, and that his religious Sentiments were quickly embraced, not only by great Numbers, but even by the Subjects in general of several Governments in the Empire.

This having exasperated the Court of *Rome*, she left no Stone unturn'd to secure the Suppression of this Heresy (as she called it) by the secular Arm, which naturally induced the Protestants to make use of the same Method for the Defence of themselves and the Freedom of their Consciences. Hence arose the League of *Smalcald* in 1530, at the Head of which were the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*.

We have in the foregoing Article given the History of this and the succeeding Wars on the score of Religion, and shewn how little the Elector of *Saxony* got by trimming between the Protestants and the Emperor, and how near the latter was subverting the Reformation in *Germany*, as effectually as in *Bohemia*, and therefore we need not dwell upon it here.

It was the Treaty of *Westphalia* that, as it settled all other Disputes, adjusted this also, and put it in the Power of the People of *Germany*, of both Religions, to live quietly, as good Christians and good Subjects. But as these Stipulations could not have been long maintained, if some Method had not been found for the Protestants to meet, and take Measures in a Body for their own Preservation ; so the fundamental Laws of the Empire having once authorized this, the Method was not long undiscovered.

In the first Diet held at *Ratisbon* 1653, after the Conclusion of that Peace, the Protestant Princes and States resolved to enter into a close Conjunction with each other for their mutual Support ; and as no Body can act without a Head, they unanimously conferred that Honour upon the Elector of *Saxony*, at the House of whose Minister their Conferences have been ever since held ; and from this Conjunction or Confederacy arises what is called the *Evangelic Body*, which is the Guardian and Protectrice of the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, watches over the Laws provided for the Security of Religion, and in case of Violations, which from the natural Spirit of Popery are but too frequent, sets on foot Applications to the Imperial Throne, and thereby procures Redress and Satisfaction.

One would have imagined, that when the Elector of *Saxony* quitted the Protestant Religion, he should of course have lost his Quality of *Head* of the *Evangelic Body*; but the contrary is the Fact, which the Reader must admit is a very strange one; but for this, two Reasons are assigned: First, that the Elector of *Saxony*, considering the Weight and Influence this Character gave him, was unwilling to resign it; and next, that the Protestants finding his Change of Religion gave Force to his Representations in their Favour to those of his own Communion, saw no Cause to take their Affairs out of his Hand, which is however what they may do whenever they think fit.

There is, I think, only one Point more that is necessary for me to consider, and that is, the Division of the Empire into Circles, which in a former Article I shewed was a Regulation made in the Reign of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and in this I have mentioned the Reason of that Division, which was for the Sake of administering Justice, and took place originally on the founding the Imperial Chamber. This Division, which was made in 1500, established only Six, viz. *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Swabia*, *Saxony*, the *Rhine*, and *Westphalia*, which are still called the antient Circles.

But the great Princes declining to bring their Dominions under the Form of Circles, that Emperor over-reached them, and by throwing the Dominions of the House of *Austria* into the Circles of *Austria* and *Burgundy*; drew in the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* to follow his Example in the Circle of *Upper Saxony*; and the Elector *Palatine* and the Ecclesiastical Electors did the like with Respect to the *Upper Rhine*, which increased the number to *Ten*.

In each of these Circles there is a Director and a Chief, the first for the Management of Civil, the latter for regulating Military Affairs; the Directors are fixed and permanent, but the Chiefs or Generals are elected by the Circles. It is to the Directors of the respective Circles the Imperial Chamber commits the Execution of its Decrees, and from hence we see how this Distribution comes to be of use in that of Justice, as also why the most potent Princes were least inclined to it.

The Circles having many Affairs to manage, hold frequent Diets, in which their Directors preside, and in which they take Measures for their own Prosperity and Security; and as sometimes these cannot be so well pursued without the Concurrence of their Neighbours, they negotiate with the Diets of other Circles; and when this is done upon any particular

cular Occasion, or with a View to a certain Point, they are stiled *Confederate Circles*; but this being more frequent amongst the Circles of the *Upper and Lower Rhine and Westphalia*, they are from thence denominated *Corresponding Circles*.

Thus in as narrow a Compass as it is possible, we have given the Reader a compleat View of the most perplexed and complicated Government, ancient or modern, that ever existed, and put it entirely in his Power to comprehend whatever is advanced in relation to it by any of our Orators or Politicians; and therefore we have nothing farther to add, but this Observation, that however particular Princes may act to promote their Interests, the *Germanick Body* keeps constantly in view the Maintenance of *Publick Liberty*, as founded on the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

C H A P. X.

A Succinct View of the History of the FRENCH Nation, since they have been governed by the House of BOURBON, explaining the Alterations that have been made in their Constitution, the Progress of their Power, their Influence and Interests.

THE Memoirs of the two great Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* include almost all that need be known of the general History of *Europe*, to understand perfectly its present State and Condition, together with the Nature of those political Disputes which reign at present, or which, having disturbed past Ages till laid asleep by some happy Expedient, are in Danger of awaking again and kindling fresh Confusions.

We have already given the Reader the former History, which we were obliged to take pretty high, to make it the more evident how the *Austrian House* acquired by Policy, Marriages, and Accidents, so extensive Dominions as she once possessed; how she fixed the Imperial Dignity in herself, and how in consequence of her ambitious Projects and their Disappointments, she gave a settled Form, a certain Authority, and an immutable Security to the *Germanick Empire*.

By the Nature of our Plan, we are next led to give as satisfactory an Account of *France*, which considering the narrow
Compass

Compass we are to do it in, is a very hard Undertaking ; but we are engaged and must go through ; only for the sake of Perspicuity it may be proper to say a Word or two of what we propose, and of the Method in which we are to proceed.

As to the first, we have three Things in View, *viz.* explaining the Change of the *Gallic* Constitution from what it was, into what it is at present ; shewing the Means by which the *French* have pulled down the Puissance of the *Austrian* House, and rais'd one much more formidable of their own ; and exhibiting the true System of *Gallic* Policy, Influence, and Power, as it stands at this Day, and the Chances for and against her accomplishing her great View, or of the King and his Ministers, which in despotic Governments is all that can be stiled the Nation, of being the sole Directress of *Europe*.

It will be allowed, that if we can tolerably accomplish this, we shall not only furnish the Reader with an entertaining and instructive Memorial in relation to one of the most important Points of Historical Learning, but also give him an Insight into a political Mystery of the highest Consequence, which like the Popish Plot in our own Country, is believed by Multitudes and denied by Multitudes ; like it, subsisted long before it was talked of, and still subsists, and is like so to do ; and finally, has such a Tendency to our Debasement and Destruction, that we can be no longer safe than while we have our Danger in our Eye, and in consequence of that the Means of preventing it in our Thoughts.

The only Method of doing this, and keeping within due Bounds, is to begin first with Facts, and bringing the *French* History since the Accession of the House of *Bourbon* (which contains but four Reigns) into as short a Space as can be ; representing with as much Justice as possible the Spirit of each Reign, and of every Administration ; marking the considerable Accessions of Power at home, and of Territory abroad ; and lastly, setting in a clear and full Light the State of *France* at this Day, in regard to Revenues, Power and Policy.

The Successors of the Emperor *Charles the Great*, governed the Kingdom of *France*, for many Generations, from *A. D.* 814, in which that great Prince died, to *A. D.* 986, when *Hugh Capet* seized the Crown, and had his Right confirmed by the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *France*, upon the Death of *Lewis V.* to the Prejudice of *Charles Duke of Lorrain*,

Lorrain, who was the undoubted Heir of the *Carlovingian* Race.

Lewis IX. a direct Descendent from *Hugh Capet*, and who, on account of his various Expeditions against the Infidels, obtained the Surname of *St. Lewis*, died *A. D.* 1270, and left two Sons, *Philip* and *Robert*. The latter espoused *Agnes*, Daughter of *John III.* Son to *Hugh Duke of Burgundy*, by the Heiress of *Archambault*, *Signeur de Bourbon*. This Lordship coming thus to *Robert Count de Clermont*, Son to *Stu Lewis*, in right of his Wife's Mother, he thereupon assumed the Name of *Bourbon*.

His Family succeeded to the Crown about three hundred Years afterwards, on the Murder of *Henry III.* the last Monarch of the House of *Valois*, by *James Clement* a *Jacobin* Monk, in the Person of *Henry King of Navarre*, who was the Ninth in Descent from *Robert Count of Clermont*, and whose Claim to the Crown was clear, though on account of his being a Protestant, a great part of his Subjects were inclined to reject him; and on his first taking the Title of King of *France* and *Navarre*, the City of *Paris*, not content with disowning his Authority, treated him with such Disrespect and Indignity, as few Princes but himself would have forgiven.

He came to the Regal Dignity *August 2d 1589*, in Circumstances extremely critical for himself and for his Kingdom. The Capital City and the greater part of the Provinces, were in the Hands of such as refused to acknowledge him, and who, to keep the better together, assumed the Title of *THE LEAGUE*, sheltered themselves under the Authority of the Pope, and were supported by the Assistance of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*. A great many of those who adhered to him were so divided between the Respect due to Principles of Loyalty, and the Care that was requisite to be had of the Catholick Religion, that he could scarce confide in them; at the same Time his Army was but weak, and he had but very little; indeed, scarce any Revenue. Lastly, most of the great Powers in *Christendom* were averse to him.

The Emperor, both from spiritual and temporal Motives, was against him, as being desirous of weakening the Power of *France*. *Spain* was his declared Enemy, and even formed Pretensions to the *French Succession*; all the Friends and Dependents of the House of *Austria* followed their Examples, as others also did, on Account of the Excommunication of the Pope, whose Prostitution of the Gospel to serve his wicked Design

sign of extending his own Power, towards which he thought the Ruin of *France* necessary, was one principal Source of the Troubles that ushered in the Reign of *Henry IV.*

On the other hand, that brave and heroick Prince had also some Circumstances that were not a little in his Favour, and which by his Prudence and military Skill he so improved, as to bring his Enemies into such a State as forced them to submit. The LEAGUE was without a Head, or which comes to the same Thing, had several, in regard to whom the Sentiments of those who were averse to *Henry* were divided.

Some supposing that his being no Catholick, left him no Right, were for having Recourse to the next Prince of his Blood, who was a Papist; viz. the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who was at that Time a Prisoner, and whom nevertheless they proclaimed King, by the name of *Charles X.* Others favoured the Duke *de Mayenne*, who acted as Chief of the League in the Minority of his Nephew the Duke *de Guise*, to whom the Herd of Bigots were most inclined, and laboured to persuade him to supplant his Uncle. The King of *Spain* considering his Daughter the Infanta *Isabella*, Grand-daughter to *Henry II.* as the nearest Relation to the deceased King *Henry III.* was for having her owned (notwithstanding the *Salic Law*) Heiress of the Crown of *France*; and in that Case offered to give her in Marriage to any Prince the States should choose.

This Distraction of Interests divided the Minds, and weakened the Forces of the Leaguers excessively. Besides, the King was, in point of personal Abilities, in all Respects, very much superior to any of the Faction that opposed him. Those who stuck close to him, especially his old Friends, were Men of great Probity and distinguished Parts; and many of them, the bravest men, and best Officers in *France*. He had some Allies also owned him in the worst Situation of Affairs; and tho' that alone was a very considerable Service, yet they afterwards assisted him to the utmost of their Power; such as the Queen of *England*, *Elizabeth*; the Republick of *Venice*; the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; and the States of *Holland*.

He found himself obliged to raise the Siege of *Paris*, which his Predecessor had formed, and to retire into *Normandy*, in hopes of reducing that Province, and securing a Communication with *England*. The Duke *de Mayenne* followed, and came up with him at a Village called *Arques*, not far from *Dieppe*,

Dieppe, where a Battle ensued, in which the King was victorious. He proceeded afterwards into different Parts of the Kingdom, and had the good Fortune to reduce them either by Force or Composition; and then returned into *Normandy*, where he gained the famous Battle of *Jury*, and defeated the Duke of *Mayenne* the second Time, who then sued to him for Peace. But the *Spaniards* entering the Kingdom, and Pope *Gregory XIV.* having excommunicated all who paid Obedience to his Majesty, both Clergy and Laity; this embroiled Things again, and gave new Hopes to THE LEAGUE.

The King seeing clearly, that his Subjects would never universally acknowledge and submit to him, while of a different Religion, took a Resolution of professing himself of the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, which he did *July 15th 1593.* and the Year following he was with great Solemnity crowned at *Chartres*, the City of *Rheims* being not at that Time reduced. This Step produced, and very speedily too, all that the King expected from it.

The People of *Paris*, who had been his inveterate Enemies, and had shewn more Confidence and more Constancy than is usual in the Passions of the Populace, immediately changed their Minds, and in spite of the Duke of *Mayenne*, put the King into Possession of the Capital of his Dominions; and by their Example made Way for his becoming Master of the whole Kingdom, and even of the bitterest and most powerful of his Enemies, whom he received to Mercy, and gave them no Cause to repent their returning to their Duty, and laying down their Arms, since he made no Distinction between his old and new Subjects.

But for all this, there wanted not some, who prompted by the violent and wicked Opinions taught by the Clergy and Monks in the time of the HOLY LEAGUE, desired the Death of the best Monarch that Generation had seen; amongst these one *John Chastel*, the Son of a substantial Citizen of *Paris*, and himself a Boy of nineteen, actually attempted to murder that Prince, and aiming a Knife at his Throat, struck him in the Mouth with such Force, as to beat out one of his Fore-Teeth, for which, by the Judgment of the Parliament of *Paris*, he was torn to Pieces by wild Horses; and the Jesuits, in consequence of whose Doctrine he did it, were banished for ever; which Edict the King, unhappily for himself, afterwards recalled.

As the Assistance of the King of *Spain* chiefly supported the LEAGUE; and as King *Philip*, under Colour of a Zeal for Religion, still continued to foment Sedition and Rebellion, *Henry* declared War against him, as being better pleased to contend with an avowed, than with a conceal'd Enemy; with one who was obliged to employ his own Forces, than with one who brought against him none but his own traiterous Subjects.

This was a very wise and right Step, which the King prosecuted with such Vigour, that King *Philip* became inclined to a Negotiation; and this ended in a Peace between the two Crowns, called from the Place where it was sign'd, the Peace of *Veruins*.

With this Treaty, tho' both Parties seem'd very well pleas'd, yet the Catholick King only dissembled, continuing his Intrigues with the Malecontents in *France*, and even debauching some, who had the highest Obligations to the King, from his kind Acceptance of their Duty. Amongst these Marshal *Biron* was one, from whom King *Henry* had received many Services, in Consideration of which he pardoned him once, and advis'd him to enter into no new Engagement of this kind, for fear he might not be dispos'd to pardon him again.

But, *Biron* was so blinded with Ambition, and the Hopes of becoming an independent Prince by the help of *Spain*, that immediately after he relaps'd into the same illicit Correspondence, which the King having discovered, caus'd him to be brought to Justice, and by an Arret of Parliament he lost his Head on the last Day of *July* 1602, in the *Bastile*, shewing, thro' Guilt, little of that Courage in his last Moments, for which he had been so deservedly famous.

This King, who was one of the greatest Princes of his Age, both in the Field and in the Cabinet, was very unfortunate in his Family. He was first married to *Margaret of Valois*, Sister to his Predecessor *Henry III*; a Marriage unhappy from its Commencement, which furnish'd Occasion for the Massacre of *Paris*, one of the blackest and most barbarous Actions that ever deformed any History. This Princess was not indiscreet only, but even dissolute in her Conduct, and the King was far enough from being faultless in his.

The Dutches of *Beaufort* was his favourite Mistress, and like others in her Condition, was so proud of her Infamy, and abus'd her Power with such extravagant Insolence, as made her generally hated. Upon her Death the Queen consented to a Divorce, which was quickly procur'd at *Rome*; and in consequence

quence of which *Henry IV.* espoused *Mary de Medicis*, Daughter to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*.

But notwithstanding the great Inconveniencies that arose from his former Amour with the Duchess of *Beaufort*, the King had fallen into another with *Madam d'Entragues*, afterwards *Marchioness de Vernueil*, to whom he gave under his Hand a Promise of Marriage, which afforded the Court of *Spain* an Opportunity of setting on foot a new Conspiracy in *France*, in order to alter the Succession, and instead of the Dauphin to raise *Cæsar Duke de Vendosme* (the King's natural Son by the Lady before-mentioned) to the Throne, which occasion'd much Trouble.

In respect to publick Affairs, *Henry* was a great and good Prince; he loved his Subjects as his Children, promoted Trade, and maintained Justice throughout his Territories. He was not inclined to disturb or injure his Neighbours, but rather content with his own Dominions; nay, so far was he persuaded, that a steady and unalterable Ballance of Power was for the common Benefit of *Christendom*, as in the latter End of his Reign and Life to form a Design of establishing it, and thereby cut off Pretences for Wars in succeeding Times, by Means of a perpetual Congress.

In order to this, he thought it requisite to lessen the Power of the House of *Austria*, by depriving it of those Dominions acquired without any just Title in *Italy*, which he proposed to have erected into separate Principalities, as most conducive to a general Peace, and the common Benefit of the Inhabitants. But while he meditated these great and glorious Projects for the Good of Mankind, and had assembled in *Champagne* a numerous Army, which was on the very point of marching to put them in Execution, a Period was put to his Days and Schemes by the Hands of *Ravillac*, an infamous Assassin, on the 14th of *May* 1610, in the 57th Year of his Age, and 22d of his Reign.

We have no very good Account of the Cause of this Assassination; and some of the most esteemed amongst the *French* Historians give us very broad Hints, that it was never thoroughly inquired into; however, various Circumstances have inclined the most impartial judges to suspect, that the Lady before-mentioned had a deep Hand in this Affair, and that the Partizans of *Spain* were far enough from being ignorant of it: At least thus much is evident, that his Death could not have happened more luckily than it did for that Nation, even if they had, as it is suggested they had, the appointing of it.

This great Monarch left behind him three Sons and as many Daughters, viz. the Dauphin ; the Duke of *Orleans*, who did not long survive him ; and *John Baptist Gaston*, then stiled Duke of *Anjou*, and after his Brother's Death Duke of *Orleans* ; *Elizabeth*, married to *Philip IV.* of *Spain* ; *Christina*, who espoused *Victor Amadeus* Prince of *Piedmont*, afterwards Duke of *Savoy* ; and *Henrietta Maria*, Consort to *Charles I.* of *Great Britain*. *Henry IV.* annexed to the Crown, *Bearne*, *Bigorre*, together with the Counties of *Faix* and *Bresse*, which were his private Patrimony.

Lewis XIII. succeeded in the ninth Year of his Age, under the Tuition of his Mother *Mary de Medicis* ; and on the 17th of *October* 1610, was with great Solemnity crown'd at *Rheims* by the Cardinal *de Joyeuse*. The famous Marquis *de Rhosny*, at this Time Duke *de Sulli*, who had managed the Finances in the late Reign with so great Applause, resigned almost as soon as this began ; and tho' the Princes of the Blood, and great Lords, made very high Professions of Loyalty upon the King's Murder, yet the Court quickly fell into Confusions.

This arose in part from the ill Management of the Queen-Regent, entirely governed by an *Italian* Chamber-maid, whose Name was *Eleanor Galligai*, and her Husband *Conchino Conchini*, whom she had made Marshal of *France*, by the Title of Marshal *d'Ancre* ; and in part also from the boundless Ambition of the Princes and Grandees, who could not fail of laying hold of so favourable a Conjunction as a Minority, to render themselves in a manner absolute in their respective Governments.

This bad Behaviour and immoderate Power of theirs, produced many and great Inconveniencies to the People, who, tho' less exposed than at present to the Oppression and Fleeting of the Crown-Officers, were nevertheless as much oppressed and fleeced by those Princes and Lords, who, tho' they sometimes mentioned them in their Speeches and Manifestos against the Court, yet never thought of them at any other Time, but compromis'd their Differences with the Administration on private and personal Conditions, without the smallest Notice taken of the Publick.

In this manner things went on till the Year 1615, when the young King espoused the Infanta *Anna* of *Austria*, at the same time his Sister married her Brother *Philip IV.* By this Match the Courage of the Court was so much raised, that they adventured to arrest the Prince of *Conde*, who was looked on as the Head of the Malecontents, even in the *Louvre* ; and how

how bold a Stroke this was accounted at that Time; may appear from hence, that *Themines* the Captain of the Guards who performed it, was for this Service immediately promoted to the Rank of Marshal of *France*.

The King was now, in the Eye of the Law, Major, and supposed to have the Direction of Affairs entirely in his own Hands; but they were much more so in those of Marshal *d'Ancre*, and none were suffered in the Royal Presence who were suspected of having Capacity enough to talk to their Master on proper Subjects. Yet these Precautions did not long avail. There was a young Gentleman about the Court, whose name was *Luynes*, who, by his Dexterity in Hunting, was mightily in the King's Favour; and this Qualification giving the Queen's Favourites no Umbrage, he was allow'd free Access to his Majesty, and even permitted to entertain him by his Bedside, in confidence that he would discourse only of Trifles.

But, as it often falls out, the Politicians quite mistook their Man. *Luynes*, instead of Horses and Hounds, talk'd to the King of the Distresses of the Kingdom, the Discontents of the Nobility, and his own unworthy Usage; all of which he imputed to the Marshal *d'Ancre*, hinting also, that as he had obtained it under one, he might think another Minority the most convenient thing in the World for securing or perpetuating his Greatness.

The King, who was naturally timorous, needed nothing more to drive him into Action, and therefore he resolved to be beforehand with the Marshal; with a view to which, Orders were sent by his Favourite *Luynes* to *Vitry* Captain of the Guards to arrest him, which he performed April 24th 1617, as he entered the *Louvre*.

The Marshal stepping back, as if he intended to have drawn his Sword, instantly received three Pistol Shots into his Breast, and dying on the Spot, his Corps was afterwards exposed to the Fury of the Populace; his Wife was condemned as a Sorceress, to have her Head cut off, which was executed in the *Place de Greve*, and *Vitry* made Marshal of *France*, for having so thoroughly executed the Commands of his Master.

We may from hence date the Administration of *Lewis XIII.* who had hitherto little more than the Title of King; and to say the Truth, it is almost all he was capable of having; but however, he thought Power was as well in the Hands of his own, as the Queen-Mother's Favourites; and therefore threw off Restraints of that Sort entirely. The Queen-Mother, who loved governing, or rather that those who governed her should

govern, was exceedingly displeased, and in the Year 1615 retired with the Duke d'Epemon into *Angoulême*, which proved the Cause, or at least the Pretence, for exciting fresh Disorders.

She was however quickly restored to the King's Favour, by the Interposition of the Bishop of *Luçon*, whom she had brought into his Councils; and whose Abilities and matchless Ingratitude to her who raised him, made him sufficiently known afterwards when he obtained the distinguished Title of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

All this Time *Luynes* continued the Favourite, obtained the Constable's Staff, and was as powerful, and consequently as much hated, as ever Marshal d'*Ancre* had been. The Bishop of *Luçon*, as yet only Secretary of State, and who came but slowly into Credit with the King, contributed not a little to it, by writing, or at least causing to be written, *The Life of the Constable DE LUNA*, a *Spanish* Favourite; in which not only *Luynes's* Character was very freely treated, but the King himself had his Picture drawn, and his Temper and Capacity displayed, in Terms not at all to his Advantage.

By these Arts, but most of all by the Indiscretion of *Luynes* himself, who was ambitious, vain, and insolent, he sunk in the King's Favour, who only looked for a fair Opportunity of humbling him, when Fortune secured her Child from falling, by cutting the Thread of his Life when he enjoyed as yet the greatest Plenitude of Power.

It was from this Minister that the King first received that Plan which he afterwards steadily pursued, for weakening and destroying the Protestant Party in his Dominions; as long as he lived, the Constable assisted in the Prosecution of it, and the last Act of his Life was the Siege of *Monfieur*, towards the End of which he died; but the Notions he had put into the King's Head were far from dying with him; and notwithstanding those of the Reformed Religion had great Strength, and continued to defend themselves vigorously, yet their Power gradually diminished, and they were very glad to accept of such Truces as the King would grant them, in order to recover themselves and recruit their Forces.

In 1622, the Duke of *Rohan*, who was one of the principal Nobility of that Party, submitted to the King, after his Majesty had taken *Montpelier*, and reduced the greatest Part of *Guienne*. His Majesty then proceeded to *Avignon*, and exercised there all Acts of Sovereignty, which had not been done by his Predecessors for a long Time before. He went from thence to *Grenoble*; and so to *Lyons* in the Month of *November* following, when the Bishop of *Luçon* received the Cardinal's

dinal's Hat, and was from thenceforward considered as Prime Minister ; gaining in a short Time such an Ascendency over his Master, that the King was more distinguished by being the Instrument of his Minister's Projects, than as the Ruler of so great a Kingdom.

This Monarch was far from wanting Capacity, or even from being indolent, but he had a Weakness of Constitution, a natural Timidity in his Temper, and little or no Education, so that he was, generally speaking, sensible of his Unfitness to sustain the Weight of Government, and was glad to devolve it upon other Men's Shoulders ; but then he was apt to grow jealous of their Authority, and repine at the Sight of that Grandeur of which himself, and that too for his own Sake, was the sole Author and Cause.

Hitherto he had been governed by a Favourite, of very limited Abilities ; but his new Minister was a Man of quite another Cast. He had a Capacity as extensive as his Ministry required, and a Spirit capable of supplying the Defect of it in his Master. He laboured all he could to make the King easy and great ; he indulged his Foibles, and extended his Authority ; but in doing this, he never considered the Means, whether good or bad, or had the least Concern for the Consequences, whether salutary or oppressive.

He possessed his Master with an Opinion that his Government could not be either glorious or secure, till he had compassed three Points. The first was, the Suppression of the Protestants ; for while they subsisted, and had strong Towns in their Hands, he was Master of only a Part of his Subjects, and not of his whole Kingdom. The second regarded the Princes of the Blood, and the great Lords who were intrusted with the Government, who, forgetting that they owed all those Marks of Distinction to the Favour of the Court, were very apt to pick Quarrels with the Ministry, and to turn the Force in their Hands upon their Benefactors. In the third place, he shewed the King that he could never be Master at home, while there was a Power superior to his own abroad, more especially if that Power was his Neighbour.

In short he insinuated, that ruining the Protestants, and abasing the Nobility, were the sole Means of making the King easy within his Realm, as reducing the Power of the House of *Austria* was a Point absolutely necessary to make room for the *Gallic* Monarchy, and to give it that Credit with the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, that it merited by its Situation and Forces,

The King saw this Project in the most advantageous Light possible ; for it suited exactly his inclinations, and agreed in every respect with his manner of thinking. He had been bred with strong Prejudices against those of the Reformed Religion ; he had very warm Resentments, from the Usage he had met with from his Grandees ; and had Ambition enough to desire that his Reign should be signalized by Victories and Conquests.

He came therefore very readily into the Proposals made by the Cardinal ; and conceiving rightly enough of his own Want of Strength, and of the bold, enterprizing, and yet solid Genius of his Minister, he resolved to put the Execution of his Plan entirely into his Hands, and to give him all the Assistance his Authority could supply, for bringing it in every respect to full Perfection.

He began with the Protestants, and the manner in which he treated them was such, that they saw plainly enough what they had to expect ; and therefore exerted themselves to the utmost for their own Protection and Preservation. They knew they had a Title to their Privileges by the Laws, and when Force was made use of to overturn those Privileges, they thought it both reasonable and just to have recourse to the same Method for their Defence.

To render this more effectual, they found it necessary to apply themselves to their Neighbours of the same Religion for Assistance, which was promised them by King *Charles I. of Great Britain*, though he married his most Christian Majesty's Sister. The *French King* persisted however, in the Resolution to execute his, or rather the Cardinal's Scheme ; and accordingly laid Siege to *Rochelle*, one of the strongest Places in the Hands of the Protestants, and a very convenient Port, by which, so long as it continued in their Hands, they might always have Succours from *England*.

This Siege lasted a whole Year, in which Time the *English* made two fruitless Attempts to relieve it ; and the Place was at last taken by a Contrivance of the Cardinal's, who commanded the King's Army in Chief, and had two Lieutenant-Generals acting under him ; for he found means to run a Dyke across the Canal, by which they received Provisions and Succours, tho' with infinite Labour, Expence and Trouble ; and these being intercepted, the Inhabitants were forced to surrender, and submit themselves to the King's Mercy, who entered the Place in Triumph *November 1, 1628*.

By this Blow, the Protestants in *France* were brought so low, that many of their great Men were obliged to quit the King's

Kingdom ; and some, despairing of their Cause, thought it best to embrace the prevailing Religion. Yet it was not judged expedient to proceed in this Matter with Violence, the Cardinal pretending the War was not carried on so much to make them good Catholicks as good Subjects ; but he very well knew that when once their Power was gone, the Religion of the King and Court must by Degrees prevail.

The King was desirous that his Brother should marry the Princess *de Montpensier*, who was of the Blood Royal, and a very rich Heiress ; but *Monsieur*, so the King's Brother is stiled in *France*, disliked the Match, and was rather inclined to marry some Foreign Princess ; upon which, the Cardinal caused Marshal *d'Ornano*, and the Count *de Chalais*, whom he suspected to have given that Prince this Advice, to be arrested ; the latter was soon brought to his Trial before a Court contrived for that Purpose, in which Faculty the Cardinal excelled, was condemned by them to lose his Head, and lost it accordingly ; and it is supposed the former would have shared the same Fate if he had not died in Prison.

The Duke of *Orleans* was at first very angry, and shewed great Resentment at the Usage his Friends had met with ; but at last he thought fit to fall into the Cardinal's Scheme, and married the Princess that had been judged fit for him. By this Step the Cardinal shewed what the great Lords of the Kingdom were to expect, when he made so little Ceremony of humbling the first Prince of the Blood, and the presumptive Heir of the Crown.

A War breaking out in *Italy*, the Cardinal went thither in Person, commanded the King's Armies in Chief, and the Marshals *Crequi*, *De la Force*, and *Schomberg*, acted under him ; it is said he had in View the marching into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, in Case the Pope, who was then sick, had died, in order to have forced the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, to advance him to that Dignity.

In the mean time a powerful Party was formed at Court against the Minister, of which the Queen was the Head ; the Marshal *de Marillac*, his Brother the Keeper of the Seals, the Cardinal *de Berulle*, the Duke *de Bellegarde*, and the Marshal *de Basompierre*, were the principal Persons concerned. The King was at this Time sick at *Lyon*, and in a Council held by these great Men, several Methods were proposed of treating the Cardinal under the new Reign ; but the King recovered, and the Minister having exact Information of every Man's Sentiments, to shew the full Extent of his Power, and at the

same time and in the same Proportion of his Resentment, punished every one of them according to his Vote at that Council.

The Marshal *de Marillac* he put to Death, the Keeper of the Seals lost both his Place and Estate, the Cardinal *de Berulle* died of Poison or Grief, the Duke *de Bellegarde* was removed from Court, and Marshal *Basompierre* imprisoned in the *Bastile*. This offended the Queen-Mother highly; but the King was so far from shewing any Concern for her Resentment, that he sent her Orders to retire to her House; upon which she withdrew in Discontent, and went soon after out of the Kingdom, carrying her favourite Son the Duke of *Orleans* with her.

It was not long before this produced an Insurrection, at the Head of which were the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *Montmorency*; but their Forces were defeated at *Castelnaudari*, and the latter taken Prisoner. The King then offered his Brother his Pardon for what was past, but he insisted upon the Pardon of the Duke, which was positively refused. And he was soon after brought to *Thoulouse*, where he was condemned for High Treason, and the 30th of September 1632, lost his Head publicly upon the Scaffold, tho' he was the last of the Family, which was looked upon as the best in *France*.

Upon this the Duke *de Bouillon* thought proper to withdraw into *Germany*; and the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of *Orleans*, who had returned again to Court, retired into the *Low Countries*, and put themselves under the Protection of the Court of *Spain*. I have thrown all these Facts together, that the Reader may the better perceive with what inflexible Steadiness the Cardinal prosecuted the second Part of his Plan.

We are next to consider the Methods by which the last Part of his great Project was carried on; and with Regard to this, we are to observe, that the Cardinal perceiving the great Advantage the Situation of *France* gave him of acting at once against both Branches of the House of *Austria*, continued to embarrass *Spain* by a War in *Italy*, in which several of the little Princes of that Country were at all Times ready to offer their Service to *France*; and on the other hand he found Means to distress the Emperor by supporting the Protestants in *Germany*, and calling in the King of *Sweden* to their Assistance, at the same time that he was destroying them in *France*.

But all this could not be done without maintaining a considerable Force, and acting on many Sides at once, which none of the former Kings of *France* had been able to do; but the Cardinal found Ways and Means to keep up numerous Armies, commanded by Officers entirely depending upon the King,

King, or rather upon himself, which at the same time that they acted against the Enemies Abroad, kept the Discontented in Awe at Home.

Thus in 1635, when the King declared War against *Spain*, after acting against that Crown for several Years together under Pretence of assisting his Allies, he was obliged to have five Armies in the field, one in the *Low Countries*, another in *Germany*, a Third in *Italy*, a Fourth in *Franche Comte*, and a Fifth in *Roussillon*, besides two Fleets, one under the Command of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and another under several Officers.

It is very true, that these Fleets were far from being considerable; but however, it is rather wonderful that he had any Fleets, than that they were small; for, in fact, his Father had not so much as a Ship of War. But the Cardinal was the great Spring and Manager of all; he commanded the Armies of *France*, when it was necessary, with the Power of Constable; and he assumed the entire Direction of Naval Affairs, with the Title of Grand-Master in Chief, and Sur-Intendant-General of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*.

As he had thus, under one Title or other, the whole Power of the Kingdom in his Hands, he was the first that shewed the mighty Resources of *France*; and partly by Force, partly by Fraud, sometimes by the Help of numerous Armies, but more frequently by silent Intrigues, he so distressed and weakened both the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they saw they were in no Condition of continuing the War; and at the same time found themselves at a Loss how to extricate themselves by a safe and honourable Peace.

In former Times they had been able to create Diversions in *France*, by assisting such Lords as were discontented with the Court; they tried the same Method now, but not with their usual Success: For in the Year 1641, the Count *de Soissons*, a Prince of the Blood, and a most inveterate Enemy to the Cardinal, lost his Life in the Battle of *Sedan*, after he had obtained the Victory; and it is thought was assassinated by a Person employed for that Purpose by the Cardinal.

The Duke *de Bouillon*, who was also engaged in this Affair, retired into the strong Fortrefs of *Sedan*, of which he was Sovereign, and which in those days was looked upon as impregnable; yet scarce thinking himself in Safety there, upon the King's Approach he came out, and threw himself at his Feet, by which Means he received at that Time his Life, from a well timed but dissembled Mercy.

But the Cardinal practised this Method with such Success, in Favour of *France*, as not only produced immediate and important Effects, but such also as for ever weakened the Power of both those Potentates. Thus, on the Part of *Spain*, *Catalonia* was engaged to revolt, which drew the entire Attention of the *Spanish* Ministry on that Side, and so made way for the House of *Bragança* to mount the Throne of *Portugal*, and maintain itself on the other.

In *Germany*, besides bringing many Princes into a close League against the Emperor, his own most able and successful General, Count *Wallestein*, afterwards Duke of *Friedland*, was debauched from his Obedience, and encouraged to think of rendering himself Master of his native Country of *Bohemia*. And so many Adventurers at the Head of mercenary Armies were supported by *France* in the Empire, that the Chief of it knew not how to act; and all the Members of the *Germanick* Body found themselves obliged to let *France* dictate the Terms of Peace, which were the sole Contrivance of this Cardinal, tho' it was not till after his Demise, that this subtil Scheme of his was executed in its full Extent by his Successor Cardinal *Mazarin*.

The Part that *Britain* might have taken in such a busy Scene, was doubtful; and therefore, by way of Prevention, or Precaution, the *Scots* were stirred up against King *Charles I.* and encouraged (to revenge the Succours he had given the *Rochellers*) to demand the Protection of *France* against their natural Prince. This Humour spreading Southward, produced the Civil War, in which the Cardinal held Intelligence with both Parties (that is, in the Beginning) and by insinuating evil Impressions of one Side to the other, prevented all Possibility of Reconciliation, which brought on the End.

In *Italy* and in *Holland*, the same Methods were pursued; and the mighty Honours paid by the *French* Ambassadors to the then Prince of *Orange*, were calculated to kindle those Jealousies and Heart-burnings, that were very near subverting that Commonwealth. By Arts like these, Cardinal *Richelieu* in a very short Space of Time intirely changed the Face of Things; and from overgrown Power, unreasonable Influence, and a kind of universal Monarchy, reduced the House of *Austria* to extreme Weakness on one Side, and to a very limited Authority on the other, drew over many of its Allies, and frightened the rest from shewing any Affection towards that Family. So that we may from hence discern what vast Designs one restless and able Genius can effect, when it has its full Scope and fit Matter to work upon, which was precisely this Minister's Case.

These

These mighty Things performed for the Service of the *French* Monarchy, as well as enlarging the Power of the King, though they raised Cardinal *Richelieu* in the Opinion and Esteem of his Master, yet were they very far from gaining his Affection. We have already given the Reader his Character, and from hence it will appear that he was incapable of loving any thing, from the natural Timidity of his Temper ; which prompting him to part with his Authority for the Support of his Government, at the same time inclined him to be extremely jealous and suspicious of those to whom he parted with it, though they managed it ever so much to his Advantage.

He had been governed in his Minority, and for some Years after, by the Queen his Mother, whom he treated in the remaining Part of his Reign with great Rigour, not to call it Inhumanity. He made Use of his Favourite the Constable *Luynes* to humble all that had been attached to his Mother, yet he conceived such Envy and Hatred towards him, as was absolutely unbecoming a Prince ; for he was wont to complain, *that his Palace was not big enough to hold two Kings*. And when the *English* Ambassador went to confer with the Constable, who acted as Prime Minister, he said to them that were about him, *The Ambassador is gone to take his Audience of the King* *Luynes*. Nay, when the Constable came into his Presence, with many of the Nobility about him, he shewed his Uneasiness, and the Weakness of his Temper still more, by whispering to some that were near him, *Here comes the Court* !

He was afraid of the Bishop of *Luçon*'s Abilities, because he believed him devoted to his Mother, and on that Account removed him once from his Council ; but when he perceived his Ambition was so great, as to extinguish all Sentiments of Gratitude for the Princess who had raised him, he honoured him with his intire Confidence, procured him a Hat from *Rome*, and made him as absolute both in Church and State, as it was possible for him to be.

Yet by Degrees he grew jealous even of him ; and as his Power was infinitely superior to that of former Ministers, or to say the Truth, than that of former Kings, he hated him in the same Proportion. The Cardinal, who knew his Master's Temper exactly, and that he could no more be without a Favourite than a Minister, judged it convenient to give him one, a Man of an agreeable Behaviour, and under great Obligations to himself, to prevent a worse Choice.

The Person he pitched upon was M. *Cinquemars*, the Son of the late Marshal *d'Effiat*, whose Fortune he had made, and
of

of whose Fidelity therefore he thought himself secure. But the King corrupted his Favourite, by making him the Confident of his Aversion for his Minister. Besides, the Ambition of the young Man was as boundless as that of the Cardinal; and he had formed in his own Breast such Schemes of Greatness, as he was sensible could not be reconciled to the Views of *Richelieu*. It was natural for him therefore, according to the Policy of Courts, to wish the Destruction of a Minister, whose Power was incompatible with his Hopes.

He was sensible, that notwithstanding his Obligations to him, the King would not be displeased with the Cardinal's Fall; but he was sensible at the same time, that his Master wanted Spirit to accomplish what he desired; and this drove him to think of the desperate Method of depriving *Richelieu* of Life and Fortune at once by an Assassination. He remembered the Fate of the Queen-Mother's Favourite, and that it was the first Step to the Greatness of *Luyne*; and he had himself an Intrigue with a great Princess, whom he had Hopes of marrying, if he once arrived at the Dignity of Constable.

But by a Train of unforeseen Accidents, and that Confusion of Mind, which is natural to Men who are embarked in dark and dangerous Designs, he did not carry this Conspiracy against the Cardinal into Execution, in the Manner he intended; and the Consequence of this was, that in this Season of Delay, the Cardinal came to be informed of all that had been contrived against him.

He did not immediately take that Vengeance which might have been expected from a Man of his Spirit and Resolution, which was in some measure owing to the Circumstances of Affairs, but more to an Indisposition of Body; he kept therefore at a Distance from the Court, took the necessary Precautions for the Security of his Person, and very wisely waited to see what Time would produce.

M. de Cinqmars, who could not but perceive the Danger he was in, had recourse for his Security to Measures which ended in his Destruction. He knew that the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, hated the Minister as heartily as he did; he knew that the Duke *de Bouillon*, and others of the principal Nobility, were of the same Sentiments; he thought therefore if he could engage them in his Party, and draw them into a Treaty with *Spain*, they might make themselves sure of Safety, if not of Success; and in this Design he proceeded farther than in the former, for these great Men came readily

readily into his Purpose; and by the Assistance of Mr. *Fontrailles*, the Treaty with his Catholick Majesty was actually concluded.

The principal Articles of this Treaty were, that the King of *Spain* should furnish *Monsieur* with twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, should supply him also with four hundred thousand Crowns for levying Soldiers in *France*, and twelve thousand Crowns a Month towards their Pay. The Duke de *Bouillon* was to have a Pension of forty thousand Crowns, and M. *Cinquemars* the same. The latter communicated the whole State of these Affairs to his Friend M. de *Thou*, a Man of great Worth and Probity, who dissuaded him from proceeding on this Scheme, and expressed a just Foresight of the dreadful Calamities with which, whatever Turn it took, it must be inevitably attended.

The Cardinal's withdrawing from Affairs produced many Inconveniencies, which the King quickly perceived, and had Sense and Penetration enough to discover that the Ruin of *Richelieu's* Power would be attended with that of his Authority, of which he was still more jealous than of his Minister: This soon led to a Reconciliation; and the Queen, who hated the Cardinal as much as any of his Enemies, having been informed by the Duke of *Orleans* of some Part of his Design, and perceiving it would be attended with disagreeable Consequences to herself, in case of the King's Death, discovered all she knew to the Cardinal, notwithstanding her Aversion to him. The King was no sooner acquainted with this, than he considered it in the same Light the Cardinal wished he should consider it, as a downright Conspiracy, and tending to a dangerous Rebellion.

The Duke de *Bouillon*, M. *Cinquemars*, and M. de *Thou* were seized; the Viscount de *Fontrailles* took care to withdraw in Time, and thereby escaped the Fate of his Friends. M. *Cinquemars*, and M. de *Thou* were condemned, the former for Treason, and the latter for concealing that Treason when disclosed to him, to lose their Heads; and this Sentence was immediately put in Execution. M. *Cinquemars* was not much pitied, but the whole Nation was under a remarkable Concern for M. de *Thou*, who was the Son of the great President of the same Name, and was thought to have owed his Death to the ill Character deservedly given by the President to the Uncle of the Cardinal, in his admirable History.

As for the Duke de *Bouillon*, though this was not either his first or his second Offence, yet his Life was spared upon his surrendering into the King's Hands the Citadel and Principality

pality of *Sedan*, which was his Property, and was a Place of very great Consequence. Thus ended a Conspiracy, which instead of destroying either the Person or Power of the Cardinal, contributed to the Security of the former, and, if possible, to the enlarging of the latter, but very plainly to the Establishment of both.

The Year 1642 was alike fatal to the Enemies of the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and to himself. On the third of *July* the Queen Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, breathed her last at *Cologne*, in the sixty-eighth Year of her Age, having suffered a long Persecution, and spent some Years in Banishment, from the unnatural Severity of her Son, and the unrelenting Hate of the Cardinal, though she had been a most tender Mother to the former, and a very kind Mistress to the latter, who was indebted to her for his first Preferments, and for his Introduction to that Power, which with so much Inhumanity he had exercised against her.

On the eleventh of *September* following, *Cinquemars* and *de Thou* lost their Heads at *Lyons*; and on the twenty-ninth of the same Month *Sedan* was yielded into the King's Hands. These great and happy Turns of Fortune seemed to relieve the Cardinal from the Grave. He had long languished under a painful and dangerous Distemper, which terminated at length in a Cancer in his Arm, which the Physicians could not cure, and to the Anguish which it created they could, with all their Skill, give little or no Relief.

His Strength decayed daily, and with it his Spirits sunk so much, that he was unable to rise; yet he quitted the City of *Lyons* the Day that those Gentlemen were executed, and was carried in a Litter on Mens Shoulders to *Fountainbleau*, where the King then was. He came thither in *October*, quitted his Bed, waited on his Majesty with as much Assiduity, and applied himself to Business with as much Vigilance and Activity as ever. But after Six Weeks Respite his Distemper attacked him again in such a Manner, as left him no Hopes of escaping.

The King did him the Honour of a Visit, and expressed much Concern at the Condition in which he found him; but there is Reason to doubt of the Sincerity of his Majesty's Grief, since after the Cardinal's Decease, which happened on the fourth of *December* following, he appeared to be very well pleased on finding himself delivered from a Minister whose Power he dreaded, and from whom he knew not how to take it away.

A stronger

A stronger Proof of his Sentiments in this Respect was his setting at Liberty, and recalling to Court, such of the Cardinal's Enemies, as were either imprisoned or banished at the Time of his Demise; such as the Marshals *de Vitry*, *de Bassompierre*, *d'Estrées*, and several others; who immediately returned to his Presence, and were well received. Such are the Virtues of some Ministers! and the Gratitude of some Kings!

It was not long that this Monarch enjoyed that Liberty with which he was so much pleased. He had suffered for four Years and upwards by a painful Distemper, which weakened him exceedingly, and which had several times reduced him to the very Point of Death. His bad Habit of Body, and his Neglect of all Regimen, made his Malady absolutely incurable; and the April following the Cardinal's Death, the King found his own approaching so hastily, that he thought fit to draw up a Declaration for settling, as far as possible, the Government of the Kingdom after his Decease.

The principal Points of this Declaration were these: That the Queen his Wife should be Regent during the Minority of his Son; that his only Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, should be the King's Lieutenant throughout the Realm, and President of the Queen's Council, and, in case of his Absence, the Prince of *Condé*. This Council of Regency was to be composed of the Persons before-mentioned, the Duke of *Longueville*, *Julius Mazarin*, (for whom *Richelieu*, a little before his Death, had procured the Cardinal's Hat,) the Chancellor of *France*, the Sur-Intendant of the Finances, and *M. Chavigny*. The King caused this Declaration to be signed by the Queen, and by Monsieur. The Prince of *Condé* and the Chancellor carried it to the Parliament of *Paris*, where it was registered the twenty-first of April 1643.

The King survived to the fourteenth of *May*, and then died in excessive Agonies both of Body and Mind. He was chiefly troubled at his unnatural Severity to the Queen his Mother, to whom he had refused Leave to return into *France* when she made him the utmost Submissions, and when he had not the least Reason to apprehend any thing from her Return that could give him the least Uneasiness. He regretted likewise the Rigour of *Richelieu's* Administration, and the Torrents of Blood that had been shed thereby.

He annexed the County of *Roussillon* to his Kingdom, and enlarged the Royal Authority far beyond its ancient and legal Bounds. This was the great, the distinguishing Characteristick of his Reign, which induced me to take so much Pains to shew in a narrow Compass, how so great a Change was brought about.

Yet

Yet after all that has been said, it can be but imperfectly understood, unless it be more particularly shewn what that Change was, which was thus made.

Before this time the Nobility were potent, and even the meanest of the People were in some measure free ; but at his Decease the Royal Authority had almost swallowed up all ; and Mens Safeties and Fortunes, as well as Power and Preferment, depended on the Will of the King and his Ministers. Yet such was the abject Flattery, or rather ridiculous Folly of those Times, that his Subjects bestowed on him the Surname of *Just* ; as if he had been more careful in observing the Laws, and maintaining the ancient and legal Constitution of *France*, than any of his Predecessors ; whereas in fact, he did more towards destroying it, than all the Kings that had reigned before him.

It is true, this did not proceed so much from himself as from his Minister ; but that Minister could have done nothing without the Assistance of his Authority ; and if he had preferred the Welfare of his Subjects to the Possession of boundless Power, he would never have given into his Schemes. But so far was the King from disapproving the Plan that *Richelieu* had laid down, or desiring his Projects might be thrown aside, that he provided to the very last, and even by the Declaration which he sent to the Parliament, for the putting them in Execution, and that in their utmost Extent, by giving a Place in the Council of Regency to Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Creature and Disciple of *Richelieu*, who pursued his Master's Instructions, if not with equal Genius, yet with much greater Cunning ; so that in the Space of thirty-seven Years, (for so long the Ministry of these two Cardinals lasted) the Design of rendering the Government of *France* (which in former Times resembled the other Governments of *Europe*) an absolute Monarchy, was brought to bear, not more to the Oppression and Misfortune of those, who from being Subjects only, were made Slaves thereby, than to the Terror and Confusion of all *Christendom* ever since.

It was thought requisite to insist longer, and to explain the Events of this Reign the more clearly, because if the Reader will attentively consider them, he must discern why *France* is much more formidable to her Neighbours now than she was formerly, when perhaps her real Strength was greater, and with what Reason there is so much Jealousy had of her Designs beyond those of any other Power. We may likewise from the foregoing Account of this extraordinary Reign, deduce *three* Observations of the greatest Consequence in regard

to Government in general, and which ought to be perpetually in the Minds of those who desire their Posterity should remain as free as themselves have been, and consequently to have their own Memoirs revered, as just Assertors of publick and steady Liberty.

The *first* is, That the Personal Characters of Princes are not of any great Consequence in altering of Governments. *Lewis* the *Just* was, in Parts, very far inferior to *Henry* the *Great*, and yet he acquired much more Power by listening to the Suggestions of a Minister who governed him, whereas his Father governed his Ministers as well as his Subjects. There are very great Qualities requisite in a Prince who aims himself at overturning a Constitution ; but passive Obstinacy is a Quality not hard to be met with, and this conducted by a designing Minister will do the Work to the full as well.

Secondly, There is nothing so dangerous in any limited Monarchy, or mixed State, as systematical Administrations, whether they are calculated to introduce Tyranny or defeminate Corruption ; which, in the Body Politick, differ from each other no more than an Inflammation from a Mortification in a natural Body ; that is, the former is more alarming, and the latter more, or at least equally, dangerous.

Thirdly, Such Alterations can never be wrought but by an artful Management of *Factions*, which are never so dangerous to the Freedom of the People, as when they are connived at, and tampered with, by a Court. When the *Physician* and the *Disease* are agreed, the *Patient*, let his *Constitution* be ever so good, cannot last long. But let us return now from Reflections to History.

Lewis XIV. succeeded his Father at the Age of Four Years and eight Months, under the Tutelage of his Mother *Anne* of *Austria*, Daughter of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*. His long Reign, the Evenness and Firmness of his Temper, the Variety of Opportunities that offered, and which, generally speaking, no Prince knew better how to turn to his own Advantage, enabled him to compleat what his Parent and Predecessor had begun ; and therefore a just and comprehensive Idea of his Reign is absolutely necessary, to such as are inclined to be thoroughly acquainted with the Political State of *Europe*.

In order to contribute to this as far as is possible, and yet keep as much within Bounds as so fruitful and so extensive a Subject will allow, we shall divide the general Representation of this Reign into *five* distinct Periods ; in each of which we shall endeavour to point out the *ruling Maxim* that was pursued, the Means that were made use of for its

Accomplishment, and how far they were or were not attended with Success.

These Periods shall be from the Accession of the King in 1643, to the Peace of the *Pyrenees* in 1660; from that Peace to the Treaty concluded at *Nimeguen* in 1679; from the Peace of *Nimeguen* to that of *Ryswick* in 1697; from the Peace of *Ryswick* to that of *Utrecht* in 1712; from the Peace of *Utrecht* to the Death of *Lewis XIVth* in 1715.

By considering the Events within these five Periods with proper Attention, we shall be able to discern how the Government of *France* was entirely modelled into as absolute a Monarchy as ever existed; how the Power of that Crown has gradually increased at the Expence of its Neighbours, to that formidable Greatness which rendered it the Terror of *Europe* at the opening of the present Century, and how it escaped being reduced within reasonable Bounds by a grand Alliance, as happily conducted in the Course of the last general War, as it was wisely concerted in the Beginning of it.

These are Things of such Importance, that without a clear and perfect Notion of them, it is simply impossible to have any true and well-grounded Conceptions of the present State of *Europe*, and the respective Interests of its several Powers; much less any Degree of Foresight as to future Events, and what the Consequences may be of the Increase or Decline of the Power and Influence of this ambitious and all-grasping Crown.

We will begin then with a succinct Account of what passed under the Regency of the Queen-Mother, whose first and settled Maxim was to increase and extend her Authority to the utmost; in order to which, she employed all the Arts natural to her Sex, to gain the Hearts, or at least the Voices of the principal Persons of the Kingdom, during the last Illness of her Consort; so that within four Days after his Decease, she obtained a Declaration from the Parliament of *Paris*, by which she was appointed solely and simply Regent of the Kingdom during the Minority of her Son. And within four Hours after obtaining this Declaration, which intirely cancelled that of the late King signed by herself, and approved by the same Parliament, she placed Cardinal *Mazarin* at the Head of her Council.

As this Minister conducted the Affairs of *France* with great Variety of Fortune for eighteen Years, and as he is supposed to have given his Master that Plan of Policy pursued through his long Reign; and which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, is still pursuing; it will be necessary to enter more particularly

might have been highly advantageous to the Nation; but as the Pretenders to Patriotism were Men as ambitious of Power as the Courtiers, and only took this Method to gain it, the Effects of their Proceedings were so far from being beneficial in any degree to the People, that on the contrary, they turned more to their Prejudice than the very worst Designs of the Court.

The Queen, who was a Princess of great Spirit, and who well remembered how *Richelieu* had supported his Authority, was inclined to follow his Steps; but his Successor *Mazarin* was of a milder Disposition, and knowing that his Adherents wished him no better in their Hearts than the most violent of his Enemies, used, or affected, such Moderation in his Conduct, as raised him many real Friends.

It was by his Advice that the King sent a Declaration to the Parliament, which was verified by them, to abate ten Millions in their Annual Taxes, two Millions in the Excises of *Paris*, and to establish the ordinary Court of Justice, so that no Man could be imprisoned or prosecuted, but by due Course of Law. If the Parliament had been contented with this, and had taken fair and legal Steps for establishing the Government on a just Foundation, Things might have continued to go well; but they were so exalted with their Success, and presumed so much on the Timidity of the Cardinal Minister, that in the Month of *January* following, the People made an Insurrection in *Paris*, and obliged the King, the Queen his Mother, and all the Royal Family, to retire with great Precipitation to *St. Germain*; two Days afterwards the Parliament declared the Cardinal an Enemy to the State, and a Disturber of the Publick Peace; at the same time that they endeavoured to raise an Army to support their Proceedings.

The Queen upon this recalled the Prince of *Condé* with his Army, which blocked up the City, and some Skirmishes happened wherein there was considerable Effusion of Blood. In about six Weeks Time, however, a temporary Pacification ensued; the Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and the other Grantees, had Places given them; a general Pardon was published, and the Cardinal thereby for that Time bought his Peace.

At Bottom, however, the same Jealousies remained, or rather were increased; for the Parliament hated the Prince of *Condé* for having assisted the Queen, and despised the other Princes for deserting them. The Cardinal knowing this, and being sensible that his Authority could never be secure while the Princes of the Blood governed at Court, took this Opportunity,
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and in the Beginning of the Year 1650, seized and imprisoned the Princes of *Condé*, and *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; a Measure so far from being disliked at *Paris*, that as soon as they heard of it the People made Bonfires in the Streets.

But long before the End of the Year Things came about again; the Nation in general shewed great Concern for the imprisoned Princes; the Viscount *Turenne*, with a Body of four thousand Horse, attempted to have set them at Liberty, but fail'd; upon which the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Uncle, put himself at the Head of the discontented Party, who were distinguished by the Name of the *Frondeurs*, which signifies literally the *Slingers*, and like most Party Appellations, served only to increase the publick Confusion, which was already but too great.

The Cardinal finding the Torrent turned, and running violently against him, so that he could not avoid quitting the Kingdom, resolved to take a bold Step before his Departure; and accordingly went in Person to *Havre*, where the Princes were confined, and having set them at Liberty, set out immediately for *Liege*. The People of *Paris* were no sooner informed that the Princes were free, than they lighted Bonfires in the Streets, with as much real Zeal and Sincerity of Heart as they had done on the News of their Confinement.

This Transaction happened in *February* 1651, and during that whole Year Things went strongly against the Cardinal, insomuch that the King was forced to publish a Declaration excluding all Strangers from his Council, and even all *French* Cardinals, as too much addicted to the Pope. But this was so far from giving Satisfaction, that the Prince of *Condé*, in Conjunction with the Duke of *Orleans* and other Princes of the Blood, proceeded to raise an Army, and to enter into secret Engagements with *Spain*. The Court upon this seeing no Hopes of an Accomodation, and having more Need than ever of the Cardinal's Advice, resolved to recall him, of which the Parliament being informed, in the Month of *December* following set a Price upon his Head; tho' in doing this they only shewed how high on both Sides it was valued.

In the beginning of the succeeding Year 1652, the Cardinal returned under an Escort of six thousand Men, commanded by the Marquis de *Hocquincourt*, who for this great Service was made Marshal of *France*. A new Civil War was now opened, and the King, though of Age to govern by himself, saw his Capital, and several other of the chief Cities in his Kingdom, declare against him; the Prince of *Condé* had also an

Advantage over the new Marshal, and if it had not been for the Prudence of the Viscount *Turenne*, now reconciled to the Court, had entirely defeated the King's Troops.

On the second of *July* another Battle was fought, when the Malecontents in their Turn had been totally routed, if the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans* had not caused the Cannon of the *Bastille* to be fired upon the King's Troops, and received the Army of the Prince of *Condé* into the City of *Paris*. The King upon this removed the Parliament of *Paris* to *Pontoise*, and in *August* Cardinal *Mazarin* was again so distressed that he retired a second Time out of the Kingdom.

Things however took another turn towards the latter End of the Year. The Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Orleans* quitted *Paris*; the King went thither, the Parliament submitted intirely, and in *February* 1653, the Cardinal returned in Triumph; the King and his Brother went two Leagues out of Town to meet him, the Magistrates went in a Body to compliment him, and the People by their Bonfires expressed their Joy for his Return. The Prince of *Conti* soon after married the Cardinal's Niece, and most of the Places that were held for his Brother the Prince of *Condé*, surrendered to the King.

On the twenty-eighth of *April* 1654, his Majesty in Parliament declared that Prince a Rebel, and deprived him of all his Employments. On the seventh of *June* following, the King was crowned at *Rheims*, and at the same time took a solemn Oath never to pardon Duels. The War continued all this Time with *Spain*, and the last-mentioned Crown gained several Advantages, and had gained more if *Cromwell*, who then held the supreme Power in *England*, had not, contrary to all the Rules of Policy as well as Justice, assisted the *French* both by Land and Sea, so much to the Prejudice of the *Ballance of Power* in *Europe*, that the Effects of his ill Conduct in this Particular are very severely felt to this Day.

The *Spaniards* finding themselves in no Capacity of maintaining a War against *France* and *England* at the same time, willingly listened to Propositions of Peace, which was concluded on the seventh of *November* 1659, and is that which is stiled the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and on the ninth of *June* 1660, *Lewis* the XIVth espoused the Infanta *Maria Theresa*; in Consequence of which the Prince of *Condé* obtained his Pardon, the Duke of *Lorraine* was restored to his Dominions, and *France* had a fair Prospect of Quiet at Home and Abroad.

The Duke of *Orleans*, Uncle to the King, died about this Time, as the Cardinal did on the ninth of *March* 1661, leaving behind

behind him a prodigious Fortune to his Family, with this Advice to the King, *that he should never trust any Minister with the like Power.* It is certain he pursued steadily, though in a very different Manner, the Scheme of his Predecessor, but did it notwithstanding with the same Success. His Genius was exactly suited to the Times and the Circumstances of his Ministry. With this Disposition *Richelieu* had quickly been undone; and with *Richelieu's* Temper *Mazarin* would have certainly ruined himself, and perhaps the Court also. Thus ended this Period.

The King was now in the twenty-third Year of his Age; and though he had not discovered in his Youth, either a strong Inclination or great Capacity for Learning, yet his Education had neither been neglected, as some have written, nor, as others have suggested, was the Care taken in this respect thrown away upon the King, whose Parts, if they were not quick, were however solid, and whose Want of some little Scholastic Accomplishments was abundantly supplied by the Evenness of his Temper, and the Strength of his Judgment.

The Cardinal observing the Weakness of his Constitution while a Child, was more careful of his Health, than of his Studies; and as that grew more confirmed, he caused him to be taught his Exercises, which he performed very gracefully, as he had a very fine Person. As he grew up, the Cardinal took Care to instruct him by his Conversation, to make him well acquainted with the Affairs of the Kingdom, and with the true Characters of all the considerable Persons in it; of which his Majesty was very capable, had naturally a Turn to Business, and could apply himself to it with Diligence, and transact it with all the Dignity becoming his Rank. He had a great Deference for that Minister, and the more so, perhaps, because he inspired him with a Diffidence for every body else.

Before the Death of the Cardinal, his Majesty was not so much considered as he ought to have been. The old Courtiers addicted themselves to that Minister, and to the Queen-Mother; the younger ones applied themselves to the Sur-Intendant of the Finances, Mr *Fouquet*, a Man of lively as well as great Abilities; and who flattered himself with the Hopes of succeeding the Cardinal, tho' he had declared himself pretty openly against him, and had engaged in some Intrigues that were afterwards fatal to him.

The King began his Administration with removing that Minister; and he did it with some Circumstances that were only

only excusable in a young Man, that is to say, he caressed him exceedingly to render him secure, and went in Person to *Nantes* at the Time he was arrested, as if that had been an Affair of Importance or Difficulty. The Queen-Mother was drawn to consent to this by a Lady who was much in her Favour; but she very soon repented it, for the King allowed her little or no Share in the Management of Affairs afterwards, tho' he treated her always with much Decency and Respect.

Mr. *Colbert*, who, as himself affirmed, was of *Scots* Extraction, and a Creature of the late Cardinal's, succeeded him in the Administration of the Finances, with the Title of Comptroller-General, the Sur-Intendant being suppressed. This Man had great Parts, and a most extensive Genius: he perfectly understood the King's Humour, and flattered it; he put him upon making himself absolute in the utmost Sense of the Word; by his Advice he took from the Parliament of *Paris* all Power, but that of registering his Edicts, against which they were for some time allowed the Liberty of remonstrating after they were registered; but of this they were by Degrees deprived.

These, and some other Steps of a like Tendency, were taken at a Time of all others the most favourable that could be wished for the King's Purposes; there were few of the great Lords in *France* that retained any thing of their former Power; the Prince of *Condé* was but just pardoned, and had Reason to avoid reviving the Memory of past Offences; the King's Brother, now Duke of *Orleans*, who had married the Princess *Henrietta* of *Great Britain*, was young, and much addicted to his Pleasures, so that there was no body left to oppose the Designs of the Court; and they were carried so luckily, that the opposing them became very soon totally impracticable.

The three Ministers then at the Head of Affairs were *Le Tellier*, *Colbert*, and *de Lionne*; who had Address enough, while they governed all Things, to persuade their Master that they had nothing at Heart but the complete Execution of the Plan of the two Cardinals, which consisted in making their Countrymen Slaves, and extending the Power, or at least the Influence of their Master over all *Christendom*.

The King bought of *Charles II.* King of *Great Britain* the Port of *Dunkirk*, which the Cardinal had been forced to deliver up to *Cromwell*, the Importance of which was not well known, or at least considered by the *English* Court. This did not hinder *Lewis XIV.* from taking part with the *Dutch*
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In the War they were engaged in against *England*, and he did it with a View of weakening the Maritime Powers, having at that Time formed Designs against them both; and in this he was but too successful; for while they were ruining each other's Fleets, he was raising and increasing his, which became quickly more considerable than it had ever been under any of his Predecessors.

In the Spring of the Year 1667, while this War continued, he fell very unexpectedly, as well as (the World thought) very unjustly, upon the *Spanish Low-Countries*, under Pretence of maintaining the Rights of his Queen, and took a great many strong Towns in a very short Space of Time. This effectually opened the Eyes of the *English* and *Dutch*, who very soon compromised their Differences by the Treaty of *Breda*, and quickly after concluded the famous Triple Alliance (the Crown of *Sweden* making the third Power) with a View of setting Bounds to *France*.

This was indeed the wisest and most effectual Step that was taken for that Purpose, in as much as the Allies declared roundly to the *French* Court, that they were resolved to take Part in the War against her, if it was not speedily concluded by a fair and equal Peace. This well-timed and well-concerted Declaration produced the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was concluded the 2d of May 1668, by which *France* gave up the *Franche Comte* which she had conquered, but she kept some large Districts in the *Low-Countries*, and several Cities and Towns of great Importance; such as *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Doway*, *Tournay*, *Lisle*, and many others.

But not long after the Conclusion of the Treaty, this Prince found Means to dissolve the Triple Alliance, and to engage the *English* Court in a Design of entirely destroying the *Dutch*; which was brought about, by his sending over the Dukes of *Orleans*, who persuaded her Brother-King *Charles* the Second into it, and who at her Return to *France*, was poisoned in a Fit of Jealousy by her Husband, notwithstanding which, the Design was still carried on by the two Crowns against the *States*.

It broke out in the Spring of 1672, and in the Month of May, the King passed the *Maese* at the Head of one hundred thousand Men, and pushed the *Dutch* within a Hair's breadth of Destruction by Land, while the *English* with the same unrelenting Fury attacked them by Sea. The generality of Historians very justly ascribe the Misfortune of that Republick to the ill Conduct of their famous Pensionary *John de Witte*, because he had formerly drawn the *States* into a close Conjunction with

with *France*; but in that he did no more than the Circumstances of the Times obliged him to; and if his Masters had been advised by him, and begun the War first, by burning the vast Magazines which the *French* King had raised at *Nuys*, and other Places in the Territories of *German* Princes, which it was in their Power to have done, all the Disasters that afterwards happened had been prevented, and they had gained Time enough to have provided for their own Defence. As it was, the Misfortunes of his Country proved fatal to that great Minister, who was barbarously torn, or at least murdered and cut to Pieces by the Mob.

The *French* King pushed on his Conquests as far as *Utrecht*, in which City he fixed his head Quarters; but the Prince of *Orange*, who was then very young, being put at the Head of the Army of the *States*, defended their Dominions so well, that their Allies had Time to come to their Relief, and the Parliament of *England* forced the King to make Peace with them, which soon altered the Face of Affairs.

But as the Emperor and *Spain* had declared in favour of the *Dutch*, the War was carried into their Territories, and a great many Places of Consequence were taken, several Battles fought; and the War had lasted longer, if the Parliament of *England* had not obliged the King to think in earnest of assisting the *Dutch*; this induced *France* to incline to Peace, which was negociated at *Nimeguen* under the Mediation of *England*; but the *French* and *Dutch* clapping up a separate Treaty on the 10th of *August* 1678, the Ministers of the mediating Power refused to sign it.

The Prince of *Orange* also being exceedingly displeased with this hasty Proceeding, fought the Battle of *Mons*, in hopes of frustrating the Peace, or of dissolving it in case it was signed; but the *French* were too wise for that, and so the Allies of the *Dutch* were forced to come in upon such Terms as they had stipulated, which were none of the best; for the Town and Territory of *Ypres*, the Town and District of *Menin*, the Towns and Dependencies of *St. Omer*, *Aire*, *Cambray*, &c. *Dinant* in the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and the whole *Franche Comte*, were given up to *France*, as was also the Town and Citadel of *Fribourg*, and in Effect, the whole Duchy of *Lorraine*.

Thus we are come to an End of the second Period; in which the Reader will perceive, that the Power of *France* was prodigiously augmented, and thereby the Terror of its Neighbours justly increased, all which was chiefly owing to that arbitrary Government which *Lewis XIV.* had introduced: From whence it appears, that Tyranny is scarce a greater Misfortune to

to the State in which it prevails, than to its Neighbours, and consequently a Tyrant is not only an Enemy to his own Subjects, but also to Mankind in general. We need not therefore wonder, that henceforward the *French King* was generally distinguished by the Name of the *Common Enemy*, since it is plain he merited that Appellation.

The Character of Mr. *Colbert*, so far as was necessary in a Work of this kind, has been already given, but it is requisite for us now to speak of that of his Rival Mr. *de Louvois*. The former had given the King that Turn which proved destructive of the *French Liberty*, and this perhaps chiefly to secure his own Power; for he easily foresaw, that if the Princes of the Blood and the great Nobility came to have any Share in the Government, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for him to preserve himself; and thus the *Interests of a whole Nation* were sacrificed to those of a *single Man*.

The latter however went far beyond him; he was Secretary of State and of War, and had great Abilities in his Office; but as those Abilities were of no Use in Time of Peace, he determined that during his Life there should be no such Thing; and he had so much Power over his Master, that he carried his Point. And thus the *Quiet of all Europe* gave way to *one Man's Convenience*.

The Method he took was very extraordinary. Under Pretence of settling the Limits of those Countries, which by the Treaty of *Nimeguen* were to be divided between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the former laid claim to whole Provinces, and tore away no fewer than forty Villages from the latter at once. Soon after Chambers of Reunion, as they were called, were set up at *Metz* and *Brisac*, and vast Countries were taken from their legal Owners, under Pretence that they were dependent upon Places yielded to *France* by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*.

As these outrageous Proceedings, of which every honest Man in *France* was ashamed, were carried on with Success; the *French* boldly seized *Straßbourg*, and blocked up *Luxembourg*, which they afterwards besieged and took, without any Declaration of War, as well as without any Colour of Right. The Prince of *Orange* indeed would have stirred to prevent this, but the *States* were afraid; and the Emperor and Empire were at that Time incapable of resisting this barefaced Injustice. *Spain* was in as low a Condition; and as for *England*, it was at this Time torn by Factions, and the Court so closely united to that of *France*, that no Good could be expected from it.

At the same time that *Louvois* sacrificed the Peace of *Europe* to his own Interest and his Master's Ambition, he from the same Principle, and to gratify the King's Passion for Building, promoted such Expences, as made Taxes as heavy in Time of Peace as of War. The Palace of *Clagni* was built to gratify *Madame de Montespan*, *Marly* for the Pleasure of *Madame de Maintenon*; but these were Trifles in Comparison to the Palace built to please the King himself, who delighted in rendering Desarts beautiful, and in having Abundance of Fountains in a Place to which Nature had denied Water.

In short, instead of the Dignity and Magnificence of an *European* Prince, *Lewis XIV.* affected the Pomp, the Luxury, the devouring Profusion of an *Asiatick* Monarch; and his Grand Vizir *Louvois* took care to accommodate him in such Manner, that the Expence of his Palace and his Household, with the Troops constantly about him, were alone sufficient to impoverish his Kingdom. And thus to render himself somewhat more than a King, he degraded his Subjects into downright Slaves: Such was the boasted *Eclat* of *LEWIS the GREAT*, and such the *real* Merits of his so much magnified *Ministers*!

But perhaps the worst is yet to come. We have shewn, that the Constable *Luynes* projected the Fall of the Protestants, which was prosecuted by *Richelieu*, as his Scheme was followed by *Mazarin*; but *Louvois* out-did them all; for he projected and executed the detestable Design of their Extirpation, which was begun by dragooning them into Apostacy, and compleated by the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, on the 22d of *October* 1684, the most open and scandalous Breach of Faith that was ever committed.

As unjust and inhuman as this Action was, considered in the Light of a religious Persecution, it fell every way short of the Imprudence thereof, when considered in the Light of an Act of State, and therefore did equal Injury to its Authors in their Characters, as Men of Rank and Consideration in the Court of the most Christian King, and as Politicians of great Penetration, and Ministers of long Experience; for by this means there were eight hundred thousand Persons driven out of the Kingdom, and forced to take Shelter in foreign Countries, which, tho' in itself a prodigious Weakening to the State, yet was much more so, from the Temper and Employments of the Persons thus expelled, who were, for the most Part, Merchants, Manufacturers, or Officers of a middle Rank in the Land and Sea Service; and, in a Word, the most industrious and useful People in the Kingdom.

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We may easily conceive from hence, that the Trade and Manufactures of *France* suffered extremely; and we shall have a clearer Notion of the Mischiefs flowing from this impolitick Step, when we are told that these People carried out of the Kingdom, one hundred Millions of *French Livres*, or five Millions Sterling in ready Money, Plate and Jewels. Yet gross and apparent as this Error was, such was the Meanness and Servility of the *French Nation*, that the King was complimented upon it, as on the most glorious Action of his Reign.

The Ministers however who contributed to exalt the King, in Point of absolute Authority, so much above his Predecessors, were far from enjoying, without Disquiet, the Power they exercised, and the Wealth they had amassed. *Colbert*, the ablest, and, to do him Justice, the best of them, was so much chagrined at some ill Usage he met with from his Master, that it broke his Heart; and when a Letter from the King, written in a Fit of ill-timed Tenderneſs, was brought him in his last Moments, he refused to read it.

By his Death *Louvois* expected to become entirely Master of the Court, but he was mistaken; for *Madame de Maintenon*, who from the Widow of the Poet *Scarron*, and the Servant of *Madame de Montespan*, was become the Mistress, and by a private Marriage the Wife of the King, hated him, and therefore brought into Business the Marquis de *Seignelaie*, the Son of *Colbert*, a young Man of no great Abilities, proud, vain, and debauched, who had the Title of Secretary of State, and the Affairs of the Household and Marine committed to his Charge.

He had Wit enough to see that his Competitor made himself necessary to his Master, by embroiling him with his Neighbours, and gratifying his Passion for Building; he therefore resolved to take the same Course, and employed immense Sums to render *France* a Maritime Power; and that this might more clearly be demonstrated to all *Europe*, he engaged the King to pick a Quarrel with the State of *Genoa*, which gave this Minister an Opportunity of going in Person with a Fleet, which threw into that fine City ten thousand Bombs, and obliged the Republick to send her Doge to ask Pardon at *Versailles* of the proud Monarch, that conceived himself injured. By this Step the young Minister raised his Credit considerably, which so tormented *Louvois*, that it is believed he afterwards caused him to be poisoned, though he did not enjoy above a Year the Satisfaction of seeing himself without a Rival.

In 1693, he was more successful ; the Duke of *Luxembourg* gained the Battle of *Nerwinde*, and several Places were taken in the *Low-Countries*. Marshal *Catinat* entirely defeated the Duke of *Savoy* ; but the Fleets of the Allies were victorious, and insulted all the Sea-Coasts of *France*.

In 1694, they did the same, and had also considerable Advantages in the *Low-Countries*. In 1695, *France* was so exhausted, that the King was forced to have recourse to a general Poll-Tax, the most grievous Imposition that any Country ever endured ; and yet the War went on very indifferently for him ; the important Fortrefs of *Namur* being reduced by King *William*, while Marshal *Villeroy* looked on with a superior Army.

The next Year was not more fortunate ; a Design formed for restoring King *James* miscarried. *France* was reduced to act upon the Defensive in the *Low Countries*, and at the same time increased her Taxes excessively ; so that at the Close of the Year, the King found himself under an absolute Necessity of listening to Peace, his Finances being entirely exhausted. And accordingly a Treaty was concluded at *Ryswick*, on the 20th of *September* 1697, whereby he gave up great Part of his Acquisitions, which was a plain Indication of the Sense the King had of his own Weakness, which was chiefly owing to the great Faults in his Government.

His old Ministers and his old Generals being worn out, he supplied the Places of the former by young Men, whose only Merit was a blind Submission to his Will ; they had boundless Power in their respective Departments ; and though nothing was more visible, than that his Affairs suffered exceedingly for want of a Person capable of superintending the whole ; yet his Vanity was so great, that tho' he plainly saw this, he could not bear the Thoughts of appointing a Prime Minister.

His Generals were promoted by Court Intrigues, and the Favour of Madame *Maintenon*, who governed him entirely. His Naval Force, as it was raised suddenly, so it sunk as unaccountably, chiefly for want of Money to maintain it ; his Armies were ruined, his Subjects exhausted, and the Credit of *France* was entirely supported by the Remembrance of that Power that was now in a great Measure decayed. Such was the State of Things at the Close of this Period.

It might naturally be expected, that considering the Situation of his Affairs after the Treaty of *Ryswick*, *Lewis XIV.* should have contrived the most effectual Means for easing his Subjects, by improving his Country, and lessening the Expence of his Government ; he did however quite the contrary, he kept up as great

great an Army in the Time of Peace, as would have been necessary if the War had continued ; and he employed his Troops in forming Camps of Pleasure, for the Instruction of his Grand-Children, as if the Art Military had been the sole Science worthy of a Prince.

By these Methods, or rather Follies, he ruined the Officers, from the prodigious Expence they were put to, and at the same time alarmed his Neighbours, who could not conceive that he had no other Meaning in these Incampments than to waste Money, and exhibit gaudy Spectacles to please Boys. It is without Question a deep Stroke in Politicks, to lull all the neighbouring States into a profound Security, while a great Design is in Contrivance, which might be easily disconcerted if suspected, and so bring the Discovery and Decision to the World's View at once. But wantonly to alarm, and out of pure Vanity to keep all *Europe* in a Ferment, was the most effectual Means to produce an Opposition greater than could otherwise arise ; and accordingly it did produce a Confederacy, which sufficiently chastised that Imprudence which gave Birth to it.

King *William*, from a sincere Concern for the Peace of *Europe*, formed a Project for dividing the *Spanish* Dominions, to which the *French* King consented ; and this first Treaty of Partition was signed *October 1, 1698*, at the *Hague*, between the Kings of *Great Britain* and *France*, and the *States-General* ; whereby it was agreed, that the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Places possessed by the *Spaniards* on the Coast of *Tuscany*, the Marquisate of *Final*, the Province of *Guipuscoa*, the Towns of *Fontarabia* and *St. Sebastian*, with Port Passage, should be given to the *Dauphin* ; the Duchy of *Milan* to the Emperor's second Son, the Archduke *Charles* ; and all the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*.

In a few Months after, this young Prince died at *Brussels*, in the seventh Year of his Age, which made a second Treaty of Partition necessary, by which last Treaty, *Milan* was added to the *Dauphin's* Share, upon Condition that it should be exchanged for *Lorraine*, and the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was given to the Archduke *Charles*. This Treaty was signed the 13th of *March 1699*, and was so unlucky as to give Satisfaction to nobody.

The Emperor refused to accept it, the King of *Spain* was extremely offended at it, and the *English* Nation fell upon the King's Ministers, though they knew that the whole Transaction arose from, and was conducted by the King himself. To say the Truth, it was a Project the best calculated for securing the Ballance of Power, and establishing the Quiet of *Europe*, th-

the Circumstances of Things would admit ; and the Clamour against it was as *ill founded*, as the Opposition to it was managed with *ill Manners*.

The King of *Spain*, to prevent the Execution of this Treaty, and the dismembering of his Dominions, on the 2d of *October* 1700, signed a Will, by which he called to the Succession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, second Son to the *Dauphin*, after him his younger Brother the Duke of *Berry*, next the Archduke *Charles*, and then the Duke of *Savoy*, and died about a Month after. It was a great Question at the Court of *France*, whether the Will should be accepted, or whether his Majesty should adhere to the last Treaty of Partition ; but at length a Resolution was taken to accept the Will, and the Duke of *Anjou* was declared King of *Spain*, by the Name of *Philip V.* in which it has been thought by some who take the Liberty of censuring even Kings, *Lewis XIV.* forgot his Duty as the Parent of his People, to follow his natural Affection as the Father of his Family.

King *William* and the *States* dissembled at first, by acknowledging and complimenting King *Philip* ; but this seems to have been owing to the Nature of the Government in both Countries, which made it necessary to be secure of the Sentiments of the People, before their Rulers openly declared their own ; and to speak my private Opinion freely, I believe this Conduct in their respective Governments, had no small Share in bringing the *English* and *Dutch* Nations to declare so warmly as they did for a War with *France*, into which their Governors very readily came, upon a Supposition that they should be supported therein with the same Unanimity and Spirit, by which they were excited thereto ; and for some time they were not disappointed. Thus the Reader sees in a very narrow Compass, the true Grounds of that general War, which had so great an Effect on the Affairs of *Europe*, and which are so necessary to be thoroughly understood at present, in order to form a right Judgment of what we ought to hope or fear.

The World seems to be so universally persuaded of the great Wisdom and Policy of *Lewis XIV.* in laying his Schemes for securing the Crown of *Spain* to his Family, that it will be a very difficult Thing to persuade them, that this Notion is ill-founded ; but the Truth will appear, from an impartial Consideration of Facts, which I shall endeavour to lay together in the succinctest Method possible ; it being not either agreeable to my Purpose or Intention, to enter into a
particular

particular Detail of the War, which is too well known to need any such Account.

It must be acknowledged, that the Measures taken by the *French* King for putting his Grandson into immediate Possession of the extensive Dominions of the *Spanish* Monarchy, were well concerted and thoroughly executed. The Marquis *de Villars*, the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*, had gained the Hearts of the *Spanish* Grandees; the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the rest of the Governors of the Provinces in *Italy*, were secured; the Duke of *Savoy* having married one Daughter to the Heir Apparent of *France*, and another to the new King of *Spain*, could not avoid taking the same Side; as for the *Low-Countries*, they were delivered up by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had formed a strong Party for the *French* in *Germany*.

But still the Mischiefs remained that have been before mentioned; that is to say, the several Branches of the Ministry were in the Hands of young Men of very mean Abilities; and the Direction of the whole was in an old Lady, opposed and hated by the whole Royal Family, the King excepted. He had few General Officers of great Capacity, and those he had were not employed, and if employed, not trusted. His Marine was in a bad Condition, his Finances in a worse, and nothing but his absolute Power of taking every Shilling of Ready-Money from his Subjects, by altering the Value of his Coin, which he practised over and over with as little Ceremony as Conscience, could have enabled him to find wherewithal to defray those Expences; for which it was impossible for him to run in Debt; and through the whole Course of the War he defrayed no other.

As soon as the Grand Confederacy was formed, he saw many Courts act a very different Part from what he expected. As for Instance, *Sweden* entered into a Neutrality, *Denmark* and *Prussia* acted against him, nor was it long before his most useful and necessary Allies, such as the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy* deserted him, and all his Schemes were broken.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, by the Victory of *Blenheim*, restored the Affairs of the Emperor and Empire; he was so distressed in *Italy*, that he was glad to evacuate it to save *Spain*, and even there his Grandson was more than once driven from his Capital. In the *Low-Countries*, his Armies were continually beaten; all his strong Fortresses taken, and among the rest *Lisse*, the most valuable Place in his Dominions, after *Paris*, which, will Posterity believe it! he once had Thoughts of quitting.

On the whole, after carrying on the War for seven Years, he found his Affairs in so bad a Situation, that he would very gladly have accepted the Treaty of Partition, or even worse Terms, if the Allies would have consented to them; but all his Offers being rejected, the Despair of his Subjects did more for him than he was able to do at first with all his Policy and Power; and yet it is very questionable whether the Crown of Spain would ever have been left to his Grandson, if the Death of the Emperor *Joseph* had not rendered it a Thing difficult for the Allies to know where to bestow it better.

This produced the Peace of *Utrecht*, in which all that was either good or tolerable was copied from the two Treaties of Partition. It was signed in *March* 1712-13; and if the Allies had been unanimous in making it, might have been much better than it was; but the Emperor persisting in his Refusal, the War was still carried on against him, and did not end till the Year afterwards, by the signing of the Peace of *Baden*, on the 7th of *June* 1714.

Thus ended this Period, when *France* was reduced far lower than she had ever been; for not only her Armies were broken, her Fleets entirely ruined, and a great part of her former Conquests yielded to other Powers; but what was much worse, the People were fallen into the most abject Degree of Misery, the Credit of the Crown was sunk, the Succession depended upon the Life of a sickly Infant, the reigning Monarch was very infirm, and the Court divided into Factions: So that if *Lewis XIV.* had the Satisfaction of beholding the Rise and Progress of the *Gallie* Power, he had also the Mortification of seeing it decline, and was very, very, near looking upon its Ruin.

The Cares of *Lewis XIV.* after the Conclusion of the Peace, were such as ought to have been the Cares of his whole Life; for they were bent to secure the Succession of the Royal Family, and to restore the Trade and Welfare of his Subjects; as to both which he appeared now very solicitous; nor did he make any Scruple of confessing, that Experience had convinced him of the Error of his former Conduct, and the Follies of which he had been guilty, in preferring his own Grandeur to the Good of his People, and the Lustre of his Reign to the Safety of the State.

He gave all the Assistance that was requisite to his Grandson *Philip*. for extinguishing the Remains of the *Spanish* War, by the Reduction of *Catalonia*; he gave Satisfaction to the King of *Great Britain*, in reference to the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*; and he executed very punctually whatever depended

pended upon him in relation to the *Dutch*, from the Hopes of leaving *France* without any Apprehensions from her Neighbours at the Time of his Decease. He was very attentive also to what he thought might contribute to the domestick Quiet of his Subjects, as well as to the Establishment of his illegitimate Offspring.

In regard to the former, he constituted by his Will a Council of Regency, on purpose to exclude the Duke of *Orleans*, his Nephew, whose Fidelity he suspected, and of whose Ambition he was afraid; and he caused this Will of his to be deposited with the Parliament of *Paris*, who gave it the Sanction of that very small Authority which he had left them. He likewise caused an Edict to be registered, whereby he declared his Sons, the Duke of *Maine* and Count *Thoulouse*, Legitimate, and capable of succeeding to the Crown after those legally entitled thereto: And having thus put both his publick and private Affairs into Order, he did not seem much surprized at the Approach of Death.

In his last Moments he behaved like a Christian and a King; like a Christian in bewailing his Vices, and the bad Consequences with which they had been attended; like a King, in advising his Successor publickly to beware of following his Example, to study Peace, and to be truly the Parent of his People. In this Disposition of Mind, after enduring the sharpest Agonies in his Body, he expired *September 1, 1715, N.S.* in the seventy-second Year of his Reign, and when he wanted four Days of being seventy-seven Years of Age.

He was stiled *LEWIS the GREAT*, with what Reason the Reader has seen. He was, tho' unlearned, a great Encourager and Protector of Learning, and more so of Flattery. He was no great Soldier, and yet loved War. His Courage was not very clear, but he had great Firmness of Mind. In Prosperity he was haughty, but not abject in Adversity. He was jealous of his eldest Son, but affectionate to his Family; he was a very faithful Friend, and a very kind Master. His Amours were numerous and scandalous; his Behaviour to his Queen civil, without Tenderness; to his Mother respectful, without Affection; to his Brother suspicious, but not indecent.

As a King, he was ambitious with respect to his Neighbours, arbitrary toward his Subjects, and boundless in both. With regard to the former he had no Tie but Interest; in reference to the latter, no Law but his Will. He intirely subverted the Constitution of his Country. He left the Princes of his Blood without Power, and his Parliaments without Authority.

city. The Force of his Kingdom he reduced to a Standing Army ; the Property of his Subjects he rendered precarious, and every Rank of them entirely dependent upon the Will of his Successor.

In fine, he was a Rebel to the Court, and at the same Time a Slave to the Church of *Rome* ; he had a Passion for Glory, with scarce any Tincture of Virtue ; and with all the Vices and Weakness of a Man, had the Vanity to stile and think himself *immortal*. Such was the Character of *Lewis XIV.* when painted by the Pencil of Truth, how different soever it may be from the Pictures drawn of him by Foes or Flatterers.

This Prince married *Maria Theresa* Daughter of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, Anno 1660, by whom he had Issue only one Son that lived, viz. *Lewis* Dauphin of *France*, who married *Mary-Anne-Christiana*, Sister to the Duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had Issue three Sons, viz. I. *Lewis* Duke of *Burgundy*, born Anno 1682. II. *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, King of *Spain*, born Anno 1683. III. *Gaston* Duke of *Berry*, born in 1684, who died without Issue. *Lewis* the Dauphin died Anno 1711, whereupon *Lewis* Duke of *Burgundy* his eldest Son succeeded to the Title of Dauphin.

This Prince married *Mary Adelaide*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, afterwards King of *Sardinia*, Anno 1698, and died 1712, leaving Issue of his Marriage three Sons, of which the two eldest, stiled Dukes of *Britany* successively, died soon after him in their Infancy ; but *Lewis* his third Son, born Anno 1710, survived them all, and sits at present on the Throne of his Great Grandfather.

His natural Children by *Madame de le Valiere*, was *Mary Anne de Bourbon*, born in 1666, and married in 1680 to *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, who died without Issue by her.

By *Madame de Montespan*, I. *Lewis Augustus de Bourbon*, Duke of *Maine*, born in 1670, who by his Wife *Louisa*, Daughter to the Prince of *Condé*, had a Daughter called *Mademoiselle d' Aumale*, born in 1697, and two Sons ; *Lewis Augustus* Prince of *Dombes*, born in 1700 ; *Lewis Charles* Count of *Eu*, born 1701. II. *Louisa Frances de Bourbon*, stiled *Mademoiselle de Nantes*, born in 1673, and married to *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon* 1685 ; whose Children were, *Mademoiselle de Bourbon*, born 1690 ; *Lewis* Duke of *Enguien*, born 1692 ; *Louisa* *Mademoiselle de Charolois*, born 1693 ; and *Louisa Anna*, called *Mademoiselle Sens*, born in 1695.

III. *Lewis Alexander de Bourbon*, Count of *Toulouse*, born 1678,
late

late Admiral of France, whose Son, the Duke de Penthièvre, now enjoys that high Office. IV. *Frances Mary de Bourbon*, stiled *Mademoiselle de Blois*, born 1681.

His Majesty's only legitimate Brother was *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, first married to *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter to *Charles I.* King of *England*, by whom he had one Daughter, married to the Duke of *Savoy*. He afterwards espoused *Charlotta Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Charles Lewis* Elector *Palatine*, by whom he had Issue, *Philip* Duke of *Chartres*, late Duke of *Orleans*, and Regent of *France*, who married *Frances Mary de Bourbon*, stiled *Mademoiselle de Blois*, by whom he had the present Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis de Bourbon*, who by *Augusta Maria*, Daughter of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, has Issue, *Lewis Philip*, Duke of *Chartres*, born 1725, and married to *Louisa-Henrietta* of *Bourbon* *Conti*.

The Care that had been taken by the Great Monarch *Louis XIV.* for the Security of his Infant Successor, and his Subjects, was just as ineffectual as the Pains taken by *Louis XIII.* in settling the Regency at the Beginning of his own Reign, that is to say, the Duke of *Orleans* acted now the very same Part that the Queen-Mother acted then, and by caressing the Parliament, for a Moment, and giving them Hopes of seeing their Authority restored, procured their Assistance to the single Act that could enable him to operate upon their Power at all.

This Point once managed, and the Duke of *Orleans* being declared sole Regent during the Minority of *Louis XV.* the Government was compleatly restored, since the Regent governed from that Day as absolutely as ever the late King had done. He began his Administration, as all able Princes do, with Acts of Lenity and Mildness, and with a great Appearance of Zeal for the publick Good.

His Plan for foreign Affairs was the best laid, and best conducted, that the *French* had ever seen; it is indeed probable, that he was principally moved thereto by the Consideration of his particular Interest; but whatever his Motive was, his Conduct was right. He steddily adhered to the last Treaty of Peace, and he shew'd a Willingness to contribute as far as could be desired, to fixing a true Ballance of Power.

He was so far from dissembling, that he laid open to all the World the miserable State that *France* was in; and certainly in this he acted like a great Politician; for on the one hand, it justified his Measures at home, and on the other, it gained him Credit abroad; for by delivering her Neighbours from the Fear of *France*, he brought them to confide in his Promises, and he

he made use of this Confidence to re-establish her Affairs upon a solid Foundation.

In respect to domestick Concerns he acted with the same Prudence and Moderation. He erected several Councils agreeable to the late King's Will, foreseeing the Confusion this would create, and the fair Opportunity it would give him of suppressing them ; and he restored to the Parliament their ancient Liberty of debating upon Acts of State, before they gave them the Sanction of their Authority. They were all very proper as well as popular Steps ; they served to settle his Authority, and to enable him to make use of it afterwards as he thought most convenient.

He had his Views, as all other Princes have ; and he shewed himself a great Prince, by taking the Precautions necessary to fix his Power, before he made his Schemes evident, from his Endeavours to accomplish them. In this indeed lay his Strength, he knew perfectly how to conceal his Designs under specious Pretences, to give these Pretences the highest Colourings possible, and never to bring his real Intentions into publick View, earlier than he was secure of trampling upon all Opposition.

When he had thus settled Peace abroad, and his Authority at home, he listened to the Cries of the People, and established a new Court of Judicature, for calling to an Account such as had the Management of the publick Revenue in the former Reign, and were almost the only People in the Kingdom that enjoyed affluent Fortunes under the present. The Pretence was specious ; and tho' this Enquiry might be conducted with a Severity that border'd upon Injustice, yet it answered the Purpose of the Court, and did not give general Offence.

He would have had recourse to healing Measures in the Church, but in that respect his good Designs were defeated ; and, as is but too frequent, those who by their Profession are of all others most bound to promote Peace, were those who by the Authority that Profession gave them, hindered it the most.

The Regent saw and understood perfectly the many mischievous Consequences that flowed from the frequent Variations that had been made in the Value of the Coin during the last Reign ; but what he most regretted was, that the People understood those so well, that it was impossible, as Things stood, for any Use to be made of this Expedient under his Administration.

To correct this Evil, and more especially to set his own Hands at Liberty ; on the 12th of *October* 1715, he published an Edict. in which he set in a very clear Light the principal Inconveniencies

Inconveniencies that followed this Practice, as well as the Advantages that must necessarily attend the remedying this Evil, and fixing the Coin on an equitable and immoveable Foundation, of which this Edict gave Hopes, by declaring that the Pistole or Lewis d'Or should for ever remain of the Value of fourteen Livres, at which it was then: But no sooner had this Edict produced its Effect, than the Regent issued another, by which the Subjects were required to pay their Money into the Mint at the Rate of sixteen Livres for a Lewis d'Or, which were issued out at the Rate of twenty.

I mention this Instance out of many, for two Reasons; the first is, that I may afford the Reader a View of the Distress of the *French* Government, and the Hardships it was obliged to impose upon its Subjects; and secondly, to give a Specimen of the Regent's Policy, which was of the same Stamp throughout; that is to say, he made no Scruple of professing any thing that might serve his Purpose, and acting with respect to those Professions, as if he had never made them. But this was only with regard to Transactions at Home; with reference to Foreign Princes, he was cautious how he entered into Engagements, but was afterwards punctual in performing them.

It is impossible, strictly speaking, to justify such a Conduct as the Regent pursued; but one may have leave to say in his Excuse, that he found the Government and Nation in a most ruinous Condition, with a Debt almost beyond Belief, since some have calculated it no less than three hundred Million Sterling, and this notwithstanding some considerable Spunges that had been made in the preceding Reign.

He saw that while the Government was in this Condition, it could not either act for its own Security, or for the Relief of the Nation, but must be obliged from time to time to lay heavy Burdens upon the Whole, in order to give some Satisfaction to that Part of the People who were become Creditors to the Publick. This it was that induced him to listen to a Project of Mr. *Jahn Law*, a Native of *Scotland*, and a Man of a peculiar Cast of Mind, who knew how to apply those Schemes of Calculation, which hitherto had served only private and poultry Purposes, to the great Affairs of a Nation, and the extricating a Government from such Difficulties as that of *France* was then under.

The Patron and Projector were as well suited to each other as could be conceived. The Regent, had he been in a private Station, would probably have been the Contriver of this Scheme; the Projector, had he been vested with the Regent's Power, would have had Courage enough to have executed

executed in its utmost Extent. The Colour that was given to this Affair was the erecting a new Company for carrying on a Commerce at *Louisiana*, or the River *Mississipi*; but the true Design was to pay the Debts of the *French* Government without Money, or with other People's Money.

I mean by other People's Money, the Money of Foreigners; and this Affair was managed with such Address, that in the Year 1719 the new Company offered to lend the Government fifteen hundred Millions of Livres. In the mean time however the Regent had been obliged to practise so many Methods of raising and falling Money, of stopping the Currency of Cash, forcing of Currency for Notes, and constraining such as had any Gold or Silver to part with it, whether they would or not; that he was obliged to stop short in the Execution of Mr. *Law's* Scheme, and to drive him out of the Kingdom.

Yet, after all this, and notwithstanding the Disturbance, Clamour, and Confusion, which the Business of the Bank, the *India* Company, and other Expedients Mr. *Law* suggested, produced, the Government was a great Gainer upon the Whole, and a very large Proportion of the Debt was, if not paid, at least resolved into Waste Paper. It was certainly an iniquitious Scheme in its Nature, and such a one as no Man of Probity would have formed, or could have executed; but notwithstanding all this, when executed, it was as certainly attended with some good Effects.

While the Regent was thus struggling to free the Government of *France* from the Difficulties it was under, occasioned chiefly by the long War carried on to place *Philip V.* on the Throne of *Spain*, that Prince committed his Affairs to an enterprising Minister, the famous Cardinal *Alberoni*, who died lately; and who, instead of submitting, as former Ministers had done, to the Measures prescribed by *France*, struck out a Plan of his own, which he would have obliged the Regent to follow; and which consisted in recovering all the Provinces that had been dismembered from the *Spanish* Monarchy by the late Treaties of Peace.

The Regent declared that he looked upon this as contrary to Justice; but it is certain that he considered it as not at all consistent with his Interest; and therefore, instead of promoting, he opposed it, agreeable to the Engagements he was under to the Imperial and *British* Courts. The *Spanish* Court, or rather the *Spanish* Minister, took this so ill, that he resolved to form a Party in *France*, and even to secure the Person of the Duke Regent; and as wild and extravagant as this Plot might

might seem, the Prince *de Cellemare*, then the *Spanish Ambassador* at the Court of *France*, took his Measures so well, that he was very near carrying it into Execution ; it was however very critically discovered, that Minister arrested and sent out of *France*, some Gentlemen of *Bretagne* who were deepest in this Scheme lost their Lives, and very soon after an open War broke out between the two Nations.

But as *Spain* could not sustain herself without the Assistance of *France*, much less against the Power of that Monarch, join'd with the rest of her Opponents, Cardinal *Alberoni* was obliged to give way, the Crown of *Spain* acceded to the Quadruple Alliance ; and it was agreed that the young King of *France* should marry the Infanta of *Spain* ; and that the Prince of *Asturias* should marry one of the Regent's Daughters, and Don *Carlos* the other.

All Things being thus settled, and the Peace of *Europe* for the present restored, the Regent's Affairs wore a much better Aspect than they had done, and all the Powers of *Europe* saw with Surprise, but without Jealousy, *France* daily recovering its Lustre. This is a Proof that the Regent's Conduct was agreeable to the true Interest of the Kingdom he govern'd ; and that he much better understood the Art of making *France* truly formidable, than those who affect at every Turn to make her appear so. But to pursue the Thread of our Narration, and leave these Political Points to the Consideration and Decision of the judicious Reader.

In 1722, the Regent caused his Majesty to be crowned at *Rheims*, and in the Beginning of the following Year, he was declared of full Age in Parliament. The Regent knew well of what Consequence it was to preserve Forms, though he never meant by taking these Steps to relinquish his own Authority. By his Advice therefore, his own Creature and Favourite, Cardinal *Du Bois*, was declared Prime Minister, but did nothing but by his Royal Highness's Direction ; so that the Duke had still the intire Administration of the publick Affairs of the Nation without any Title or Office whatever.

He was very well satisfied with this Situation of Things, but in the Month of *August* following his Promotion the Cardinal died ; and the Duke of *Orleans*, too prudent to trust any other Person with the Title of Prime Minister, asked the King for it, or rather assumed it himself. The Confusion that Cardinal *Du Bois* left his Papers in, and the delicate Nature of many of his Correspondencies, obliged the Duke to apply himself with the utmost Industry and Diligence to putting them in Order, in which he was so indefatigable, that he

he fate up all the Night of the first of *December* 1723, though he found himself several times very near fainting, and the next Day in the Afternoon he died of a Fit of the Apoplexy, with great Projects in his Head, and, as many have thought, when he was on the very Point of carrying some of them into Execution.

Upon the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, the Conduct of the State devolved upon the next Prince of the Blood of an Age suitable to the Employment. This was the Duke of *Bourbon*, a Prince of great Parts, surprising Quickness, and capable of much Application. He found many Difficulties upon his first coming into the Administration; to hinder these from increasing, he pursued the Plan of his Predecessor very steddily; but the People were not much better satisfied with him, than they had been with his Royal Highness, because the State of the Finances were such as obliged him to make various Alterations in the Coin.

He likewise pressed the Acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*, both on the Laity and Clergy, which occasioned great Heats and Animosities, and while these continued, the King was taken suddenly ill, which alarmed the Duke of *Bourbon* so much, that he resolved to send back the young Infanta, who had been for some Time in *France* with the Title of Queen, in order to marry the King to some Princess of riper Years; and accordingly his Majesty was soon afterwards married to the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of *Stanislaus* King of *Poland*, which gave great Satisfaction to the People.

But the Court of *Spain* resented this extremely, and demanded in express Terms, that the Duke of *Bourbon* should be removed, to give his Catholick Majesty Satisfaction, as Cardinal *Alberoni* had before been, at the Request, and for the Conveniency of the most Christian King. This being refused, threw the *Spanish* Court into the Arms of that of *Vienna*, which gave such a Face to the Affairs of *Europe*, as differed much from that which they had worn for half a Century past.

It was not long, however, that the Duke of *Bourbon* was able to maintain himself in Power; and the Thing that turn'd most to his Prejudice, was the raising the fiftieth Penny upon all Estates throughout the Kingdom, which the Duke judged necessary for the Payment of the publick Debts, with which after all this spunging the Crown found itself still over-charged.

There are secret and dark Intrigues in all Courts, and perhaps there never was any in which these have always prevailed more than in that of *France*. If we could absolutely

depend

depend upon some Memoirs that have been written of these Times, the Duke of *Bourbon* was deceived and outwitted by his Successor, who first very gravely and conscientiously represented to him the many fatal Consequences that attended the modern Method of paying, or rather not paying, publick Debts, by Variation of the Coin, giving a Currency to Paper, and then destroying its Credit: By which he so wrought upon the Duke, that he resolved to abandon those Measures as unworthy of a Government; and then the crafty Priest lay in wait to represent him as a publick Oppressor.

The Duke, in the very Edict by which he imposed this Tax, set forth the Reasons of it, giving a fair and full Account of the Methods that had been hitherto taken in order to extinguish the publick Debt, their Consequences, and the Necessity there still was of raising Money to pay off Incumbrances, which stood the Crown in fifty Millions yearly for Interest, tho' they paid but Two *per Cent*.

When the Murmurs began about this Tax, which, how just and reasonable soever it might be in its Intention, was to a People so exhausted, almost insupportable; the ancient Bishop of *Frejus* (so M. *Fleury* was then called) was the first to mention them to the King, tho' he had great Obligations to the Duke; and he did it in such a manner, and with the Addition of so many Circumstances, that he who had always regarded the Sayings of this Man as so many Oracles, resolved to part with the Duke of *Bourbon*, and declare this Prelate first Minister; which Resolution was no sooner taken than it was executed, and the People, as is common enough in all Countries, applauded the Change, chiefly because it was a Change.

The Duke bore his Disgrace both with Patience and Dignity, and tho' he continued all his Life after a private Man, and had very little Connection with the Court, yet he quickly recovered his Credit with the Publick, and was as generally esteemed to the Day of his Death as any of the Princes of his House ever had been.

As for the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury*, it is so well known here, that it would be needless to trouble the Reader with a particular Detail of it. He was certainly a very artful and a very ambitious Man, without any of those Talents that are requisite to make an accomplished Statesman, or a great Minister. It was the Ascendancy he had over his Master, that, as it originally procured, kept him so long in Power; as it was a smooth and complaisant Behaviour to the Foreign Ministers,

masters; that gave him so great an Interest, as he really had for many Years, in all the Courts of *Europe*.

He was very disinterested in respect to Money, was very far from being solicitous about his Family, talked continually of Moderation, and was very mild and affable in his Behaviour; yet there were many harsh Things done under his Administration, both with respect to Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs. He had no settled Plan of Politicks, as appeared by his sometimes courting the Favour, and sometimes crossing the Measures of *Spain*. It was purely to please that Court, that he suffered his Master to enter into a War with the late Emperor *Charles VI*, but as soon as he saw an Opportunity of getting out of it, and of making so great an Acquisition to *France* as the Duchy of *Lorraine*, he resolved to embrace it; and as he had sacrificed the Honour, and was very near sacrificing the Life of the *French* Queen's Father, during the War, so he made no Scruple of sacrificing the Interest of *Spain* to the Peace.

The same kind of Temper was visible in almost every great Transaction while he was at the Head of Affairs. He made use of other Mens Capacities for contriving and executing Schemes that were above his Reach; but whenever he found himself pinched by those Schemes, he removed and ruined the Authors of them, to preserve or regain his own Credit; as is evident enough in the Case of Mr. *Chauvelin*, the Keeper of the Seals, whom he drove from Court, after he had made great Use of his much superior Abilities.

In respect to the late War, which began in his Life-time, he was drawn into it by those whom at that Time he trusted, chiefly from his apprehending that it would not be the Work of more than one or two Campaigns, and that the Allies of the House of *Austria* would be as passive in this War as in the last. But when he found his Mistake, and saw, or rather felt the Inconveniencies that followed from it, he had recourse to his old Expedient of shifting the Blame upon other People; but it was no longer in his Power to rid himself of them, as he had done of their Predecessors; Age, Infirmities, and approaching Death, obliged him to turn his Thoughts to other Matters.

He maintained his Power with, or rather Influence over, his Master to the very last, and like Cardinal *Mazarin*, had the Satisfaction of dying, in all outward Appearance, as great a Man as he had lived, and even of appointing, as it were, his Successor. But the Arts he made use of to keep his Master in a State of Dependence upon himself, have had such an Effect on all the Measures of the Court of *Versailles* since his Death, that it has been a perpetual Scene of Cabals, Intrigues, and Confusion,

Confusion, till the late Marshal Count *Saxe* gained the Ear of his Master to such a Degree, as to give Law even to the Ministers, at least in respect to all great Points, which was the Posture that Things were in a little before the Conclusion of the Peace.

We have in the Course of the preceding History made it our Business to shew the several Schemes or Systems of Government, which have subsisted since the Accession of the House of *Bourbon* to the Throne of *France*; and perhaps we shall run no great Hazard of misleading the Reader, by affirming that these may be reduced to Two. That of *Henry IV.* who was the Father of his People, and really somewhat more; for he not only meant honestly towards his own Subjects, but likewise to the rest of *Europe*. In short, he had the Happiness of the People at Heart in his own Dominions, and was for establishing a Ballance of Power abroad.

His Son and Successor *Lewis XIII.* aimed at making himself absolute at home and respected abroad; both his Successors have had the same Views, only instead of Respect, they have been for establishing a general Influence, from whence all the bad Consequences must flow, which are commonly dreaded from universal Monarchy. By this Means Monarchs are rendered so dependent as to differ little from Vice-Roys, and Republicks are ruined by the secret Encouragement given to their Rulers to arrogate an Authority to themselves, inconsistent with the Constitution of their Countries, and incompatible with their Interests. In short, the Safety and Grandeur of this great Power must be maintained by the Poverty, Weakness, Corruption, Discontents, and Maleadministration that prevails amongst her Neighbours.

Our present Business is to shew how far this has been effected, and upon what Grounds we affirm that the *Gallic* Constitution is changed, and that the Monarchy is absolute at present. In the first place, we are to observe, that the greatest Lawyers and best Historians of *France* agree, that the Power of their Kings was anciently restrained, not only within narrower Bounds than at present, but that in reality they were as much limited as any Monarchs could be.

That in all Governments, supreme and absolute Power is, and must be lodged somewhere, we find generally agreed; that according to the old Constitution in *France*, this did not reside in their Princes, but in the general Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, as in all other *Gothic* Constitutions, is certain. Indeed the very Name of the People sufficiently proves this, since there cannot be a stronger Opposition than between *Franks*, (that is, Freemen) and Slaves.

But as it was found inconvenient to hold these general Assemblies very frequently, so, to hinder the Incroachments of their Kings while they were not sitting, part of their Powers were transferred to certain Committees, which gave Rise to the Parliaments of *France*, and particularly to that of *Paris*, which was at first Ambulatory, that is, attended the Person of the King; but in Process of Time, was fixed to that City for the Convenience both of Prince and People.

The ancient Prerogatives of this Assembly plainly prove, that as Representatives of the States, the Sovereignty was really in it, for amongst others they had these three. First, they judged the Peers and great Men of the Kingdom, over whom the King in this Respect had no Power; but in case they were suspected of failing in their Duty to the Constitution, they were to be tried by their Equals, according to the known Law of the Kingdom. Secondly, all the great Officers of State took their Oaths in Parliament; from which it is manifest, that they were bound not to the Person of the King, but swore to him in his Political Capacity, and for the general Benefit of the State. Thirdly, they had the Right of registering, approving, and promulgating the King's Edicts, without which they had not the Sanction or Force of Laws.

As these Instances unquestionably demonstrate, that according to the *Gallic* Constitution, their Kings were not absolute; so there is nothing more requisite to prove that they are since become so, by overturning the Constitution, than to observe that all these Checks are now taken away. The Assembly of the States is a Thing no longer heard of; and as for Parliaments, they are but Shadows of what they were, or rather worse, by which I mean, that they are now become the Instruments of that Power they were instituted to restrain.

The Liberty of the Subject is intirely at the Mercy of the King; he imprisons whom he pleases without giving any Account; and whenever he finds it requisite, appoints such Judges for the Tryal of Offenders as he thinks fit. The great Officers of State take their Oaths to and from him; so that they now belong intirely to the King, who appoints, removes, extends, or retrenches their Authority as he pleases. The registering of Edicts is become a mere Matter of Form; the Parliament of *Paris* does indeed sometimes remonstrate, but in the End the King's Will and Pleasure always prevails.

The whole Government of this great Nation having been, by the Arts of Cardinal *Richelieu* and his Successors, drawn
intirely

intirely into the Hands of the Crown and its Ministers, the utmost Pains have been taken to reduce it into such a System, as that this Power may influence the whole, and keep every Branch thereof in strict and constant Dependence. As far as the Compass of our Work will allow, we shall endeavour to shew how this is done.

We have heard much of the *Gallican* Church and of its Freedom; but from the Time of the Cardinal before-mentioned, this Freedom is become a mere Engine of State, by the Help of which the King has sometimes made use of the Power of the Clergy, and at other times of that of the Pope, to extend his own. It was with a View to this, that the *Protestants of France* were in general expelled; and that the Remains of them in *France* are from time to time persecuted, when they attempt in any Degree the public Exercise of their Religion.

The *French* Kings were resolved to make themselves Supreme in Church as well as State; which is the true Reason why they admit of no Dissenters; and they have carried this into Execution, notwithstanding the Nominal Authority of the Pope; which is often made use of by the King, and can never be turned against him.

The Clergy of *France* are, however, a very great and considerable Body; they consist at present of eighteen Archbishops, and one hundred and thirteen Bishops, all named and appointed by the King; who has likewise the Nomination of seven hundred and seventy Abbies, and of the Superiors of three hundred and seventeen Convents of Nuns. The Reader need not be told what Influence this gives the Crown over that Part of its Subjects, which were formerly the least attached to it.

The ordinary Revenue arising from the Tenths of the Clergy, amounts to 1,200,000 Livres *per Annum*; besides which, in the General Assemblies of the Clergy, free Gifts are so constantly expected even in Times of Peace, that this additional Revenue is computed annually at two Millions; but in Time of War the extraordinary free Gifts render it much more.

As to the Civil Government, the King has a great Council of State, and twelve Parliaments, besides other Courts, such as Generalities and Intendancies, for the Management of his Revenue; of the former there are twenty-six, and of the latter more. As for the Political Government, it is managed by several great Councils, or rather Committees of Council, of which there are at present four; which are stiled the Council of State, the Council of Dispatches, the Royal Council of Finances, and the Royal Council of Commerce.

The first Civil Officer in *France* is the Chancellor, and the only Officer that is not removeable at the King's Pleasure; that is to say, he cannot be removed without being brought to a Trial; but the King may, and frequently does take the Seals from him, and put them into the Hands of another Person, who has the Title of Keeper and the Power of Chancellor, who is removeable at the King's Pleasure.

There is generally a Person at the Head of the Ministry, either with or without the Title of Prime Minister, and with more or less Authority, as the King pleases; at present this is conceived to be M. *de Machault*, Keeper of the Seals and Comptroller-General of the Finances, but without the Title. For the Management of Public Affairs, there are four principal Secretaries of State, who have each their separate Departments. These are at present; M. *de Saint Contest*, who is Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Count *de Saint Florentin*, who has the Care of Domestic Concerns; the Count *D'Argenson*, who is Secretary at War; and Mr. *Rouille*, who has the Marine in the Room of the Count *de Maurepas* lately disgraced.

The principal Officer of the Revenue, is the Comptroller-General of the Finances, which Office is now in M. *de Machault*, who has under him a Multitude of Intendants, and other Officers, subject to the Direction of the Council of Finances, of which the D. *de Beaubourg* is President. As to the ordinary and settled Revenue of the Crown of *France*, if we may believe their own Writers upon that Subject, it is not at all increased in its real, though it is considerably augmented in its nominal Value.

In 1683, it was computed at 116,873,476 Livres; and in 1730 it amounted to no more than 140,278,473 Livres, which make 5,844,937 Pounds of our Money. This shews that neither the general Wealth of *France*, nor the Income of the King, are near so great as is commonly imagined. It is indeed very true, that in time of War the King levies much larger Sums; but it is very plain, that even these must fall far short of what some People would persuade us they amount to; since there must be always a Proportion between the ordinary and extraordinary Revenue, and consequently, if we know the one, we may very easily compute how far the other can be carried; because, even under arbitrary Governments, some Measures must be preserved, and some Regard had to the general Income of the People, which is less in Time of War, at the same Time that the publick Expence is greater.

As the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government of *France* was moulded in the Compass of two Reigns, into such a Form

as made them wholly subservient to the Purposes of the Crown; so the Military Establishment, as it now stands, was intirely the Work of *Lewis XIV.* Before his Time a few Companies of Guards, and four old Corps, as they are still called, were all the standing Troops of *France*; neither were they exactly of the same Nature with the Regiments that are now kept up, tho' this is not a proper Place to discuss the Difference.

It is sufficient for us to observe, that the Prince last mentioned, finding every thing at home disposed according to his good Pleasure when he took the Administration into his own Hands, resolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to secure the boundless Authority of which he was possessed in his own Dominions, and at the same time to make himself formidable to his Neighbours. It was to this End that he established first under the Notion of Guards a very considerable Force, which is now stiled the Troops of the Household; and afterwards, as Occasion served, raised Regiment after Regiment both of Horse and Foot, and kept them in constant Service.

It was by the Help of this Standing Army, that he gained so many and so great Advantages over *Spain* and the rest of his Neighbours, and annexed several conquered Provinces to his Dominions; which at the same time afforded him an Opportunity of increasing the Number of these regular Troops, and of covering his Frontiers on every side with abundance of strong Fortresses. By Degrees, other States in *Europe* found themselves obliged, for their own Defence, to raise and maintain regular Troops likewise, which furnished that ambitious Prince with a Pretence for augmenting his to as great a Number as was possible for him to maintain; and his Example in this, as well as in most other Points, has been exactly followed by his Successor. So that immediately before the breaking out of the late War, the Standing Troops of *France* consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, twenty thousand Horse and Dragoons, and between eight and ten thousand Invalids; that is, in the whole, to about one hundred and fifty thousand Men.

The keeping up so large an Army, and the maintaining so many Garrisons, is as serviceable to the King as it is burthen-some and ruinous to the Kingdom, inasmuch as it keeps so great a Proportion of able and active Persons in a State of absolute Idleness with regard to the Publick, at the same time that heavy Taxes are raised upon the laborious and industrious Part of the People for their Subsistence.

But it must be allowed, that it finds Employment for the Nobility and Gentry of *France*, more especially as it is be-

come almost an indispenfible Custom for them to fpend their Youth, at leaft the firft Part of it, in the Service; by which they are brought infenfibly into a Dependence upon the Court, and have their Minds filled with falfe and flavifh Notions of the Glory of their *Grand Monarque*, which intirely gets the better of the natural Paffions that all Men of Birth and Breeding in other Nations have for the Service of their Country. Thus the Reader fees, that the Church, the Law, the Civil Employments, and the Military, being wholly at the good Pleafure of the Court, the far greater Part of the active People in this great Country have their Lives and Fortunes at the Difpofal of the Crown, and fpend the beft of their Days in the Maintenance of a Syftem, calculated to hold them in irrecoverable and perpetual Servitude.

The Reader will naturally expect, that we fhould fay fome-thing of the Marine, which in the laft Reign was indeed extremely formidable, but was far from being fo in this; fince it is very certain that at the Beginning of the late War, the whole naval Power of *France* did not confift of quite forty Ships of War of all Sizes, which though it be very fhort of what it was at the Opening of this Century, yet is much fuperior to any Force the *French* had of that Nature before the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* As to the Commerce of *France*, it was before the War began very confiderable, tho' certainly much fhort of what has been reported of it here.

The greateft Evidence thereof that I have feen, is derived from a Memorial now before me, which contains a Representation to the *French* Court of the Loffes fufained by the War, which was drawn up at the Beginning of the Year 1747, and wherein they are ftated at two hundred Millions of their Money, which make above nine Millions three hundred thoufand Pounds of ours. If this proves, as it moft certainly does, that the Trade of *France* was very much increafed, and even arrived at a furprizing Height; we have at the fame time the Confolation of knowing, that it is now not only much funk and impaired, but in many of its moft important and beneficial Branches almoft ruined and destroyed; and this by the Confeflion of thofe, who as they are employed therein, muft be beft acquainted therewith, and who, in a Representation of this kind, durft not attempt to impofe upon the Government.

We have likewise the Satisfaction of being informed from the fame authentic Memorial, that in the Judgment of the mercantile Part of that Nation, if it were in the Power of the Court

Court to maintain twenty Men of War at *Brest*, fifteen at *Cadix*, and on the Coast of *Spain*, fifteen in *America*, and ten at *Toulon*, all the Branches of their Trade might be effectually protected: Whence it is evident that no such Force has been hitherto employed, and that the Merchants are doubtful whether if the Court was ever so well inclined, they could equip and maintain it.

In respect to the Interests of *France*, we are obliged to consider the Nature of the Government only, and the Views which the Court proposes to itself, since these are very different from, or, to speak the Truth, directly opposite to the true Interest of the Nation; for considering the Soil, Climate, and Situation of the Country, and the Numbers of its Inhabitants, as they have no reason to fear, so they have no cause to disturb their Neighbours; by whom, if they applied themselves industriously to Manufactures at home, and to foreign Trade, they might be very great Gainers; and as the several Provinces of the Kingdom are full of great Towns, they might be all rendered populous and rich as well as the Country about them.

A Government therefore that consulted the Good of the People, and the general Benefit of its Subjects, should labour to preserve Peace, and be assiduous in cultivating the Arts of Peace, which perhaps would tend as much to increase the Power and fix the Security of such a Government, as the contrary Measures which are now pursued tend to strengthen and aggrandize that absolute Monarchy, which we have seen erected there on the Ruins of their Constitution, by the House of *Bourbon*.

But as a Scheme intirely opposite to this has been there carried on for at least a Century past, with great Steddiuess and unusual Success, we have no Reason to expect, tho' Circumstances may induce them to dissemble, that the *French* Court will ever change their Measures; and therefore looking upon Things in a Political Light, we must consider *them*, only, without having any Respect to the Interest of the People. The Grandeur of the Crown, which with some Impropriety is in that Country stiled the Glory of *France*, appears to be the ultimate Aim of the Policy of these Ministers, upon which they have fixed their own Attention so long, and have magnified it so much, that it seems at length to occupy solely the Cares and Attention of the Nation.

To speak impartially, it is on keeping up this Spirit that the Peace and Safety of the Government, as it is now administered, depends; and it is impossible for the *French* Court to drop her Influence abroad, without manifestly hazarding her

Quiet at home ; so that to expect a *French* Monarch, should adhere strictly to Treaties, and relinquish all Views upon his Neighbours, is to expect a Golden Age ; a thing that may be wished even by the Wise, but which Fools themselves can never hope to see.

There is therefore no sort of Doubt, that so long as *France* enjoys her present Power, and is in a Capacity of preserving it, she will consider herself as the Head of the House of *Bourbon*, and as the first Potentate of the Christian World, to which high Titles she will not fail to add as many real Prerogatives as is in her Power. In order to this, she will study to continue *Spain* and the other Princes of her House in a close Dependence upon herself, by occasionally gratifying them in their Views ; and as it is not easy to see how they can expect this any other way, there seems to be too much Probability that, for our Time at least, she will succeed in it.

It is also probable that she will persist in most of her other Schemes, such as keeping up a close Correspondence with the *Turks*, that she may have it in her Power to awe the House of *Austria* and the *Russian* Empire ; that with the like View she will neglect nothing that may contribute to continue, and even to increase the Jealousies that have so long subsisted, and which still subsist in *Germany* ; her Intrigues in all the Northern Courts, and her Correspondencies in *Italy*, where so long as she can preserve her Superiority, she will not fail to have the Court of *Rome* attached to her Cause.

In respect to the rest of *Europe*, the House of *Austria* will always remain the Object of her Hate, the Maritime Powers of her Envy, and *Prussia* of her Jealousy ; whatever Professions under certain Circumstances, and to serve her own Purposes, she may make to the contrary ; and upon which therefore those to whom they are made, can never depend but to their own Prejudice.

She may also, and it is highly probable she will, dissemble her real Views in Times of Peace in favour of her Trade, which there is no Question she will encourage and promote all that lies in her Power, that it may in some measure repair the Losses occasioned by her Wars ; but there is no room to suppose that she will remain quiet for many Years together, because this must many ways indanger a Government like hers, by creating Factions in the Court, relaxing the Discipline of her Armies, and giving Time to her Neighbours to put themselves into a State of Security and Defence against her Power.

This

This is not a Picture drawn at Pleasure, or by the Hand of Prejudice, of the *French* Government, to render it odious and suspected, but from the Life and with strict Regard to Truth. The Reader has had the Evidence produced to him, which is sufficient to establish this, and it was with that View that we took so much Pains to produce it.

Without seeing the History of *France* since the Accession of the present reigning Family, and considering duly and impartially the principal Points therein, it would have been impossible to have set the Policy of the *French* Court in a true Point of Light; or if it had been possible, it could scarce have been expected that the Publick should have given Credit to it; but as the Case now stands, we may flatter ourselves that there are good Grounds to hope that the Justice and Impartiality of this Account will be conspicuous to every ingenious Reader, so as to convince him that this is a fair and equal Representation, given with no other End than to enable him to form a true Prospect of future Events, and of the Conduct of this Power in succeeding Times.

Before we quit this Article, it will be proper to observe, that notwithstanding the Truth of what has been said, yet there are no just Grounds to despair of preserving the Ballance of Power, tho' *France* and the rest of the House of *Bourbon* should pursue with the utmost Vigour their ambitious Schemes; and this we shall likewise make appear, by a few plain and natural Inferences and Deductions from the History and Remarks that have been already made.

It is very evident from these, that the *French* Power was at its greatest Height at the Time *Lewis XIV.* made the Peace of *Nimeguen*, or a very little after. The two succeeding Wars exhausted that Nation prodigiously, and more especially the last, which brought her so low, that notwithstanding the long Peace, and the many Advantages she has since enjoyed, it is very certain she is far from having recovered it, since her Revenue at this Day, tho' it makes a greater Number of Livres, falls short in Value of what it amounted to in 1683.

She has been likewise very much exhausted by the last War, in which she was defeated in most of her Views, found herself in no Capacity of keeping the Acquisitions she had made, and discover'd some signs of Weakness beyond what appeared even in the former general War. We know that whatever her Distresses may be, it is impossible for her to bring above 250,000 Men into the Field; perhaps it is impossible for her to do even that, and such an Army she cannot long maintain; or recruit, if she could maintain it. But supposing it to be possible, this Force will not be

be sufficient to defend her, even against the last Confederacy, if she had not a Dependence upon *Prussia*.

Experience has shewn us, that without this Resource, she could not maintain an Army in the *Low-Countries*, and keep a Force sufficient to defend her Frontiers on the Side of *Alsace*. We may remember, for the Time is not long since, the Hurry with which *Louis XV.* marched to cover that Part of his Dominions, had like to have cost him his Life, and very doubtful it is, whether he would have been able to have protected them at last, if a Diversion had not been made in *Bohemia*, which obliged the *Austrians* to repass the *Rhine*; and the Manner in which the *French* beheld that Retreat, fully shewed how highly satisfied they were at the Sight.

But suppose, as the Thing is indeed very practicable, such an Invasion were attempted at the same time, with an Irruption on the Side of *Provence*, and a Descent from *England* on *Bretagne*, or any other Part of their Coasts, where would Troops then be found to resist all these Enemies? Yet there is Reason to believe, that *France* made a much better Figure in the late War, than she will be able to do in another, unless she is so lucky as to succeed as happily in her Intrigues at the Beginning of it, as she did in those she employed at the Commencement of this last, which, all Things considered, is very improbable.

Besides, in the Course of the last Quarrel, many Incidents happened that cannot fail of affecting strongly the general Interests of *Europe* for the future, no way to the Advantage of the Cause of *France*. As for Instance, the surprizing and unexpected Efforts made by the People of *Hungary* in Support of their Sovereign, which, as I have shewed in another Place, has introduced a new Power in *Europe*, and brought such an Accession of Strength to the House of *Austria* as saved her now, and must contribute not a little to render her respected hereafter.

The Devastation of *Germany* immediately after the War began, and more especially of the *Bavarian* and *Palatine* Dominions, must also have very good Effects in deterring those Princes from placing any Confidence in the Omnipotence of the *Grand Monarque*, or supposing the Success of a War must be determined on the bare Appearance of his Forces.

The heavy Misfortunes that befell the Duke of *Medena* and the *Genoese*, are also very discouraging Circumstances; notwithstanding the Restitution of their Dominions. We may therefore reasonably persuade ourselves, that in succeeding Times another Spirit will prevail; Princes and States will at last perceive,

perceive, that by repeated Efforts, *France* has weakened her Force, tho' she preserves her Ambition to the full; is as vigorous as ever in her Views, tho' she wants Abilities to accomplish them.

All this may be the rather expected, because the Suggestions of *France* are commonly against the Interests of the Princes she tempts; and the Motives must consequently be very strong, the Persuasion of Success still stronger, to warp such Princes or States from their Interests, which they may pursue without Danger or Trouble. But after the Defeat of the Scheme laid at the Commencement of this War, what Insinuations can move, what Arguments appear conclusive?

But this is not all; if such a Check be once given to *France*, a new Spirit may arise, and those who have no Hopes of benefiting themselves by her Assistance, may incline to reap Advantages at her Expence. All *Europe* well knows how indifferent a Title she has to most of her Acquisitions, and with what Appearance of Justice her Possessions might be questioned; and who can tell what some time or other such a Spirit may produce?

It would be a very easy Matter to suggest various other Reasons to the same purpose; but I forbear at present, as having said enough to shew my Opinion, that the House of *Bourbon* will not, indeed, cannot relinquish her present System, which must always render her terrible to her Neighbours; but that on the other hand, there wants not a Power sufficient to render all her Intrigues abortive, and to defeat all her Enterprizes, tho' supported by her utmost Force.

I am very well aware that there are two Sorts of People who will be inclined to doubt of the Facts which I have advanced, and to dispute the Arguments which I have used upon this Subject. The first of these are the Admirers of that over-grown Power, those who look up not only with Surprise but Pleasure at the amazing Structure, which the Genius of *Richelieu* contrived, and the Labours of his Successors erected. In this there is indeed something strange and mean, and yet of these Sort of People there have been always some, to say the Truth, too many in the World; as appears by the *Greeks*, who in a Country of Liberty, were in their Hearts Friends to the *Great King*, though they knew him to be their common Enemy. The other Sort of People are such as fear *France* immoderately, and who have been so long used to frame horrible Apprehensions as well of the Force as the Designs of that Crown, cannot sufficiently divest themselves of their Panic, to enquire coolly and calmly whether there be any good Grounds for their Apprehensions or not.

It may, and very probably, it will be urged by both these kind of People, that first with regard to Facts, the Armies which *France* had on foot in the last Year of the late War, were very much superior to what I allow she could possibly form; and because I know that this has been laid down with great Force, by some who would be thought extremely well acquainted with the Military Establishment in *France*, I have taken some Pains to learn how far I was mistaken, which from these People I could never do, for they answered always in the general, that *France* was out of Comparison stronger than I imagined; that we deceived ourselves here in thinking the contrary; and that the Troops in her Pay during the last Campaigns, very far exceeded our Computations. But I am at present out of all Pain upon this Subject, having in my Possession a compleat and authentic State of the *French* Military Establishment in the Month of *May*, 1748; which is indeed a very correct and satisfactory Piece of its kind, and in all respects the finest Detail of an Army I ever saw. I will give the Reader an Extract of the Totals, which will serve sufficiently to illustrate this Point.

STATE of his Most Christian Majesty's LAND FORCES
in May 1748.

<i>Infantry.</i>	<i>Battal.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Annual Pay.</i>
Regular National Foot- - - - -	356	261455	54854808-5-0
Foreign Regular Foot- - - - -	84	59183	16099717-16-0
Irregulars - - - - -	13	9569	2596073-2-0
<hr/>			
<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Annual Pay.</i>
Regiments of Horse - - - - -	301	47531	32130455-10-4
Regiments of Dragoons - - - - -	85	13824	8064154-3-6
Irregulars - - - - -	25	3120	2330728-16-0
<hr/>			
<i>Battal.</i> 453		395382	116075937-13-4
<i>Squad.</i> 411		<hr/>	

My first Observation upon this is, that so far from subverting my former Calculation, this State of the *French* Army very clearly establishes it. In Time of Peace we have shewn, that the standing Forces of *France* are about one hundred and fifty thousand Men; and in Time of War, it may be very fairly computed, that about this Number is requisite for the Garrisons, the Security of the Coasts, and the Preservation of

of the interior Part of the Kingdom: Which will be still more evident, if we consider that one hundred and twelve Battalions of Militia, making upwards of eighty thousand Men, are included in the foregoing State of the Army. I was not consequently in the wrong, in supposing that *France* could not bring many above two hundred thousand Men into the Field, even when she exerted herself to the utmost. We have likewise seen, that great as this Force is, she might have been attacked by the Allies, if their Engagements to each other had been punctually performed, with equal, if not superior Armies.

My next Observation is as to the Expence, which the Reader sees, for the bare Subsistence of the Troops, amounts to the whole ordinary Revenue of *France*, or somewhat more than five Millions *Sterling*. As to the Extraordinaries of War, the Subsidies to foreign Powers, the Expences of the Navy, the Charge of Colonies, and many other Particulars, they are totally excluded; and I presume nobody will think that the Computation is extravagant, if we consider these as amounting to the like Sum. To all this we must add the Charge of the Civil Government, which in a Time of War cannot be at all lessened; and when we have done this, and brought into the Account the distressed Condition of their Trade, which manifests itself more and more since the Conclusion of the Peace, when Traders attempting to draw their Money out of the Hands of those who paid them Interest for it during the War, when they could not employ it in Commerce, has occasioned innumerable Bankruptcies.

I say, when all this is taken into our View, and seriously reflected upon, we must, unless we will absolutely shut our Eyes, perceive, that tho' the absolute Power of the *French* Government enables those who administer it, to avail themselves of the last Man and the last Shilling that Kingdom can raise, for the Support of their ambitious Projects, yet when this is done, no Policy, however refined, can repair that Waste of Wealth, or restore their extenuated Strength, in a short Space of Time.

Power may supersede the Laws of Reason, Humanity and Justice; but human Power cannot constrain the Laws of Nature. When a People are exhausted, they must have Time to recruit; and tho' it may be very well supposed, that in an absolute Government, this will be so far from being prevented, that all imaginable Pains will be taken to further and facilitate their Recovery, yet a very little Penetration will shew us, that even this cannot be immediately done; for those who administer such a Government, being always jealous of their Neighbours, cannot turn their Thoughts instantly, or at least not intirely, even to this

this necessary Point; for tho' such a Recovery is requisite, yet Self-Preservation remains still the first Law, and consequently Provision must be made for that.

When an absolute Government is not preparing to attack her Neighbours, she must be occupied in providing against any Danger, that may result from her being suddenly attacked; and therefore whatever the Bulk of the People, whatever those who have the Interest of the People only at Heart, may wish or plead for, the Ministers under such a Government will attend to that, and will not suffer their Cares to be called off to any other Object, before what regards this, upon which their Power depends, is thoroughly settled.

We see that in Fact this was the Case in *France*, immediately upon the Conclusion of the War: The People took it then for granted, that the extraordinary Taxes should cease at once; they promised this to themselves, and they had been promised it by the Crown; yet their Wishes and Expectations were not answered. The Parliament interposed in their Behalf; and it is amazing, that no Account was ever published here of the Substance of their Remonstrances, which were in Effect to this Purpose: That extraordinary Taxes could only be paid cheerfully upon extraordinary Occasions, and from the Hopes of being speedily delivered from them; and therefore to deprive Men of these Hopes, was to render them Bankrupts in their Fortunes, and desperate in their Dispositions: That to pay Debts was a good Thing in itself, and certainly tended to the Relief of the People; but this Relief being distant, and the People standing in Need of immediate Ease, the latter was a more suitable Relief than the former: That Indigence was a Defence even against absolute Power, and therefore it was to be feared, that if the extraordinary Taxes were paid, the ordinary Revenue of the Crown would be greatly diminished, and consequently new Debts be incurred faster than the old ones discharged.

But did these Remonstrances prevail? No; only instead of the Tenth, the Twentieth Penny was imposed: For tho' it is highly probable the Ministry were sensible of the Force of this Reasoning, and of the Distress of the Nation, yet being at the same time more sensible of the Wants of the Government, as concerning them more, they thought fit to postpone the Relief of the People to what they will certainly call the Interest of the State.

Thus I presume it is made tolerably plain, that with all her Power and Policy, *France* cannot in a few Years recover the Losses she has sustained in the last War; nor will it be within the Compass of her Abilities, intirely to give those Encouragements

couragements and Assistances to her Allies, that very possibly they were made to expect after the Conclusion of the Peace; and if this should happen, there is the highest Probability, that those Allies will vary their System as their Interests shall direct; and what the Consequences of this may be, I shall not venture to foretell.

I shall only take the Liberty of adding upon so *nice* a Subject, that the part *France* has hitherto acted, both in the North and in *Germany*, renders it sufficiently evident that a *general War* upon *Terms*, any way like those of the *last*, is by no means her Aim; which serves to justify what some of her most *able Statesmen* have upon certain Occasions declared; That the *last War* was so far from being of her Contrivance, that she was carried into it by Constraint, and never comprehended the full Extent of her Engagements, till she was called upon to comply with them, and this under Circumstances that would not well admit of Refusal. We may therefore presume she will scarce bring herself into the *same State* again.

We might very easily carry our Reflections farther, and enter into a Multitude of entertaining as well as instructive Disquisitions, on a variety of curious and important Subjects; such as the *ill Treatment* of a *Person* who had certainly deserved *well* from *France*; the incredible Pains used, and the immense Expence incurred to put her *Marine* not only on a fair, but on a formidable Footing; the bold Steps taken at home in humbling both the *Clergy* and the *Parliament*; the *vigorous Measures* pursued in the *East*, and her *artificial Management* in the *West Indies*; together with *another Event* more important than all of these. But we *forbear* from this single *Consideration*, that since the Time of the celebrated Mr. BAYES, tho' the Arts of *Cyphering* and *Ducyphering* have been greatly *improved*, yet we have entirely *lost* that more ingenious and useful *Art*—of penning a *Whisper*.

To conclude, it seems highly probable, and it is to be wished that *Experience* may not confirm it; that if *France* has again recourse to *Arms*, she will endeavour to do her Business *singly*, so as to avoid being drawn into a burthenome and unfathomable Expence, in supporting Allies, as well as of carrying on Wars in different Places. She will labour to *divide* before she attempts striking a *Blow*, and will practise every Art to hinder a *particular* from becoming a *general Quarrel*, and it is highly possible, will give up with this View, that *Point* which it may be apprehended she has *most at Heart*; in consequence of some *Equivalent* either to herself or her *Allies*. I think a farther Explanation needless; if the *Reader* differs in Opinion, TIME before this Book comes to another Impression will decide the Difference, and it will afford me great Satisfaction to find the *Mistake* on my side.

C H A P. XI.

The History of Spain, under the House of Austria ; the passing of that Crown into the Family of Bourbon ; the Consequences of this Alteration, and the present Maxims of Government, true Interests, and political Connections of that Kingdom.

WE are now to present the Reader with a succinct History of *Spain*, in order to give a clear Account of her political Interests and Connections. Every body knows how much it imports us to be acquainted with them, and many are by this Time sensible of the Misfortunes we have more than once brought upon ourselves, by not being sufficiently informed about them. The Crown of *Spain* is now one of the most considerable Powers of *Europe*, but it has not always been so. That great Country was formerly divided into several Kingdoms ; and it was not till towards the latter End of the fifteenth Century, that most of them came to be united under *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

That King was reputed the wisest Prince of his Time, and his Queen, without being so reputed, was really the wisest crown'd Head in that Age. *Ferdinand* studied to extend his Power, *Isabella* laboured to make her Subjects great and happy. It was to him that his Successors, in a great measure, owe their being absolute at home, but it is to her they are indebted for the Figure they have since made abroad. In a Word, it was his Policy that made the Kings of *Spain* great, it was her Virtues that made the Crown so.

There were three Things that fell out under their Reigns, which intirely altered the Face of Affairs in *Spain*, and thereby changed the System of *Europe*. The first was the Junction of the Crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, with the Dominions that belong'd to each of them ; and this was brought about by their Marriage. The second was the total Exclusion of the *Moors*, which was effected by the Conquest of *Granada*, the last of those Principalities which they had erected in that Country ; and which the Union of their Dominions put it in the Power of these Princes to accomplish. The third was the Discovery

covery of the New World, and the annexing of it, when discovered, to their Dominions; by which *Spain* may be said to commence her Maritime Power.

Thus in the Compass of about thirty Years, *Spain* became beyond all Comparison the greatest Power in *Europe*, which before was very inconsiderable. For this *Ferdinand* and his Queen *Isabella* began their Reign in 1472; the Queen died in 1504, and the King in 1516, after uniting the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre*, under various Pretences, to the rest of his already extensive Dominions.

This is a short Account of the Growth of the *Spanish* Power to the opening of the sixteenth Century, from which Time it is absolutely necessary that we should have more distinct Notions of its gradual Progress, greatest Height, and subsequent Declension, as well as of the great Change that has happened from its passing out of the House of *Austria* into that of *Bourbon*, which occasioned the last general War, and has been the Object of the principal Negotiations in *Europe* ever since.

That we may do this effectually, and at the same time keep as much within Bounds as possible, we shall first of all give a brief Description of the Power acquired by *Charles V.* who was at once Emperor of *Germany.* King of *Spain* and *Naples*, Master of a great Part of *Italy*, and Lord of the whole *Low-Countries*, as well those that now form the Republick of the *United Provinces*, as those which are stiled the *Spanish Netherlands*, and belong mostly to the Empress Queen of *Hungary.*

We shall next give a short View of the Reign of *Philip II.* who, if ambitious Princes are to be stiled so, was the wisest King, at least the greatest Politician, that *Europe* ever saw, and in that Quality bid the fairest for universal Monarchy; in his Pretensions to which, he was rather defeated by Providence than either by the Power or Prudence of those that opposed him, and yet he had to deal with some of the greatest Princes that ever ruled in this Part of the World.

We shall in the third place shew, how that mighty Power which he established dwindled away and sunk to nothing under his Successors; so that at last they were protected in the Possession of their Dominions, by those very Powers that had been raised upon their Ruin. A strange Revolution this! but of all that has happened in *Europe* the most worthy of Attention; because it shews us how the most potent Governments are infeeblled and brought to Decay by all-grasping Princes; and how Providence counteracts human Policy, so as to draw Events directly

directly contrary to their Intentions, from the Plans laid down and executed by the ablest Statesmen, to gratify the Desires of the most ambitious Princes.

Lastly, We shall give an impartial Account of the Manner in which this Kingdom changed its Masters, and how all *Europe* came to acquiesce at last in its remaining in the Possession of the late King *Philip V.* tho' a younger Branch of the House of *Bourbon*.

We have in a foregoing Article relating to the House of *Austria*, given an Account of the Descent of *Charles V.* who was the Grandson of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* by their only Daughter, and who succeeded first to the *Low-Countries*, of which he was also a Native; and therefore it is no wonder that he retained for them a strong Affection as long as he lived. It was this Affection, however, that render'd him disagreeable to the *Spaniards*, who on the other hand were never very agreeable to him; and though by the Assistance of two very able Ministers, he governed that Nation very quietly during the best part of his Reign, yet there never was any cordial Affection between him and his Subjects in that Kingdom.

It is true, that for the sake of the prodigious Revenues which he drew from the *Spanish* Dominions in *Europe* and *America*, he behaved toward them always with great Civility and Condescension, and countenanced that Prepossession in their Favour, which was shewn by his Son *Philip* even in his Infancy. On the other hand, the Fortune of the Emperor, who gained the highest military Reputation by a long Series of Victories, increased the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, humbled the *French* Power, brought King *Francis I.* Prisoner to *Madrid*, and carried the Terror of his Arms into *Africa*, made him in some measure popular amongst the *Spaniards*, naturally the most loyal People in *Europe*, and extremely charm'd with heroic Courage in their Princes.

But on the one hand the Emperor did not foresee in the former Part of his Reign, the Impossibility of securing all his Dominions to his Son, which if he had done, he would certainly have acted otherwise than he did, and have been more tender of the Interest of *Spain*, and more prudent in the Disposition of that immense Wealth which accrued to him from the Possession of it. He saw this in the latter Part of his Days, and then he changed his Scheme of proceeding; he endeavoured to augment his Maritime Force, and by the Marriage of his Son *Philip* with *Mary* Queen of *England*, sought to establish a new Connection between the different Parts of his Dominions, and at
the

the same time to surround *France*, and keep her in continual Dependence.

The *Spaniards* were as much deceived on the other hand in their Notions for the great Conquests and mighty Grandeur of the Emperor; as they were gained at their Expence, so they were kept by the same Means; and this exhausted *Spain* both of Men and Money, drew from her all the Wealth she derived from her *Indies* even faster than it came in, and by putting it into the Power of the Court to confer honourable and profitable Employments upon her Grantees, extinguished those Principles of Honour and Patriotism for which they had been formerly famous, and made them the Flatterers of Princes, and Dependents on their Ministers, which their free-born Ancestors would have despised.

It must be allow'd, that considering the End he aim'd at, this Monarch laid down a right Plan, and commonly speaking, pursued it steadily; he was also generally successful, and after the Battle of *Pavia*, stood very fair for carrying his great Design into Execution: But in the Decline of Life he was less fortunate, or rather he was better known; all the Powers in *Europe* were upon their Guard, and that fraudulent Policy, by which he had been so great a Gainer, grew not only useless, but was also turned upon himself.

Hence it was, that almost every where his Affairs began to decline. The Princes of *Germany* would no longer trust him; the Pope and the *Italian* Princes were continually plotting against him; *France* began to recover its Power, and even in the *Low-Countries*, which had been always the most favoured Part of his Dominions, he met with such Mortifications, as forced him to think of a Resignation, which he executed with Repugnance, and repented as soon as he had made it.

But it does not appear that he ever laid aside his Scheme of universal Monarchy; he was indeed satisfied, that it could never be brought to bear in his own Time, but he flatter'd himself to the last that it could not escape his Son. He knew the Disposition of *Philip* exactly, and tho' he was not so great a Hero, he was rather a more refined Politician than he; and therefore he took all imaginable Pains to infuse into his Mind the same Views, the same Passions, and the same Principles of Policy, that had governed himself.

It was to facilitate this, that at the Time of his Resignation he put into his Hands a System of the Art of War, and another of Government, of his own composing; both excellent in their kind, but fatal to his Pupil, and to the *Spanish* Nation. *Philip* received these Presents more respectfully than he had done

his Father's Dominions, and studied them with such Diligence, that he was soon in a Condition to have given the like Lessons himself. The *Spaniards* even at this Time, retain the Memory of this Fact, and make use of it as a proverbial Expression, *That in all great Emergencies, their Ministers are wont to consult the Spirit of Charles V.* which is but too true, for they prosecuted his Maxims till they wore out the Force and Riches of this opulent and potent Nation; and came to be in that deplorable State in which we shall hereafter find them.

In 1558, the Emperor *Charles V.* died in his Retirement, dissatisfied with the World, his Son, and himself; but at the same time with a full Prospect of *Philip's* becoming Master of the greatest Part of *Europe*, either by Force of Arms, or by Dint of his Intrigues. He left him, it must be acknowledged, a most formidable Prince; for he had just triumphed over the *French*, by a decisive Victory, had recovered all his Dominions in *Italy*, was in full Possession of the *Low-Countries*, and had so much Power in *England*, as enabled him to employ the whole Strength of this Nation for his Service, directly against its own Interests.

To say Truth, if it had not been for the timely Death of his Consort Queen *Mary*, there is hardly any Doubt to be made, that he would have carried his Point; and have annexed this Crown, for some time at least, to the rest of his Territories, which as it would have been fatal to the general Good of *Europe*, would have been no less destructive to our Ancestors in particular, as we shall perhaps have an Occasion to shew more largely in another Part of this Work.

Philip II. began his Reign with much Reputation, and in the War which he entered into with *France*, had at first great Successes, which were chiefly owing to the Fidelity and Virtues of his Subjects in the *Low-Countries*. It was not long, however, that he suffered his Affairs to continue in this Situation; he was bent upon returning to, and living in *Spain*; he preferred none but the Natives of that Country, and shewed himself fonder of their Customs, and Manner of Living, than was fit for a Prince, who had such extensive Dominions, and People of such different Tempers, and Dispositions, under his Obedience.

He attempted likewise upon their Liberties, and was desirous of leaving *Spanish* Troops in their principal Cities, under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Egmont*; but the People absolutely refused to submit, and soon after the Troubles in those Parts began. The *Spaniards* mistook their Interests in this Respect intirely; they were pleased at

at what had happened ; they rejoiced at their having a King intirely *Spanish* ; and looked upon the Revolt of the *Flemings*, as a Thing that must prove very advantageous to them, as it would afford the King, not only an Opportunity of curtailing their Privileges, but of confiscating their Estates, and bestowing them upon his Favourites, or in other Words, upon themselves.

But they were convinced by Experience of the Folly of these Notions ; for the People of the *Low-Countries* were not to be frightened out of their Privileges, and therefore to deprive them by Force, Troops were continually to be sent from *Spain*, and to be maintained when sent in the *Low-Countries*, which instead of becoming, as *Philip* intended, a Place of Arms, from whence he might at Pleasure invade either *France* or *England*, they became in Reality the Theatre of a War, where at a very small Expence the *English* and *French* broke the Force of the *Spanish* Monarchy, while thus employed against its own Subjects. This was the first and great Mistake of his Reign, a Mistake which how much soever he might repent, he could never repair ; a Mistake that was equally fatal to his own Power, and useful in creating a Diversion to his Neighbours, who but for this Mistake would have run a very great Hazard of becoming likewise his Subjects.

Another great Mistake committed by *Philip II.* was his considering in the Administration of Affairs, his own ambitious Projects only, without the least Attention to the Welfare of his Subjects. He saw his Dominions daily thinned by the Losses his Army sustained ; he saw the Trade of his People decline, chiefly from the heavy Load of Taxes which he imposed ; he saw likewise the naval Power of his Kingdom continually sink, from his employing almost all the Shipping and Seamen in his Dominions, in a Variety of Expeditions, many of which were unsuccessful, in respect to the Views that he proposed, and all of them were exceedingly ruinous to the *Spanish* Nation.

He had no Consideration of this, but acted as if his People had been Brute Beasts, in which he had a Property, without being under any Obligation to take care of them. He was so consummate a Politician, that he did nothing without a View, and thought of no other Views than his own ; by which he stripped his People of their Wealth, without providing for their Supply ; which made an *Italian* Wit compare him to a bad Horseman, who rode his Beast hard, and seldom gave him a Meal's Meat. It was to this Principle, that he owed that Firmness, or rather Insensibility, for which he was so famous.

He shewed no Emotion on ill News, because he was careless of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects; and how much soever he might feel his own Disappointments, he had no Feeling at all for the Sufferings and Misfortunes of those whom he employed, but regarded the Loss of them as a Thing of course, and scarce worthy of his Notice,

A third Error in the Conduct of this great Prince, was the over-rating his own Power, which led him to undertake several great Projects, without giving himself Time to execute any one of them; by which he multiplied the Number of his Enemies, and put that in the Power of many, which could have been executed singly by none. As for Instance, he attacked *England* while he was engaged in subduing the *Low-Countries*; and in the Midst of the War this drew upon him, he broke with *France*.

Thus one Project embarrassed and confounded another, by which in the End they all miscarried, except the Conquest of *Portugal*, which he committed entirely to the Management of the Duke of *Alva*, who reduced the whole Kingdom in fifty-eight Days. This shews what he might have done, if he had proceeded always in that Method; as his sending the Duke of *Parma* to the Relief of the League in *France*, which gave the *Dutch* an Opportunity of recovering their Affairs, is an evident Demonstration that he failed in his other Designs, by undertaking more than one at once.

These Projects are all sufficiently well known to the World, as well as various Expeditions he caused to be undertaken against the *Turks*, and other Infidels, and some occasional Diversions made by his Forces in *Italy*. In respect to all these, the *Spaniards* pleased themselves with romantick Speculations, such as that the Sun never set in their Master's Dominions; that while he meditated in his Closet at the *Escurial*, the Plans were laid there, by which both Hemispheres were governed, and the Forces of *Spain* awed at the same Time both *Europe* and the *Indies*.

Delusive Dreams of boundless Grandeur! which made but very poor Amends for the dreadful Distresses that these ambitious Pursuits had brought upon their exhausted Country; and which serve to shew us, that the Examples of Princes are frequently as fatal to their Subjects as their false Politicks, by inspiring them with the same fond Passion for extensive Dominions, which swell their own Breasts, and so make that the Object of both their Wishes, which is equally destructive to both their Interests,

It must however be acknowledged, that towards the latter End of his Life this great Politician altered his Views, and out of Regard to the Peace of his Posterity, began to think of securing that of his Subjects. In order to this he gave the *Low-Countries* in Dowry to his Daughter *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*, whom he married to her Cousin the Archduke *Albert*, in Hopes that this might have drawn back the Inhabitants of the revolted Provinces to their Duty; and tho' this Contrivance failed, yet it must be acknowledged that it was very well contrived, and had a very fair Appearance.

He took care to dispose Matters for a Peace with *England*, and if he did not conclude it, it was very probably in hopes of making better Terms with her Successor, if Queen *Elizabeth* had died. But in regard to *France*, which he found recovered Strength on the Conclusion of the Civil War, and *Henry IV.* being peaceably seated on the Throne, he made haste to compromise his Differences, that he might leave his Dominions quiet on that Side. As to *Portugal*, tho' he obtained it by Conquest, he sought to preserve it by a very mild and gentle Government, and laboured all that lay in his Power to make the People conceive it their Interest to continue united with *Spain*; which might probably have been effected, if he had not put his Son *Don Carlos* to Death, who was likewise the Son of *Mary* Infanta of *Portugal*. But the People were so averse to the *Spanish* Dominion, that their Priests put into their Litanies a Petition to God to deliver them from the *Castilian* Yoke.

Thus it appears plainly, that Experience convinced *Philip II.* who was very justly esteemed a consummate Politician, of his former Errors, and in a manner forced him to see that the true Greatness of a King does not consist in Conquests and extending his Dominions, but in governing those wisely which he justly possesses; and in making his Subjects rich and happy, rather than rendering his own Family great.

His last Error was committed when he was very near his End, and was of all others the most excuseable. He flatter'd himself with the Hopes of governing the *Spanish* Monarchy after his Demise, and with that View drew up a Memorial for the Instruction of his Son. Vain and ambitious Thoughts! says the *French* Historian *Mezeray* very justly; for all Princes will govern according to their own Fancy, and have little or no regard to the Maxims of their Predecessors.

He died on the 13th of *September* 1598, after a long Reign, in which he obtained the Reputation of a great and wise Prince; tho', as we have shewn, he left his Kingdom much

weaker than he found it, and his Subjects impoverished to such a Degree as made their Recovery difficult, as the Conduct of his Successors rendered it impracticable.

His Son *Philip III.* was a Prince endowed with all the Virtues requisite to have rendered him happy in private Life; but without those Qualities which were necessary to make a great Monarch, or to reform the Errors of his Father's Government. He was naturally of a quiet and peaceable Disposition, and he had the good Fortune to confide in a Minister, whose Talents, if they were not great, were at least such as enabled him to do much Good.

This was the Duke of *Lerma*, during whose Administration a solid Peace was concluded with *England*, agreeable to the dying Counsel of *Philip II.* He also made a Truce with the *Dutch*, and laboured all he could to bring the Expences of the Government within some Bounds. But what is equally strange and remarkable, this happy Temper both in the King and his Minister was attended with an unforeseen Consequence, which rendered all the Expectations that might justly have been formed from thence vain and abortive.

It had been the Policy of his Father to lessen the Power and to abate the Credit of the *Grandeess*, whom he hated, and who, no doubt, had as little Respect for him; but *Philip III.* pursued a contrary Conduct, he had an Affection for the *Spanish* Nation, and a sincere Respect for their Nobility, whom therefore he brought into his Councils, and employed in his Affairs; but it fell out, that their Notions were directly opposite to those of the Minister; they thought his Love of Peace a Weakness, and his forming no Plan for extending the Dominions of *Spain* derogatory from the Glory of the Crown; and by adopting the Sentiments of the Prince who had humbled them, and crossing the System of that Government under which they had recovered Credit, they made Way for new Mischiefs, and forced the King upon Measures disagreeable to himself, and destructive to his Subjects.

One of these was the most distinguish'd Transaction of his Reign, and at the same Time the most fatal; and that from which *Spain* derives part of that Misery under which she labours at present. This was the intire driving out the *Moriscos*, or the Descendents of the *Moors*, that inhabited the Kingdom of *Granada* and the Countries adjacent, to the Number of nine hundred thousand Persons, of all Ranks, Sexes, and Ages. The Pretence was, that they were disaffected and irreconcilable to a Christian Government, as being still *Mohammedans* in their Hearts.

In this, no doubt, there was a great deal of Truth ; but when the same Expedient was propos'd more than once to *Philip II.* his Answer always was, *You must find me some other Method, for this is impracticable.* Yet under this Reign it was not only resolv'd upon but put in Execution ; by which a vast Tract of Country, and that too the most populous in *Spain*, was left without Inhabitants, and from being beyond Comparison the most fruitful (because the best cultivated) Part of that great Kingdom, became and has continued ever since almost a Desert. For whatever these People were with respect to Religion, in point of Morals and Industry they were far from being the worst of his Catholick Majesty's Subjects ; and this driving them over to *Barbary*, where they became his most implacable Enemies, was one of the most dangerous Mistakes in Politicks that History has recorded.

By Degrees the Nobility got the better of the Duke of *Lerma* in the King's Opinion ; but that prudent Minister foreseeing his Fall, took care to secure his Head, which he knew was aimed at by his Enemies, by covering it with a Cardinal's Cap. After this Disgrace some Troubles broke out in *Italy*, which proved very detrimental to the *Spanish* Interest ; and it is highly probable that the new Ministry would have engaged the King in a new War, notwithstanding his pacifick Disposition, if he had not been removed by Death, which happen'd on the last Day of *March 1621.*

Philip IV. succeeded his Father in the Flower of his Age, and the first Action of his Reign seem'd to speak a much higher Genius for Government. He had interpos'd, while Prince of *Asturias*, in Favour of a Gentleman condemned for Murder, and had obtained his Father's Promise for a Pardon, with which the Relations of the Criminal were satisfied, and did not make haste to take it out in Form. After the King's Death, the Prosecution was renewed, and the new King directed Execution. Those who had solicited for the young Man were amazed, and represented to his Majesty the Inconstancy, as they conceived, of his Behaviour. His Answer was very remarkable, *While a private Man,* said he, *there was Room in my Breast for Compassion, but now I am a King, it is intirely taken up with Justice.* All Antiquity does not furnish us with a Saying more sensible or worthy of a Monarch ; but alas ! *cætera ad hanc formam non erant.*

He drove his Father's Favourites from Court, and among them the Duke d'*Uzeda*, the unnatural Son of the Duke of *Lerma*, and one of the warmest Persecutors of his Father. This was certainly right, but soon after he spoiled the Cardinal-Duke

Duke of all his Fortune which had been left him, even by the Avarice and Severity of the former Ministers; and this was surely wrong. If it had proceeded from a Dislike of Favourites, and a settled Resolution of administering the Government himself, it had been in some measure excusable; but it very soon appeared that this was very far from being the Case.

He raised *Olivarez* to the Rank of Prime Minister, who is so well known in History by the peculiar Title of the *Conde-Duke*, and delivered himself up to him intirely. It cannot however be denied that he was a Person of great Genius, which appear'd by the vast Designs he formed almost as soon as he came into the Ministry, or at least as soon as he was placed at the Head of it; but he had not Time to execute them, for as it fell out his Parts were better employed.

We have shewn in speaking of the Affairs of the Empire, what were the Views of the other Branch of the House of *Austria* at this Time, and in our Account of the last Reign, we have taken Notice, that a very ambitious Ministry succeeded the gentle and quiet Administration of the Duke of *Lerma*, to which he must now add, that among the first Steps taken by the new Minister, the supporting the Emperor was one; the breaking the Truce with the *Dutch* another; and the most scandalous Breach of the Treaty of Marriage with our King *Charles* the First, then Prince of *Wales*, who made a romantick Voyage to *Spain* to fetch the *Infanta*, a third.

It must however be confess'd, that these Acts of Power were agreeable to the King and to his Council; so that they cannot, strictly speaking, be intirely laid to the Door of the Minister, tho' they afterwards were. These Measures having disoblighd most of the great Powers in *Europe*, occasioned in .625, the League of *Avignon*, in which tho' there is little Mention of it in our Histories, we had our Share as well as in sustaining the Affronts that occasioned it.

This League was the Effects of the ambitious Efforts of the House of *Austria*, to obtain an universal Monarchy; and the Design of it was, to humble that House to such a Degree, as to drive such a pernicious Notion out of her Councils, or at least to put the Accomplishment thereof intirely out of her Power, by attacking her, and that, too, vigorously on all Sides at once. This was perfectly agreeable to the modern Doctrine of the Ballance of Power, which is in Truth the only political Doctrine that can preserve publick Liberty, and hinder one State from swallowing up another, till she becomes too powerful to be withstood. Hence arises the great Importance of

of encouraging and commending whatever is written about it, since the very Rumour and Discourse of a Ballance produces such Conceptions even in common Minds, as have more than once contributed to preserve it.

It was in Consequence of this Plan that the *Dutch* attack'd *Brasil*; the King of *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*, the Republick of *Genoa*; the *English*, *Cadiz*; the King of *Denmark* and the Protestants of *Germany*, the Emperor's hereditary Countries; the *Venetians* too, tho' they did not declare openly, yet underhand assisted the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Grifons* in weakening the Power of *Spain* in *Italy*; *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Transilvania*, with the Assistance of the *Turks*, fell upon *Hungary*, and the *Dutch* privately supplied the *Moors* with Artillery and Engineers for attacking the Fortresses of *Mamora* and *Larache*.

It is certain, that this Design was very well laid, and what is not common where Alliances are made up of so many Parties, almost every Part of it was carried into Execution; so that never any two Powers sustained a greater Shock than the Emperor and *Spain* from this Confederacy. The Courage and Conduct of *Olivarez*, however, contributed chiefly to divert this Storm, and break its Force. He sent a Fleet in Time to *Brasil*, that recovered from the *Dutch* the Bay of *All-Saints*, and the Town of *St. Salvadore*; he assisted and deliver'd the *Genoese* from the Danger that threaten'd them; his Emissaries excited such Jealousies of the *French* in the Minds of the *Grifons*, as determined them to make Peace with *Spain*, and to consent that the Popish Religion should be established in the *Valtelline*, on Condition that it was restored to them; the *English* miscarried in their Attempt upon *Cadiz*, the *Dutch* lost the important Town of *Breda*, the King of *Denmark* was beaten at the Battle of *Lutter*, and the *Moors* fail'd in the Siege of both the Fortresses of *Larache* and *Mamora*.

This ought to have raised the Reputation of the Minister to the greatest Height; but the Envy conceived against him was so strong, and his Suspicions and Jealousies influenced him to that excessive Degree, that he was so very tenacious of Power, tho' not of Money, as by keeping it too much, and at the same time too apparently in his Hands, he lessened his own Credit, and injured the Affairs of his Master.

But after all his good Fortune he really mistook the Case of that Government under his Care, and having succeeded against so powerful a Confederacy, he persuaded himself, that he might prevail in all the Schemes he had devised, without

out considering how much the Strength of the Kingdom was weaken'd by formerly attacking and lately resisting so many Powers; Experience demonstrated his Mistake, for the Kingdom that recover'd by his Circumspection, was ruined by his Ambition, just as a Patient that gets over a Fever is sometimes lost by the Consumption that attends it, for want of Rest and Nourishment.

If in this Time of Prosperity the Minister had given Peace to *Spain*, he had saved his Country, and secured a lasting Fame; but by neglecting this, and endeavouring to perform great Feats with an infirm and wasted Body, he made *Europe* sensible of the Weakness of the *Spanish* Monarchy, of which all Parties took their Advantage. The *Dutch* became utterly intractable, the *French* made Conquests on both Sides of their Frontiers, the *Catalonians* revolted, the *Portuguese* declared the Duke of *Braganza*, King. Great Troubles followed in *Italy*; for a Fisherman's Boy at *Naples* subverted that Government in three Days, and might have made himself absolute Master of the Kingdom, if the Populace had been as easily governed as they were inflamed.

So many Misfortunes upon the Back of each other, compelled the *Spanish* Pride to suit itself to the Circumstances of the Times; in Consequence of which, a Peace was made with the *Dutch* upon their own Terms; and they were acknowledged to be a free State, after *Spain* had spent in ready Money, three hundred Millions *Sterling*, in labouring to reduce them, if their Accounts may be depended upon. The *French* made great Acquisitions in the *Low-Countries*, the War in *Catalonia* ruined that Province, the Subjects of *Spain* in *Italy* grew miserable, and the People of *Portugal* maintained their Independency.

The *Conde-Duke* all this Time kept his Master in such profound Ignorance, that he knew not the Distresses of his Government, when all *Europe* rung of them. But at last this fell heavy upon the Minister, for the Queen, at the Persuasion of the Emperor, having once broke the Ice, Complaints against *Olivarez* came from all Ranks of People, and all Quarters of the *Spanish* Dominions; so that he was torn from the King, who directed him to retire a small Distance from the Court; he obey'd; and if he could have been idle, he might have recovered his Power, for the King was inclined to recall him.

But he spent his leisure Hours in writing an Apology for his Administration, in which he shewed more Wit in defending, than he had ever done Prudence in his Conduct; and

and this revived the Rage, and exasperated the Malice of his Enemies to such a Degree, that the King was forced to banish him to a greater Distance from Court, where his Anguish and Discontent soon killed him. In the Person of the Conde-Duke *de Olivarez* ended the Spirit of the Administration, for none that succeeded him were in any Degree equal to their Employment, or the Circumstances of the State.

The King had been so long used to devolve the Cares of Government upon another Person, that he very soon made Choice of a new Minister, *Don Lewis de Haro*, a Man of a very moderate Capacity, whose Views reached no farther than maintaining the Government in its usual Order; and whose only Ambition was, to keep his Place. The great Enemy of *Spain* was now dead, for Cardinal *Richelieu* had a particular Aversion to that Country and People; but his Successor *Mazarin* was of a milder Disposition, and besides, the Queen Dowager of *France* was inclined to put an End to the Disputes between the two Kingdoms, which was precisely what the *Spanish* Minister most earnestly desired.

The Truth is, the Kingdom of *Spain* could carry on the War no longer, her Armies were wore out, her Treasures were exhausted, many of her Frontier Places lost, and most of them run to Decay; the *American* Commerce fallen much below what it was, and the dependent and tributary States in *Italy* falling off every Day. Upon this, Negotiations were set on Foot between the two Crowns, but it was a long Time before they were perfected, and then the two Kings were to have an Interview, as the Ministers also had, upon the Frontiers of their respective Dominions.

There was one Thing proposed at the Beginning of the Treaty, which made his Catholick Majesty very uneasy; and this was the Marriage of his Daughter the Infanta *Maria Theresa* with the *French* King. He foresaw that this Marriage would some time or other transfer the Monarchy of *Spain* from the House of *Austria* to that of *Bourbon*; the Thought of which he could not bear. But as at this Time he had several other Children, his Ministers persuaded him that this was an ill-grounded Apprehension, and that nothing but this Marriage could render the Treaty in which they were embarked, solid and secure.

Besides, the King was extremely set upon reducing *Portugal*, and his Minister made him believe, that a Peace with *France* would put that absolutely in his Power, and that it was in vain to hope the Accomplishment of it any other Way; so that at last he was overcome, and consented to the Interview, and also the Marriage, both which soon after took

took place; to which the War made against *Spain* by *Cromwell*, the Loss of the Island of *Jamaica*, and the Assistance he gave the *French* in the *Low-Countries*, greatly contributed.

This famous Treaty of the *Pyrennees* was concluded *November 7th*, 1659, by which the *French* were left in Possession of a great Part of their Conquests in *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hainault* and *Luxembourg*; but most of the Sea Coasts were restored to his Catholic Majesty, the very important Port of *Dunkirk* only excepted, because it was then in the Hands of the *English*: The *French* likewise restored some Places they had taken in the *Milanese*, several Fortresses in the *Franche-Comte*, or County of *Burgundy*, and all that they then possessed in *Catalonia*. This was the most fair and equal Peace that was made in all the last Century, and those Politicians that annex true and just Notions to the famous Term of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, mean with respect to these two Crowns, the Treaty of the *Pyrennees*; as with reference to *Germany*, they mean the Treaties of *Westphalia*; and in regard to the *North*, the Treaty of *Oliva*.

All Encroachments therefore upon this Treaty, by the Power of *France*, have been with Justice considered as destructive of that Balance, which can never be restored any other way than by rendering the Crown of *Spain* independent of that of *France*, and bringing Things back to the State they were in. But notwithstanding this Treaty, *France* continued to assist underhand the *Portuguese*; so that notwithstanding the whole Force of the *Spanish* Monarchy was, during the Remainder of this Reign, employ'd against that Kingdom, yet it was to no Purpose, and served only to shew how much it was weaken'd and impair'd, and how little Proportion there was between its Strength then, and in the Reign of *Philip II.* when alone and without Allies, it was formidable to all *Europe*.

There is no Necessity that we should insist longer on what passed in the Time of King *Philip IV.* a Prince so weak in his tender Years, that is was generally believed he would not live to become a Man, and who notwithstanding reached to the Age of Sixty-one and upwards, and enjoy'd for the last forty Years a strong and vigorous Constitution. The Disposition of his Mind was the very reverse of that of his Body; for whereas in his Youth he discovered great Quickness of Parts, and unusual Penetration; in his riper Years, he addicted himself wholly to Pleasure, and in the Decline of his Life, fell into a State of Indolence, which differed very little from Insensibility, leaving all things to his Ministers; tho' now and then he shew'd that his Parts were not entirely extinguished, but that he had clearer and

and better Apprehensions of Affairs, than any of those by whom he was governed.

He died on the 17th of *September* 1665, after a Reign of forty-four Years and upwards ; during all which the Power of *Spain* had been gradually declining. He left behind him an only Son, under the Tuition of the Queen his Mother, and a Bastard by an Actress whose Name was *Calderona*, who afterwards made a great Figure in the World, under the Title of Don *John of Austria*, was the very last of that Family remarkable either for Courage or Abilities, and of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak more largely.

The Queen was very far from being beloved by her Subjects, because she retained so strong a Passion for her Country, that she scarce admitted any into her good Graces that were not *Germans* : Her Father-Confessor, a Jesuit, whose Name was *Nitard*, governed her absolutely ; and the first Thing she did was to raise him to the high Office of Inquisitor-General ; than which it was impossible for her to have done any thing more distasteful to the *Spanish* Nation.

Besides his being a Foreigner, and a *German*, there was another Circumstance, which made his Promotion both illegal and odious. It is an established Rule in Regard to the Holy Office, that down to the meanest Officer belonging to it, every one must have his Family free from Heresy, or even the Suspicion of Heresy ; whereas it was very well known, that Father *Nitard's* Parents were both Protestants.

One would think this was a very small Matter ; but in *Spain*, one may be sure it could not be considered in this Light, from the following Instance : A poor Priest of the Province of *Galicia*, who was never out of his Country in his Life, presented a Petition, desiring some Favour from *Philip II.* The Man's Name was *Martin Lutoro*, but unluckily for him, the Person who drew his Petition wrote it *Lutero* ; the King no sooner saw it, than he rejected it with Indignation. A Man, said he, of such a Name, deserves no Favour.

The great Hurry the Queen was in to promote this *German* Priest, brought a Cloud over her Administration in its very Dawn, which was never dissipated so long as she held the Reins of Government : For it is the Character of the *Spanish* Nation, that though they are soon offended, they are not soon reconciled ; and besides they are naturally averse to the Government of Women.

Charles II. the last King of *Spain* of the House of *Austria*, was not full four Years of Age at the Time of the Decease of the King his Father, who though he left his Widow *Mary Anne*

Anne of Austria Regent, appointed at the same time a Council, or as they call them in *Spain*, a *Junta*, without whose Advice she was to do nothing of Importance. This Council of State consisted of six Persons, four of whom had Seats therein, in Right of their Dignities. But the Cardinal of *Arragon*, being at that Time Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor-General, the Queen prevailed upon him to resign the last of these two Places in favour of her Confessor Father *Nitard*, who thereby obtained a Place in the Council of Regency, and consequently had a large Share in the Government, which by Degrees he totally ingrossed.

The Queen, by her Influence over the King her Husband, had prevailed upon him on his Death-bed to take no more Notice of his natural Son Don *Juan*, than if he had not been in the World; which, considering the Custom of *Spain*, where the Bastards of Kings have higher Rank, and greater Honours paid them, than in any other Country in *Europe*, was a strange thing, and at the same time the most impolitick Step she could have taken; since after disobliging the People, by preferring Father *Nitard*, she should never have given them a Head, more especially such a one as Don *Juan*, who was already as much considered in the Kingdom, as if he had been the lawful Brother of the King.

It must be own'd that the *Spanish* History, and to say the Truth, scarce any History presents us with a more inactive or inglorious Reign, than this of which we are speaking. But for all that, the Events that happened under it were such as require it should be perfectly well known, as they had a strong Influence upon the Affairs of *Europe*; and as for want of being acquainted with them, most of our Writers have given us false, or at least very imperfect Notions of the *Spanish* Government and Nation, at the Time of this Prince's Death, and the passing of the Crown into the House of *Bourbon*, which we have been made to believe was in Consequence of a forged Will, and against the general Inclinations of the People; whereas, in Fact, neither of these were true, as will clearly be shewn to the attentive Reader of the following History, which we will begin with giving impartially the Characters of the principal Persons concerned therein, and pursue the same Method through the whole of this important Period.

The young King had a great deal of Wit and Spirit for a Child of his Age; and though the Education given him was very indifferent, yet his Parts alone enabled him to discover a better Genius for Government, and a greater Capacity than either his Father or Grandfather. How he came to lose these
Parts,

Parts, and to grow equally feeble in Mind and Body, will be accounted for hereafter. His Mother, the Queen Regent, Daughter to one Emperor and Sister to another, was intirely devoted to the *German* Interest, ambitious to the highest Degree, fond of Power, which she was far from knowing how to use, and as little capable of making a right Choice of those to whom she found herself obliged to confide it.

Don *Juan* was in the thirty-sixth Year of his Age, of a middle Stature, an agreeable Person, had enough of the *Spanish* Gravity to please that Nation, but not so much as to disgust Strangers: He had an excellent Education, great Parts, was wise, brave, learned, and withal a very fine Gentleman. He had reduced the Kingdom of *Naples* when in Rebellion; had governed all the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, with the Title of Vicar-General; had afterwards commanded against the *Portuguese*; and at the Time of his Father's Death, was at the Head of the Privy Council, from whence the Queen removed him, with an Intent to have sent him into *Flanders*; for which Country when she concluded he was embarked, she thought fit to cause his Favourite Don *Joseph Malladas* to be apprehended and strangled two Hours afterwards, by a Warrant under her own Hand.

Father *Nitard* was a Man of a very moderate Capacity, who knew how to govern the Queen, and to make his Court to some of the Grantees, by flattering them. One may guess at his Character by the Apology that he published for his Conduct, in which he thought he sufficiently acquitted himself of the Death of *Malladas*, by alledging, that at the Time it happened he was saying his Prayers. Don *Juan* was at *Barcelona* when this was done, and was no sooner made acquainted with it, than he returned from thence nearer to *Madrid*.

The Queen, who was extremely provoked, caused his Secretary to be seized, and banished the Prince himself; but these Measures had a very bad Effect. The common People in *Spain* are born Politicians, and it is not easy to conceive with what Freedom, and with how much good Sense they talk of publick Affairs, which however are no where worse managed than in that Country. In all the great Cities, the common Discourse of those Times was, that they were an undone People, their King a Child, the Reins of Government in the Hands of a Woman, and by her committed to those of a Stranger. One may well perceive, that these Discourses were not very wide of Truth, and that Things could not go extremely well abroad, while they were in such a Disorder at

Home; and the Fact is, that they went in such a manner as that it was hardly possible they should go worse.

A young Prince of the Abilities and Quality of Don *Juan*, knew very well how to manage the Temper and Discontents of the Multitude, so as to find his Interest therein; and therefore he took care to feed the Malecontents with Hopes, to give them private Informations, and to hint to them from time to time, Promises of Protection; till at last their Clamours rose so high, that he took occasion from thence to represent boldly to the Queen; the whole Kingdom was in a Ferment, Affairs both at Home and Abroad in a declining Condition, and that no Remedy could possibly be effectual, but the putting Things into a new Channel, which must be begun by sending her foreign Minister, Father *Nitard*, out of the Kingdom.

The Queen, as it might well be expected, took this very much amiss, and gave Don *Juan* such an Answer, as shewed plainly that she meant to insist upon her Authority, and to push this as far as it would go; a strong Proof of which she gave in causing *Patinho*, Don *Juan's* Secretary, to be arrested, which had no better Consequence than making him lose all Temper; so that in the beginning of the Year 1669, he advanced very near *Madrid*, and sent the Queen such Messages, as gave her plainly to understand that he was resolved to carry his Point.

The Queen then laboured by fair means to divert him, but it was in vain. He had not about him above three hundred Horse, and yet with this inconsiderable Force he gave Law to the Government of *Spain*. About the middle of the Month of *February* Things came to a Crisis, by a very short Message he sent to the Queen, to this Effect: That if Father *Nitard* did not think fit to go out of the Gates of the Palace, by the twenty-sixth, he would come in Person and throw him out of the Windows.

It was then that the Queen saw, that notwithstanding her Title of Regent, she had little or no Power; for she attempted to put the City of *Madrid* in a State of Defence, and the People refused to obey her; so that much against her Will she was forced to send away her Confessor, as she did on the twenty-fifth; and he went directly to *Rome*, where she gave him soon after the Title of Ambassador from the Crown of *Spain*, and procured him a Hat from the Pope. Upon his Promotion, he wrote a very civil and even submissive Letter to Don *Juan*, in hopes of paving thereby this Way for returning into *Spain*; but that Prince never answered his Letter, and the Cardinal
very

very wisely drop'd a Design, that appeared to be impracticable.

The Queen, after taking this Step, in hopes to remove Don *Juan* out of her Way, and that she might find Means of supporting her Authority, thought proper to declare him Viceroy of *Arragon*; and this for some Time seem'd very well to answer her Intentions, that Prince retiring thither, and applying himself with Diligence to discharge the Duties of his high Office. In the mean time the Queen found out a new Favourite, a *Spanish* Gentleman, whose Name was Don *Ferdinand de Valenzuela*, a Person that stood no way distinguished by Birth, Service, or any great Qualities.

He came to Court in no higher Rank than that of a Nobleman's Page; he made his Addresses to the Queen's Favourite, married her, and thereby came to have a large Share in her Mistress's Favour, rose by very quick Steps to the first Employments, and became as absolute, and as much hated a Favourite as Father *Nitard*. Several of the Nobility who were sincerely in the Queen's Interest, represented to her the bad Consequences that must naturally follow; from her too great Regard for such a Person; but it was in vain, the Queen remain'd fix'd in her own Sentiments, and these Remonstrances had no other Effect, than in making her endeavour to raise this Gentleman's Fortune so high, that it should not be easy to shake it.

In these Sort of Disputes, while the Affairs of the Kingdom were daily growing worse and worse, about six Years were wasted; so that on the 19th of *November* 1675, the King was declared Major, according to the Laws of *Spain*, having then acquired the Age of Fourteen. The Queen however took this Step merely for the Sake of Form, for she had not the least Intention to quit the Administration. On the contrary, she caused an Act to be drawn in the King's Name, declaring, that the Burthen of publick Affairs being too heavy for him to bear in his tender Age, he was desirous, as well out of Regard to the Welfare of his Subjects, as for his own Ease, to leave the Care of the Government in the Hands of the Queen-Mother and of the *Junta*.

She did not in the least doubt of the King's Consent; but when this Act was presented to him some Days afterwards for him to sign, he absolutely refused, with this remarkable Expression; "I hope that God, from whose Providence I receive my Dominions, will be graciously pleased to give me the Capacity of governing the People he was committed to my Charge." This was certainly well spoken, and it is

thought the Actions of this young Prince would have been suitable to this Declaration ; but we are told, that his Chocolate was *so prepared*, that in a short time he apparently declined both in Health and Parts, and consequently the Queen remain'd in full Possession of her Authority.

It is not to be imagined, that in so great a Kingdom there should not be some of the Nobility who preserved a just Regard for their Prince and for his People : Such as were in these Sentiments thought they could not take a more effectual Step, than to represent the State that Affairs were in to Don *Juan*, who had already received some Intimations of that Kind, and had written freely, but at the same time very respectfully to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty to take a just Care of the King's Education, to lessen the Taxes, and to provide for the Security of the Kingdom, which suffered exceedingly by the War, in which she was then engaged against *France*.

But all these Measures had very little Effect ; the Queen valued her own Power beyond all things ; and yet the raising and supporting *Valenzuela*, whom she made a Grandee of *Spain* of the first Class, was almost the sole Point that seemed to merit her Attention, and the only Effect of that Authority, which she so easily obtained, and was at so much Pains to keep. The Patriots therefore had recourse to another Measure ; they applied themselves to the King, and having represented to him in general the Situation of his Affairs, they insisted more particularly on the Circumstances of his Person, which were such, that he was, properly speaking, very little better than a Prisoner, since the Marquis de *Valenzuela* suffered none to come near him, but those he knew, or at least took to be in his Interests.

These Discourses made such an Impression upon the King, that he readily demanded what Remedy could be applied ? To which it was immediately answered, that the only way he had to deliver himself, was to withdraw secretly to *Buen Retiro*, send for Don *Juan* thither, and reform the Government by his Advice. They owned the thing was difficult, and they without Scruple or Reserve set forth the Difficulties attending it, that they might the better judge of the Spirit of their Prince. The King told them, that in spite of those Difficulties he would be free ; and that on such a Day they might give Don *Juan* Notice that he expected to see him at that Palace.

They obeyed him, though at the same time they very much doubted whether the King would be able to keep his Word. The Evening before, he retired to his Apartment somewhat earlier than usual, and about the Beginning of the Night, attended only by one Gentleman, he wrapped himself up in his

his Cloak, and walked on Foot to *Buen Retiro*. This signal Event happened in the Year 1677, when the King was about sixteen Years old.

It was not long after his Majesty came to the appointed Place, that Don *Juan*, who waited not far off, was admitted to his Presence, and was received with all the Joy and Satisfaction imaginable. A total Revolution ensued; the Queen-Mother was sent to *Toledo*, and there closely confined in a Convent; strict Search was made for the Marquis de *Valenzuela*, who withdrew for some time in hopes of escaping the Storm. He took Shelter in the Monastery of the *Escorial*, but falling sick, was discovered, first sent to Prison, next degraded from all his Dignities, and lastly transported as an Exile to the *Philippines*, from whence he was to go to *Peru*, and to be there treated as a Slave. He behaved better in his Misfortunes than he had done in his Prosperity, lived to recover his Liberty, and afterwards returned to *Spain*.

It is impossible to express how much Joy the Kingdom received from this Change of Affairs; and indeed it might have been highly advantageous to the Nation, if it had not wrought a Change in Don *Juan*, who having now the Royal Authority in his own Hands, thought of nothing so much as how to keep it, and to secure himself from any new Change. The Peace of *Nimeguen*, which was made so much to the Advantage of *France* and at the Expence of *Spain*, raised a great Clamour, tho' it was a necessary Step, the Kingdom being so exhausted, that the Loss must have been still greater if the War had continued. Yet the *Grandees* were much discontented, the People murmured, and Don *Juan* found himself, nor is it at all strange, more uneasy at the Head of the Administration, than while he was exiled from Court.

The King's Marriage was the next great Affair brought upon the Carpet, and the Princess intended for him by the Queen-Mother, was the Emperor's Daughter; but this being much against the Interest of Don *Juan*, he caused the Picture of a French Princess, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, to be put into the King's Hands, with whom on the Sight of that Picture, he fell passionately in love. It is said that Don *Juan* afterwards repented of this, even before the Marriage took place, and inclined rather to have married the King to the Infanta of *Portugal*. But his Majesty adhered to his own Choice; and tho' Don *Juan* proposed in Council, that as this Princess was not the Daughter of a crown'd Head, it should be insisted upon, that some of the Places yielded by the last Treaty should be

restored to *Spain*; yet the King, and the Grandees out of Respect to him, rejected this Proposal, for fear it should become an insurmountable Obstacle to the Marriage.

This Point being carried against Don *Juan*, an Opposition was quickly formed; and tho', so far as we can judge at this Distance of Time, his Power was his greatest Crime, yet abundance of Things were imputed to him, particularly one of a very high Nature, which was, that he intended to get himself declared Infant of *Castile*, which would have given him a Capacity of succeeding to the Kingdom; but when it is considered that he projected the King's Marriage, that he was himself single, and his Health declining, one can scarce see any Probability in a Charge of this Nature.

Those who were most forward in this Cabal against Don *Juan*, formed another Project for recalling the Queen-Mother; and notwithstanding all that had passed, found means by the Help of his Confessor to bring the poor easy King to relish this Proposal. The Marquis de *Villars*, who was now come a second time Ambassador from the King of *France*, was also drawn into this Party; and great Uneasiness he gave Don *Juan*, notwithstanding he was sensible the Queen's Marriage was originally of his proposing.

The Chagrin which great Minds naturally conceive upon unexpected ill Treatment, wrought so powerfully upon that Prince's Constitution, that it turned an Ague he caught in the Beginning of Winter into a mortal Disease; so that he did not live to see the Queen; whose Marriage had created him so many Mortifications. When it appeared that his Life was in so great Danger, the King made him frequent Visits, and lamented very sincerely a Loss that was irreparable, and which he now clearly understood.

In these Conferences Don *Juan* talked to him very freely; he shewed him the miserable State of his Affairs, explained to him the Means by which the Kingdom became so exhausted; shewed him what he had done for his Service, and how impossible it was for him to do more. He demonstrated to him at his Death, which happened on the 17th of *September* 1679, that all his Enemies had published concerning his Designs were Calumnies and Fiction. For his Estate, which was not very large, he left it intirely to the King; and his Jewels, which were much more valuable in Proportion, he divided between the Queen Dowager and the Queen Consort.

With him expired the Genius of the *Spanish* Monarchy; or at least, of this Branch of the House of *Austria*. There was now no Prime Minister, indeed scarce any Minister at all; the Secretary of State for foreign Affairs was a Person put in by Don *Juan*
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pro Tempore, but he continued and acted as a Minister; because the Parties at Court behaved with such Violence against each other, that the King could not find himself at Liberty to appoint a Man of proper Rank to fill that Office.

The same kind of Disorder spread itself thro' the whole Administration; and as a Proof of the Weakness of their Councils, a Marriage (upon which the Fate of their own Kingdom, and indeed the Fate of *Europe* in some measure depended) was celebrated in a Village of about twenty Cottages, and in which there was not so much as one tolerable House. The only Sense their Grandees shewed upon this Occasion was, their endeavouring to hinder the *French* Ambassadors from being present, 'and even in this they did not succeed.

They were extremely pleased with their new Queen upon her first Appearance, who by the way was Grand-daughter to our King *Charles I.* and Niece to *K. Charles II.* then reigning. By Degrees however they grew out of Humour with that Princess chiefly because she had no Children; but this did not hinder their being more out of Humour with the Queen-Mother, for Reasons that have been before hinted, and which it does not become me more largely to explain.

The greatest Advantage that accrued to *France* from this Marriage, was the keeping at *Madrid* so able a Minister as the Marquis *de Villars*, who looked thoroughly into all the *Spanish* Affairs, and gave his Master so clear an Account of them, that he knew much better what *Spain* could do, than his Catholick Majesty and his Council, as appeared by the Measures he took. The Queen dying without Children, and a fresh War breaking out with *France*, the strange Weakness of the *Spanish* Monarchy became visible to all *Europe*; the *English* and *Dutch* Forces were employed in defending the *Spanish* Provinces in the *Low-Countries*; and the *English* Fleet for several Years together covered the Coasts of *Spain*, at which Time all her Ports were open to us, and *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* were as much our own as they are now, abating only our Garrisons and our Expence.

The *Gazettes* of those Times, indeed, sometimes mention a *Spanish Armada*; but alas, it was no longer so much as the Shadow of what it once appeared. Five or six old Ships, ill manned, and miserably provided, were all that the *Spanish* Court could put to Sea; their Armies were in the same Condition, their Treasury in a worse; and therefore we may be satisfied, that the Terms procured for them by the Peace of *Ryswick*, were neither owing to their own Power, or the Moderation of *France*, but to the Wisdom and Steadiness of King *William*,

who remembering the Services that *Spain* had done him, considering the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, insisted upon what he obtained; and *Lewis XIV.* knowing the Value of a Peace at that Time, consented the more willingly to what was proposed, and executed what he consented to with unusual Punctuality; because the Reputation of good Faith was of greater Consequence to him at that Juncture, than the Breach of it would have been.

It was for the very same Reason that he treated the Crown of *Spain* with more than ordinary Respect, and made no Difficulty of passing by some Inadvertencies committed on his Frontiers, which he would have resented at any other Time. The *Spaniards* did not see this, but attributed the Care of their Allies and the Complaisance of their Enemies to the Grandeur of their Crown, at a Time when it was so far sunk, that the King could not find Money for his ordinary Journies into the Country, and when they were insulted even by the smaller States of *Europe*, of which we have given a surprizing Instance in the Article of *Prussia*. But this is not at all wonderful, since in Kingdoms as well as in great Families, Pride rises highest when their Circumstances whom it possesses are at the worst.

The King, in 1690, had married a Princess of the House of *Neubourg*, by whom he had no Children, and his Health declining daily, all *Europe* shewed more Concern for the Succession than was discovered even in *Spain* itself. This had been the great Motive to the late Peace, which was quickly followed by the first Treaty of Partition, in respect to which the Sincerity of all Parties has been very justly called in question. It is believed, and not without Foundation, that notwithstanding the Promise made by *France*, of keeping that Treaty a profound Secret, she gave private Notice of it to the *Spanish* Ministry, who were excessively alarmed.

This produced an Enquiry into the Title of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, which the *Spanish* Lawyers held to be good, notwithstanding a Renunciation was made on purpose to barr it; and this was the first Blow given to the Hopes of the Imperial Family; and a very home Blow it was, for it decided two important Points: First, that Nearness of Blood ought to be considered; and next, that no Renunciation could prejudice the Right that this gave.

The second Treaty of Partition, occasioned by the Death of that young Prince, was in like manner, and for the very same Reasons, communicated to the Court of *Spain*, where it had the desired Effect; for his Catholick Majesty, and his Ministers, immediately took a Resolution to defeat this Scheme of a Division,

vision, and to preserve the *Spanish* Monarchy entire for the next Heir, tho' as yet they had not determined who that Heir should be.

It is certain that the King was inclined to the Imperial Branch of the House of *Austria*; and it was the Knowledge the Court of *Vienna* had of his Inclinations, that induced her to reject both the Treaties of Partition. But *France* had a powerful Party in the *Spanish* Court, who insinuated to the King, that these Treaties plainly proving the general Opinion of disinterested Courts, that the *French* Family had a Right, or at least a Colour of Right, they very easily prevailed that the Validity of the Renunciations by which this Right was supposed to be destroyed, should be examined and decided at *Rome*.

The Piety of the King drew him into this; and there was nothing at all in it repugnant to Policy or Justice, the Religion of all the Parties being considered. The Pope appointed a particular Congregation to examine this Affair, and notwithstanding the Exigency thereof, that Congregation went through it with all the Circumspection that its Importance seemed to demand. At last they came to a Point, and determined clearly that the Renunciations were void, at least with respect to the Posterity of the Princesses who made them; and for this Decision they gave many, and those very plausible Reasons.

The Determination of the Court of *Rome* did not arrive at *Madrid* before the Month of *August* 1700, when the King was thought by those about him to be very near his End. The Cardinal *Porto-Carrero*, who was at the Head of the Ministry, pressed his Majesty to lose no farther Time, but to fix this Point, on which the future Tranquillity of his People so much depended.

The Cardinal, and the whole Council, were inclined to prefer the House of *Bourbon* to the Imperial Branch of that of *Austria*, for various Reasons. First, because from the late Decision, the Right seemed incontestably in that House; next, because it seemed the surest Means of disappointing the Treaty of Partition; and lastly, because they had felt so many Inconveniencies already from the Dependence of *Spain* upon the Empire, that they could not by any means think of taking such a Step, as should at once increase this Dependence, and in all human Probability fix it upon them for ever, if it succeeded; and if it did not, leave *France* at liberty to dismember their Monarchy, while they had not so much as a Pretence to demand the Assistance of their Allies, who had in the most solemn
Manner

Maner acknowledged the Justice of the *French* Pretensions by the two Treaties of Partition.

But though the *Spanish* Ministry agreed in this Point, yet they were extremely divided in another. Some were for calling the Duke of *Anjou*, the Dauphin's second Son, to the Succession; while others were better disposed to the Duke of *Chartres*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards Regent of *France* by that Title. The Reason upon which the former Party went was this, that the Right to the Crown of *Spain* being in the Dauphin, he might certainly, if he pleased, transfer it to his second Son; and the great Argument urged by the latter, was, that the Duke of *Chartres* might very probably be agreeable to the Maritime Powers, and prevent any Disputes about the Succession. Yet the Consideration of the Power of the *French* King, and the Improbability that he would employ this Power in favour of his Nephew against his Grand-Children, got the better of the last Reason; and the Members of his Catholick Majesty's Council of State agreed to call the Duke of *Anjou* to the Succession.

It was with great Difficulty that the King was brought to relish this Proposition; but after reflecting on it seriously, he directed his last Will and Testament to be drawn, in the Preamble of which he recited the Invalidity of the Renunciations, and the incontestable Right of the Dauphin, whose second Son he declared his Heir, requiring all the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in all Parts of his Dominions to acknowledge him as such, immediately upon his Demise. In case of his Decease without Heirs, his younger Brother the Duke of *Berry* was to be called to the Succession, which failing, the Crown was limited to the Archduke *Charles*, and after him to the Duke of *Savoy* and his Children.

This Will was signed with all the requisite Formalities upon the 2d of *October*, and this Fact was generally known, but the Contents of the Will were kept an absolute Secret. The Imperial Minister Count *De Harrach* had no doubt that the Successor appointed was the Archduke, and was therefore very well pleased the Thing was done. The *French* Minister Count *De Harcourt*, who had a much better Interest with the *Spanish* Grandees, received such Intimations as kept him easy; and the Ministry, for their own Security, gave private Intelligence of this great Event to the *French* King.

After the Signing his Will his Catholick Majesty grew better, and continued so for about a Fortnight, then relapsed, and expired on the 26th of *October* 1700, in the 39th Year of his Age, and the 35th of his Reign, which he had spent very unprof-

unprosperously for himself as well as for his Subjects, and died very uneasy, as having a just Foresight of the Mischiefs that his Death must inevitably bring upon his People. He was no sooner deceased, than the Grandees assembled at the Palace in order to open his Testament, and the Imperial Minister went thither also; but was amaz'd to hear at his Arrival, that the Duke of *Anjou* was by the late King's Will declared his Successor, of which he gave his Master Notice as soon as it was in his Power.

The Regency appointed by the same Will took upon them the Government, and dispatched instantly Letters of Felicitation and Invitation to their new Monarch; but tho' they agreed in this, yet their Harmony lasted not long. The Queen Dowager and the Inquisitor-General, who were both of the Regency, began to cabal against their new King; but Cardinal *Porto-Carrero* remained firm to his first Principles, and laboured hard to persuade all the Nobility of the Necessity they were under of attaching themselves unanimously to the Interest of King *Philip*: Of the Consequences and Effects of his Exhortations, we shall speak copiously hereafter.

But before we quit this Subject, and enter upon the History of the next Reign, it may not be amiss to take Notice of something new which may be said upon this Head, tho' often handled by the ablest Pens, and considered over and over again by the greatest Politicians. The Reader will please to observe, that the War, to which an End was put by the Peace of *Nimwegen*, by which *Spain* lost so many fine Towns and fair Countries in the *Netherlands*, was commenced by *France* under a Colour of that Right the King had by his Wife (notwithstanding all Renunciations) to those Places, and to many more which belonged to him by the same Right.

This was said to arise from the *Jus Devolutionis* which prevails in *Brabant*; and which in few Words is this: That where a Man has two Wives, the Heirs of his first Wife, Male and Female, are Heirs to each other before the Children of the second Marriage; and therefore upon the Death of Prince *Balthazar*, his Catholick Majesty's eldest Son, the most Christian King claimed these Countries in Right of the Infanta *Maria Theresa*, Sister of the whole Blood to Prince *Balthazar*, in Virtue of the *Jus Devolutionis*.

There have been whole Volumes written on each Side of this Controversy, with which I shall not meddle at all; but take it for granted, that the Right, as well as Power, was on the Side of *France*. I shall also take it for granted, that the most Christian King and his Son the Dauphin might re-
sign

sign, as they did to the Duke of *Anjou*, all their Rights ; from whence it clearly follows, that *Philip V.* was the Representative of the Infanta *Maria Theresa*, and had a just Title to all her Rights ; from whence I think there can be nothing plainer or more incontestable, than that all the Countries and Places yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, belonged of Right to the late King of *Spain*, and belong now to his present Catholick Majesty, who, if he pleased, might have resign'd them to his Brother Don *Philip*, and thereby provided him a Settlement, which would have contributed not a little to the general Tranquillity of *Europe*.

As soon as his most Christian Majesty was informed of the Death of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and that his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou* was called to his Succession ; he prepared for maintaining him in the Possession of that Kingdom, which he foresaw would be disputed by the House of *Austria* and its Allies. He called indeed for Form-sake a great Council, to consider whether he should accept the Will of the deceased King or not ; but from the previous Dispositions on the Frontiers of *Spain*, and in the *Low-Countries*, it evidently appeared that he had long before resolved what Part to take.

Yet it was not till this Council had decided in Favour of the Will, that he acknowledged his Grandson as the Heir of the *Spanish* Monarchy, gave him the Title of *Philip V.* and consented to his going into *Spain*. It must be allowed his Measures were well taken upon this Occasion ; and that the new King came into the full Possession of the *Spanish* Dominions, in a Manner that must be no less surprising to Posterity, than it was to all *Europe* at the Time it happened. But it must be allowed on the other hand, that this was in a great measure owing to the intractable Disposition of the Court of *Vienna*, where they looked upon the Succession to the *Spanish* Monarchy as a Thing so certain, that they would never consent to any Proposals made by their Allies for opposing in time the Scheme of the House of *Bourbon*.

The Maritime Powers were by this means put under the greatest Difficulties ; the Elector of *Bavaria* admitted the *French* Troops into the *Netherlands*, of which he was Governor ; and the Prince of *Vaudemon* declared for King *Philip* in *Italy*. It was thus determined both *England* and *Holland* to dissemble for the present, and to acknowledge King *Philip* ; and King *William* and the *States General* actually wrote him Letters of Felicitation upon his Accession, notwithstanding they at the
very

very Time were determined to contest his Title to that Crown.

It cannot be supposed that within the narrow Bounds prescribed to his Article, we should pretend to give the History of the War, occasioned by the Accession of *Philip V.* nor indeed is it at all necessary. We shall content ourselves with observing, that when the Grand Alliance was first formed, there was nothing farther proposed than the obtaining a proper Barrier for the *Dutch*, and a reasonable Equivalent for the House of *Austria*.

But after the Archduke *Charles* had assumed the Title of King of *Spain*, and the prodigious Successes of the Allies in the Beginning of the War had raised their Spirit and Hopes, they now projected no less than the entire Conquest of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and after the Battle of *Turin*, by which the *French* and *Spaniards* were obliged to evacuate *Italy*, there is scarce any Doubt to be made that they might have carried their Point, as by the Assistance of the *Portuguese* they were become Masters of a great Part of *Spain*, and even of the Capital; the *Austrian* Party in that Kingdom having done as much or more than, all things considered, could well be expected from them.

But no Care being taken in the Autumn of 1706, to send over proper Reinforcements to the Assistance of King *Charles*, King *Philip* began to recover Strength; and in April 1707 the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded his Forces, obtained so total a Victory at *Almanza*, and pursued it with so much Spirit and Diligence, that before the End of the Year, the Face of Affairs was entirely changed in that Kingdom.

It is indeed true, that after this the Allies made a considerable Progress, and in the Month of *August* 1710, gain'd the Battle of *Saragossa*, which opened a Passage for *Charles III.* to *Madrid*, into which City he made his publick Entry in the Middle of the next Month; but the Dispositions of the *Spaniards* were now changed, and they adhered so firmly to King *Philip*, that before the Close of that Year, King *Charles* was again, after losing a Battle, driven back into *Catalonia*.

In the Month of *April* 1711, died the Emperor *Joseph*, and thereby left King *Charles III.* the sole Heir Male of the House of *Austria*, which altered the State of Things extremely, because it appeared now equally dangerous to give the *Spanish* as well as Imperial Dominions to this Prince, or to leave them to a Branch of the House of *Bourbon*; and there remained no Expedient that could be thought of, for preventing one or other of these Events.

The House of *Austria* was at this Time in Possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and all the Dominions that had belonged to that Crown on the Continent of *Italy*, which gave an Opportunity to the *French* Court to insinuate to the new Ministry in *England*, the Necessity as well as Expediency of putting an End to so long a War, upon Terms agreeable to the first Scheme of the Grand Alliance; and this in the End brought about the Peace of *Utrecht*, which was concluded in 1713.

By this Treaty King *Philip* yielded to *Great Britain* the Town and Castle of *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, for ever. The Kingdom of *Naples*, the Duchy of *Milan*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, together with the Island of *Sardinia*, and the *Low-Countries*, to the Emperor *Charles VI*; and the Island of *Sicily* with the Title of King to the Duke of *Savoy*.

It must be allowed that the Treaty of *Utrecht* was liable to great Exceptions; but however, the End of the Grand Alliance was in some measure answered by it. The Crowns of *France* and *Spain* were divided, the Power of the House of *Austria* considerably augmented, and the Ballance of *Europe* in some measure settled. But notwithstanding this, King *Philip* was not left in quiet Possession of his Dominions, to which the Emperor still kept up his Claim; and the Principality of *Catalonia*, and the Island of *Majorca*, though evacuated by the *Austrian* Troops, refused to submit, and were not reduced without a great deal of Trouble, and much Effusion of Blood; so that the Force of *Spain* seemed at the Conclusion of this War, exhausted to such a Degree, that there was not much to be feared from her, notwithstanding her being left in Possession of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*.

It was the Policy of *Lewis XIV*. to match both his Grandsons, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Anjou*, into the House of *Savoy*; and tho' in the first Instance his Policy seem'd to be disappointed, since the Duke of *Savoy* took Part with the Allies throughout the whole War, yet his Daughter the Queen of *Spain*, by her engaging Behaviour, acquir'd the Affections of the *Spanish* Nobility, and thereby contributed not a little to maintain her Consort on the Throne.

She died the 14th of *February* 1714, and left behind her two Sons; Don *Lewis*, born in 1707, who became King of *Spain* by the Resignation of his Father; and Don *Ferdinand*, born the 23d of *September* 1713, who is the present King of *Spain*. By her Decease King *Philip* was left at Liberty to strengthen his Interest by a second Marriage, which he concluded in a few Months with the Princess *Elizabeth Farnese*, Daughter

Daughter of the Duke of *Parma*, and Heiress not only of that Duchy, but also expectant Heiress of *Tuscany*, which Marriage was made with a View to revive the Interest of the House of *Bourbon* in *Italy*, which had been in a manner extinguished by the late Peace.

The new Queen brought her Father's Minister into Power, who was afterwards so well known by the Title of Cardinal *Alberoni*, who died lately. This Man, who must be allowed a great Genius, projected the Revival of the *Spanish* Power, and the Recovery of her *Italian* Dominions, at a Time when the former was thought very difficult, and the latter appeared totally impracticable.

It is true, that he did not absolutely succeed in this Scheme; but it is no less true, that he came much nearer it than any body could have imagined; for he put the Affairs of *Spain* into such Order, that she had Fleets and Armies capable of alarming her Neighbours, with which he actually recovered *Sardinia*, and would have recovered *Sicily*, if the *British* Naval Power had not interposed, and given such a Blow at *Messina* to his Catholick Majesty's Maritime Forces, as ruined all his Schemes at once; and which was still more, obliged his Master to part with him, and to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, which was set on foot to supply the Defects of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and to fix the Tranquillity of *Europe* upon a more stable Basis.

By this Alliance *Sardinia* was given to the Duke of *Savoy* instead of *Sicily*; but at the same time it was agreed, that Don *Carlos*, his Catholick Majesty's first-born Son by his second Wife, should succeed to *Parma* and *Tuscany*. In 1721, a Marriage was concluded between the *French* King *Lewis* XV and the Infanta of *Spain*, which, as we have shewn elsewhere, did not take effect; but another concluded at the same time did, whereby *Lewis* Prince of *Asturias* espoused the fourth Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans* Regent of *France*.

Upon the Death of the Prince last mentioned, it is believed, that his Catholick Majesty entertained some Hopes of returning into *France*, and assuming the Government of that Kingdom in the Name of his Nephew; but whatever his Motive was, upon the 15th of *January* 1724, he actually resign'd the Kingdom to his Son Don *Lewis* Prince of *Asturias*, who is allowed to have had as great Abilities as could be expected in one of his Years, whose Manners as well as Birth endear'd him to the *Spaniards*, and who in the Beginning of his Administration gave great Hopes of his proving a wise and beneficent Monarch. But on the 30th of
August

August following he died, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, to the inexpressible Grief of his Father, as well as of his Subjects.

Upon the Demise of Don *Lewis* it was judged, that in the natural and legal Course of Things, his Brother Don *Ferdinand* should have succeeded him in the Throne; but the Fear of a Minority, and perhaps some other Reasons, induced the *Spaniards* to prevail upon *Philip V.* to resume the Government, which he did, but with Reluctancy; whether real or feign'd, is hard to determine.

He apply'd himself very closely to Business, and being extremely provok'd at the sending back of the Infanta from *France*, he began to meditate new and strange Designs; or rather such were infused into his Mind by the Queen and his Ministers. It is generally believed, and not without good Grounds, that Cardinal *Alberoni*, who was then at *Rome*, contrived that amazing Scene which astonished all *Europe*; at least it is certain, that it was managed and transacted by one of his Creatures, a Man born to make a Figure in unquiet Times, and who, as he deserted the Service of his Country, no other Prince ought to have relied on.

This was the famous *Ripperda*, who negotiated the Treaty of *Vienna*, by which the Emperor *Charles VI.* and King *Philip*, in whose Quarrel such Rivers of Blood had been shed, and such immense Treasures expended, run into a close Alliance for the mutual Support of each other's Interest, against those very Powers which had sacrificed so much for the Aggrandisement of both. The true Motives to this singular Measure are by many held to remain still secret; but it seems to be pretty evident, that the Views of the Emperor were immediate, and those of *Spain* more at a Distance.

The former thought, that by this means he should establish his *Ostend* Company, by which he hoped to revive the Trade of the *Low-Countries*, tho' at the Expence of his old Friends the *Dutch*; the latter consented to the aggrandizing the Imperial Power, from the flattering Expectation that Don *Carlos* by marrying the eldest Archduchess, at present Empress and Queen of *Hungary*, would become the Successor to that Branch of the House of *Austria*, as himself had been of the other, by which he seemed to renounce his Engagements with *France*.

This strange Turn was more extraordinary, considering the Time in which it happened, when both *France* and the Maritime Powers were labouring to bring about in a rational and effectual manner, such an Accommodation as these Monarchs hastily and (if we may say it without Indecency) inconsiderately

considerately clapp'd up, with Views only to their private Advantage. To ballance this *Vienna Alliance*, *France*, the Maritime Powers, and *Prussia*, entered into the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, in order to provide for their own Interests, which they thought could never be safe, while this unnatural Conjunction subsisted.

The Emperor and the Catholick King, or rather his Queen (for she was at the Bottom of all this) seemed determined to persist in the Execution of Schemes from whence they expected to derive such mighty Advantages; but the *Hanover* Allies took their Measures so effectually, that they were obliged, after some fruitless Attempts, to submit to the old Method of determining all Differences by a Negotiation, which produced the Congress of *Soissons*.

This Congress was opened the 14th of *June* 1728, but to very little Purpose, except that it served to shew the Ascendency which the *French* Minister Cardinal *Fleury* had gained by an Appearance of Probity, and an exterior Display of Equity and Moderation; which demonstrates, that universal Monarchy might be attained by any powerful Prince, who really possess those Virtues. But this Situation growing tiresome to the *British* Nation, their Ministers entered into a secret Negotiation with the Crown of *Spain*, ending in the famous Treaty of *Seville*; which it was expected would have determined all Differences, and put a Period to the Labours of the Ministers on both Sides. But this was so far from answering those sanguine Expectations, that the two next Years were taken up in contriving Expedients for carrying what was stipulated by that Treaty into Execution.

It is absolutely necessary that we should descend a little into Particulars. His Catholick Majesty's second Marriage was with a View to his Consort's Succession in *Italy*, and this was secured to him upon his acceding to the Quadruple Alliance; that again was ratified by a subsequent Treaty, which was confirmed by the *Vienna Alliance*; but for the Emperor's Security it was settled, that *Swiss* and not *Spanish* Troops should be sent into *Italy* to maintain Don *Carlos* in the Countries yielded to him by these several Treaties. But the Treaty of *Seville* altered this Method, and provided that *Spanish* Troops should be substituted instead of *Swiss*. To which the Emperor, as it might be reasonably expected, refused his Consent in the most positive and direct Terms.

It was to get over this Difficulty with him, that new Negotiations were necessary, and at length the Thing was brought about; the Infant Don *Carlos* was sent to *Italy*

with *Spanish* Troops, and received in Quality of Heir Apparent by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, which it was hoped would have contributed much, not only to the pacifying these Troubles, but securing the Peace of *Europe*, for the present Age at least.

But as the ablest Politicians are very liable to mistake ; this last Step proved the Cause of a War, notwithstanding that the Maritime Powers had made a new Treaty with the Emperor, on purpose to facilitate it. The Infant Don *Carlos* arrived in *Italy* in 1731, and being in Possession of all the Dominions to which his expectative Right had created so many Disputes, his Mother formed new Schemes for enlarging his Power, and for enabling him to assume and maintain the regal Dignity. In order to this she set on foot Intrigues in *France*, to engage even the pacific Cardinal in a Measure directly repugnant to his System ; and she endeavoured to engage the King of *Sardinia* to facilitate this Design, by the Promise of the Duchy of *Milan*. His Majesty had some Reasons to wish well to the *Spanish* Power, because of his being next in the Entail of that Monarchy ; and he had stronger Reasons to dislike the Measures of the Imperial Court, which in respect to him were not altogether so just, and by no means so grateful or decent as they ought to have been.

These were the Motives to a new Confederacy, which upon the Death of the King of *Poland* in 1733, broke out into a War in *Italy* ; and in the Year following Don *Carlos*, or rather the *Spanish* General *Montemar*, conquered the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he fought one decisive Battle at *Bitonto*, of which, to perpetuate the Memory of his Victory, he was made Duke.

As for the Island of *Sicily*, the Inhabitants, tho' not very remarkable for their Loyalty or Steadiness, had long shewn an Affection for the *Spanish* Government, which put Don *Carlos* in Possession of that Country without a Stroke. The Emperor, though he had no Assistance from his Allies, made a tolerable Defence in *Italy* ; and the Circumstances of Things inclining the Court of *France* to a Peace, while it was in her Power to be well paid for it, *Spain* was forced to submit, and by this means publick Quiet was restored in 1735.

By this Peace Don *Carlos* remained King of the Two *Sicilies*, and thereby erected a third Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon* ; but then he relinquished his maternal Succession, which was (considering the different Conditions of the Countries) perhaps a full Equivalent for it. His *Sardinian* Majesty, who had hazarded much, and whose Dominions had suffered excessively
by

by the War, gained very little, if we except his gaining such an experimental Knowledge of the good Faith of the House of *Bourbon*, as will scarce allow him to trust it again. *France*, who pretended to get nothing, got all; for she had *Lorrain* added to her Dominions, without any Colour of Right, except the most inglorious abandoning King *Stanislaus*, chosen a second time King of *Poland*, could be so called. This Treaty was concluded at *Vienna*, with which, except *France*, none of the contracting Powers either were, or had any Reason to be satisfied. After this King *Philip* might well be supposed to have nothing more in view than to spend the Remainder of his Days in Peace; and indeed this very probably might be all the View he had; but for his Queen, her Views were without End. She had made her eldest Son a King, her third a Cardinal, almost in his Cradle; and after all this *Europe* must be once more embroiled, rather than her second Son Don *Philip* should miss the being made an independent Prince. To influence *France* in his Favour she had married him to a *French* Princess; and to bring the King of *Sardinia* into her Scheme, she promised him any thing, but to no effect. She endeavoured likewise to cajole the Court of *Great Britain*, but to no Purpose. She then caused the King to turn a deaf Ear to the Complaints that were continually made of Depredations committed in the *West-Indies*, which produced at last a War between the two Nations, extremely prejudicial to their mutual Interests, and not less so to her own, had she considered them in a true Light; but Ambition is usually blind, and the Desire of acquiring, defeats the Power of discovering the Means of Acquisition.

Upon the Death of the Emperor *Charles* the VIth, the Enemies of the House of *Austria* having resolved to employ their utmost Force to humble, at least, if not to destroy it, the Crown of *Spain* entered into this Confederacy with a View of speedily carrying its Point in *Italy*, without the least Recollection of her Guaranty granted by the Treaty of *Vienna*, with all the Solemnity of which an Act of that Sort was capable. The Measures taken for the Conduct of this War, tho' attended with an immense Expence, were, from the very Beginning, far from being successful. It was with infinite Difficulty that Troops were transported into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and when there, it was found no easy Matter to provide for them Magazines, and, I was going to say, a proper Train of Artillery, but that could not be provided at all.

The Duke de *Montemar*, the best Officer in the *Spanish*, and indeed one of the best Generals in any Service, was put at the Head of this Army in the Summer of 1742, with Instructions

to penetrate into *Lombardy*, through the Papal Dominions. He could not do this Time enough to save the Duke of *Modena*, whose Dominions were swallowed up by the Allies, and his Troops, to the Number of between five and six thousand Men, made Prisoners and disarmed. The *Austrian* and *Piedmontese* Army then marched to find out the Duke, who gave the last Marks of his Military Skill in making a very fine Retreat from a superior and victorious Enemy, in which he occasioned more Loss to them than he received. This, however, gave no Satisfaction to the Court of *Madrid*, who soon after removed him from his Command, to bestow it on a *Flemish* Officer of great Experience, the Count *de Gages*, who continued to command it with no great Success indeed, but with very high and just Reputation to himself during the whole War.

It is not at all necessary to our Design to enter here into a Detail of the Operations in *Italy*, of which we shall have Occasion to speak more at large elsewhere; and therefore it shall suffice to say, that after five Campaigns, in which there perished at least Fourscore Thousand Men, and for the Expence of which the Crown of *Spain* did not disburse so little as one hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight, Things fell into the most desperate Condition imaginable. The King of the two *Sicilies*, after suffering a Kind of Siege in his Camp, where he remained to cover his Kingdom from an Invasion, was at length obliged to have recourse to another Neutrality; the Infant Don *Philip*, after risking a desperate Battle at *Rottosfreda*, which with the Hazard of his Life opened him the Means of Flight, abandoned *Italy*; and the Republick of *Genoa*, which had embraced the *Spanish* Cause, was left to the Mercy of the *Germans*, who became Masters even of the Capital.

Under these Misfortunes, and worn out with Age and Infirmities, *Philip* the Fifth departed this Life on the 29th of *June* 1746, in his Grand Climacteric, and in the 46th Year of his Reign. He was a Monarch endowed with few great Qualities, but at the same time blemished with still fewer Vices. He was governed by his two Queens, and owed entirely to them the different Circumstances in which at certain Periods of his Life he found his Affairs. They were both *Italians*, both Princesses of great Abilities, but of very different Tempers. His first Queen, the Daughter of the late King of *Sardinia*, and the Sister of the present, was the most amiable Woman in the World in her Behaviour, and by engaging the Hearts of the *Spaniards* preserved the Throne to her Husband. The second formed by the Lessons of Cardinal *Alberoni*, knew likewise how to raise a strong Party to herself among the *Spanish* Grandees;

Grandees ; and tho' it was generally believed that such as were not in her Interest were far superior in Number, and that the Death of the King would have entirely demolished her Power, yet Time has shewn the contrary ; and that notwithstanding what the *Spaniards* have suffered by pursuing her Pretensions in *Italy*, they still preserve a very high Respect and Esteem for her Person, or at least affect it; on account of her having still so good a Reversionary Right to Power.

The King at his Decease, besides the Prince of *Asturias* of the first Bed, left behind him, by his second Consort, three Sons and three Daughters, viz. Don *Carlos*, who with vast Expence and Trouble he had seated on the Throne of the *Sicilies*, espoused to a *Saxon* Princess ; the Infant Don *Philip*, married to the eldest of the *French* Princesses ; the Cardinal Infant Don *Lewis*, Archbishop of *Toledo* and of *Seville*. The Infanta *Mary-Anne-Victoria* Queen Regent of *Portugal* ; the Infanta *Maria-Teresa* married to the Dauphin of *France*, since deceased ; and the Infanta *Maria-Antonietta-Ferdinanda*, then in her 17th Year, at present Duchess of *Savoy*.

Ferdinand the VIth succeeded his Father in the 33d Year of his Age, having married *January* 8, 1729, the Infanta *Mary Magdalena* of *Portugal*, near two Years older than himself, by whom he has no Issue. It was generally believed upon the Accession of this Monarch that Things would have taken entirely a new Turn in the Court of *Spain*, and his Catholick Majesty, or at least his Ministers, took some Pains to keep up this Opinion, from whence they reaped very considerable Advantages. The War, however, was carried on with Vigour, because, as the new King published in his Manifestoes, it was very earnestly recommended to him by his Father ; and at the same time it was given out, that his Catholick Majesty looked upon it as a Point of Policy, as well as of Duty, to procure his Brother an Establishment in *Italy* ; so that it was very quickly discerned that a Peace was not to be had without.

The Supplies given to the State of *Genoa* were very considerable, and the *Spanish* Forces in *Savoy* were thoroughly recruited and somewhat augmented ; in short, every Step was taken, upon the Entrance of the new Prince, that might give his Subjects equal Hopes of his being desirous to restore their Tranquility, and at the same time resolved to support the Dignity of the Crown of *Spain*. The Reports that prevailed, as if the *French* Interest was now at an End, had no other Foundation than the Openness with which the Populace discovered their Resentment against the *French* Nation. Wise People very quickly saw, that no great Alteration either could or would

happen ; and those who were the farthest from that Character, had Proofs sufficient to convince them that at this Juncture these Conjectures, however ridiculed, were but too well founded.

In the Negotiations that were carried on for Peace, the Court of *Madrid* relied implicitly upon that of *Versailles*, which was the more extraordinary as they had all that Time a Minister at *London* ; but it may be very well supposed that the Nature of his Instructions could be no great Secret to the *French* Ministers, since it does not appear that they ever took any Umbrage at this Part of his Catholick Majesty's Conduct. The Marquis de *Soto Major* acted as the *Spanish* Plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the seventh Article regarding the Cessions made to the Infant Don *Philip*, was indeed the most important, and by very much the most disputed in the whole Treaty ; and tho' it was not adjusted entirely to the Satisfaction of the *Spanish* Court, which pressed for a general Settlement of the Duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia* and *Guastalla* upon the Royal Infant and his Issue without any Restrictions, yet by the Influence and Steadiness of the *French* Ministry, those important Cessions were not only procured upon as good Terms as could be reasonably expected, confirmed by the most authentick Acts of the Empress Queen and the King of *Sardinia*, but the Execution likewise pressed with equal Vigilance and Vigour.

As to the Article which regarded the Differences between this Court and that of *Great Britain*, nothing was regulated thereby, except the Right of the *South-Sea* Company to four Years of the *Assiento* Treaty, and the rest of the Differences were tacitly referred to the Negotiation before mentioned ; since that, the *Assiento* has been sold by a Convention ; to which, by way of Appendix, a Treaty is still carrying on, as to the Event of which, we as yet know nothing. By this Means his Catholick Majesty was extricated out of an expensive and destructive War, (which had continued seven Years, and in that Time had drawn upon his Subjects inexpressible Hardships) had an effectual Establishment provided for his Brother Don *Philip*, honourable Provisions made for his Allies, the Duke of *Modena*, and the Republick of *Genoa* ; and a Way opened to reduce his military Expences, and bring the Domestic Concerns of his Administration into Order, which while the War lasted could not be done. Besides the War with *Great Britain* which had begun somewhat earlier was likewise ended ; and in a Manner too with which the Court of *Madrid* had many Reasons to be pleased ; but none greater than its removing the Impediments to the Return of that vast Mass of Treasure which had been collected in the *West-Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* were in great Want, and for which even at this Time they were not altogether without Fears.

We have since seen all the Advantages that *Spain* could promise herself from this Treaty obtained in their full Extent; the Infant Duke is in Possession of the Countries yielded to him, the Duke of *Modena*, and the Republick of *Genoa*, have had their Territories restored, and the Wealth expected from the *Indies* has been safely brought home. What the Issue will be of so great and so happy a Change in her Circumstances, is in the Womb of Time; but without all doubt, the present Season is very critical, and the future Welfare or Misery of the *Spanish* Nation depends, in a great measure, upon the Turn his Catholick Majesty's Councils shall take at a Juncture, when it is entirely in his own Power to make them take what Turn he pleases, and to render himself as great and independent a Prince as any of his Predecessors.

We might have entered into many other Particulars, and descended to the Consideration of various Matters of Fact, if these were not beside our Purpose, which is to exhibit a Picture of the present State of *Spain*, or rather the present State of the Politicks of the Court of *Spain*, towards which a few great Strokes are sufficient, and all the little Trimmings and Niceties of an historical Abridgment would be destroying a Likeness. It is indeed very true that the Out-lines are only marked, and that the Piece wants heightening, and even Colour; but in respect to this, we must be excused, where in Reality we are restrained. The greatest Part of this Work was written and published too, during a War, when the Noise of Arms rendered the Writer less attentive to certain Scruples; but now Peace is restored, we must no longer express ourselves with so much Freedom. We must therefore be content with laying Things down in general Terms in many Cases, and leaving them to the Interpretation of the Ingenious. Heretofore we have been wont to conduct the Reader to his Journey's End; and if we now only point him out the Road, it does not arise either from Weariness or want of Civility, but because we cannot travel it in the same Manner; for tho' he may pursue the Journey very effectually in his Mind, yet if we do it, it must be upon Paper.

But we are now, according to the Method that hitherto has been followed, to speak of the Interests of this Monarchy, which we shall do in such a Manner as will in a great measure remove every Difficulty that might lie in the Way of deciding with Probability on the future Conduct of the *Spanish* Ministers. For if the real Interests of the Nation be thoroughly explained, it will not require much Penetration to discern whether they are pursued. It must indeed be observed, that this decides nothing

with respect to the Abilities of Ministers ; for Men may pursue wrong Measures with great Skill and Address, and perhaps those Statesmen have acquired the highest Characters in that Capacity, who have employed their Talents to none of the best Purposes. In such Cases they are responsible who give the Bias ; for Princes must be served in the Way they will be served, tho' it frequently happens, that when their own Inclinations have brought them into a Labyrinth, they make no Scruple of extricating themselves at the Expence of their Servants, and so sacrifice the Instrument to the Resentment of those who are hurt by it, without considering where the Offence really lies, or distinguishing between the Intention of giving the Wound, and the Hand, which from a Principle of Duty, perhaps, gave it.

Yet this, as it is the common Lot of Ministers, tho' it is just in one Sense, is grievous in another ; for tho' the Victims to national Fury are commonly abandoned, either through Want of Courage, or Want of Gratitude, yet they are seldom abandoned to any Punishment greater than they have deserved. He who to gratify his Appetite to Profit, Pomp, or Power, undertakes to do what either he does not well consider, or which well considered he knows ought not to be done, gratifies his Passions at his own risk ; and tho' when he feels the Effects of his Ambition or his Avarice, he may with some Reason complain of his Master, yet he cannot with the least Shadow of Equity declaim against that Stroke of Justice which sooner or later may reach him from the Sense of the People. The most absolute Princes must have their Counsellors and their Ministers ; and if these make their Court, either by saying or doing Evil, it is at their Peril ; and if they deceive themselves with the Hope that either Things will last for their Time, or that they shall be able to cover themselves by the Authority of the Prince against the just Hate of his Subjects, they can blame nothing but their own Want of Foresight, if their Expectations fail them.

Instances of both kinds, that is, of Ministers praised, and Ministers punished, occur frequently in the *Spanish* as well as in other Histories ; but it may fall out there, as well as elsewhere, that Praise and Punishment too may be misapplied ; and to judge of this rightly, not only in Times past, but likewise in Times to come, we must have right Apprehensions of that Rule, which can alone distinguish in such Matters ; that is to say, we must know what are the true Interests of the Nation, and what those Biasses are, to which Ministers are liable from the false Notions and the false Interests of the Court ; and these may

may be very fairly and fully explained, from what able and disinterested Pens have written before us upon this Subject.

At the Conclusion of the Peace of *Utrecht*, when the Title of *Philip V.* as King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, was acknowledged by the High Allies, there were two kinds of Securities taken, for preventing those mischievous Consequences, which were but too justly apprehended from the leaving such vast Dominion in the Hands of the younger Branch of a Family already become too powerful, and too formidable in respect to the rest of *Europe*.

The first of these was the Renunciations made by King *Philip*, and the Princes of his Family, to the Succession of the Crown of *France*, in favour of the House of *Orleans*; and the other, the yielding *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca* to the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Nature of Cautionary Places, or Securities for the Performance of what was stipulated by that Treaty.

This was then held necessary on both Sides; for as the Allies very justly dreaded the too close Conjunction of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, so the *Spaniards* themselves were very sensible of the Inconveniencies resulting from their Dependence upon that Crown; and were desirous enough of being freed from them for the present, and secured against them for the future; and all this very plainly appeared, from the readiness with which they gave those Renunciations the most solemn Sanction, that it was in their Power, as a Nation, to give.

It was the Interest also of the Royal Family, the Ministry, and the People of *Spain*, to have adhered religiously to this Treaty, and to have been content with every thing that was stipulated therein and thereby. It was this that secured the Dignity of King *Philip*, and made him truly a King, and not a Vice-Roy: It was this that put it in the Power of the *Spanish* Ministry to reform the Disorders in, and to restore the Credit and Force of the Kingdom; and it was this that enabled the People to reap the Pleasures and Profits of Peace, and the Advantages secured to them by the sole Possession of the *Indies*, which they had never possessed in so great Tranquility before.

But it very quickly appeared, that as clear and self-evident as these Maxims were, they had no great Influence on any of the Parties concerned. His Catholick Majesty was entirely governed by his Grandfather as long as he lived; and after his Decease he turned his Views so thoroughly toward his native Country,

as to act in a manner equally inconsistent with the Interests of his Crown, and with the Treaties by which he had acquired it: His Ministers made no Difficulty of falling into his Views; and the natural Pride and Ambition of the *Spaniards* drew them to wish the Recovery of their *Italian* Dominions at least, tho' the Possession of them was never of any great Service, but might be esteemed rather a Burthen to them.

After the King's second Marriage, this wrong Turn of Politics began to display itself more fully, and the *Spaniards* endeavoured by Force of Arms to recover *Sicily*, and were also inclined to attack *Gibraltar*. This forced the Maritime Powers to adhere closely to the House of *Austria*, and to take such Measures for destroying the naval Strength of *Spain*, as could only be justified by that Necessity upon which they were plainly founded.

By the Accession of *Spain* to the Quadruple Alliance, and the Advantages stipulated for her therein, a new Opportunity was offered of establishing her Peace and Prosperity upon a lasting Foundation; and it looked for some time as if she intended it, but this lasted not long. The *Vienna* Alliance was contracted upon false Principles; for it tended to destroy the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and to force *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* out of the Hands of *Great Britain*, which can never be effected by War, because every War proves the Possession of them by this Crown to be for the common Benefit of all the independent Powers in *Europe*.

From that Time the *Spanish* Ministry introduced a trimming kind of Politics, pursuing sometimes one Scheme, sometimes another; but never affecting that Independency and Care of their own Concerns, which can alone render their People happy at home, and their Power respected abroad. Yet it is certain, that both *Alberoni* and *Ripperda* very well understood the Interest of *Spain*, to which they always gave the second Place in their political Projects. Happy had it been for themselves, the *Spaniards*, and all the rest of *Europe*, if they had constantly given it the first! That they were both Foreigners, and both the Sons of Fortune, was and must be their sole Excuse.

The Ambition of the two first Princes of the House of *Austria*, and the Inactivity of the three last, threw the Affairs of the Crown of *Spain* into such Disorder, and brought the People into such Indigence, that it certainly became their Interest, at least for the Space of a Century, to endeavour at re-peopling their Country, recovering their Trade, and restoring
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their Constitution and ancient Government ; for the effecting of all which, they had every Means and every Opportunity they could wish, and many more than they had any just Reason to expect.

They ought therefore to have laid aside all Thoughts of recovering their Dominions in *Italy*, since though they served well enough to enrich particular Families, sent thither in Quality of Vice-Roys, or other high Officers, yet to the Nation they were burthenfome, as requiring a much greater Expence to preserve and defend them, than those or any other Advantages accruing to private Persons could ballance in any Degree. It was of no less Consequence for them, to promote their Commerce in the *West-Indies*, which if duly attended to, would most certainly have produced the Means of setting up useful and valuable Manufactures at home, and thereby have brought such immense Treasures into *Old Spain*, as would soon have enabled them to have recovered all their past Losses, and to have put every Fortrefs in the Kingdom, as well as their Navy, into a proper State of Defence.

But if the *Spanish* Punto, and the Honour that is the Humour of the Nation, was to be preferred to all Things, and the Dominions torn from their Crown by the last War recovered at any Rate, still it was their Interest religiously to have observed the Peace of *Utrecht*, and above all things to have courted the Friendship of the Maritime Powers. The *Spanish* Prudence in former Times was wont to gain, rather than lose, by Delay ; and if the King and his Ministers, instead of taking the Steps they did, had steadily adhered to the Faith of Treaties, they might have found Opportunities, even without Bloodshed, and at a very trivial Expence in Comparifon of what it has cost them since, to have carried all their Points.

If *Spain* had been absolutely detached from, and no way dependent upon *France*, her Power would not have been the Object of Envy to the rest of *Europe* ; and the Establishment of the younger Princes of her Family in *Italy* might have been promoted instead of being so vigorously opposed by certain Potentates, that do not act either from Ambition or Caprice, but are influenced purely by Motives of Self-Preservation, and a just Regard for the Maintenance of that Commerce, that is and must be the Basis of their Power.

Spain and the *Indies* may be considered as two great Empires under the Dominion of one Monarch, and the Happiness of both depends upon a reciprocal Regard for the Welfare of each

each other. To preserve her *American* Dominions, and to reap the utmost Profits from them, it is the Business of *Spain* at all Events to maintain Peace, at least till she has recovered such a maritime Force as will enable her to send Supplies, and to bring home her Galleons in spite of any Power with whom she is at War.

On the other hand, the *Spanish* Government in the *Indies* might be put under such a Regulation, as to make all her Subjects there infinitely more easy and happy than they could be under any other Crown; and at the same time procure from them all the Advantages that either the Government or the *Spanish* Nation could reasonably expect; and this too, not only without the Envy, but with the entire Satisfaction of most of the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, who have very near as great an Interest in preserving the Possession of the *Indies* to *Spain*, as *Spain* itself.

But then it is both reasonable and necessary, that on the one hand the *Spaniards* should endeavour to make the most of their Plantations, and not suffer them by mere Negligence to fall to Ruin and Decay; and on the other hand, that they should punctually fulfill their Engagements, and allow certain reasonable Advantages in Trade to their ancient, natural and useful Allies. These Maxims once made the Rule of their Conduct, their own Commerce would revive, and of course become daily more extensive and more profitable, their *American* Dominions recover their former Lustre and Prosperity, and the Power of *Old Spain* rise as high as ever it stood in the Days of the Emperor *Charles V.* No wonder therefore, if the Pursuit of contrary Measures produces contrary Effects.

As to the Interests of *Spain* with regard to her Neighbours, without doubt it consists in maintaining a fair Correspondence with them, without forming any Pretensions on their Territories. Her Differences with *France* are now extinguished, and as she has Reason to look upon that as an Advantage, so it is a natural Motive to Peace and good Neighbourhood, that they are governed by Monarchs of the same Blood; but at the same time, a King of *Spain* ought to consider, that he owes it to his own Dignity, and to the unshaken Loyalty of his Subjects, to govern them as their own Monarch, not as the Substitute or Deputy of another Prince.

He ought to consider this as the Error chiefly to be guarded against in his Government, because there is none that he can commit will be attended with so bad Consequences, inasmuch as it cannot fail of creating Jealousies and Uneasinesses at home,

at the same time that it sinks his Credit, and disposes other States to be his Enemies abroad. Besides, in point of Trade, and even of Dominion, the *French* alone can have Views upon him, as appears by their Attempts to trade directly to the *South-Seas*, and to obtain the entire Dominion of *Hispaniola*; which whenever they acquire, the *Spanish* Territories in *America* will be at their Mercy.

In regard to the House of *Austria*, the great Cause of Dispute has been in the *Italian* Dominions; and evident it is, that this Spirit of Disputing is the Effect of *Italian* Counsels, which we have too great Reason to fear will influence that Court for a long Series of Years to come; unless some *Spanish* Minister of true Genius should arise, and convince his Master of the Necessity of setting Bounds to that Spirit. This alone can contribute to the Peace and Grandeur of *Spain*, to the Quiet and Safety of *Italy*, and to the general Tranquility of all the rest of *Europe*.

To the Grandeur of *Spain*, by keeping her out of those tedious and destructive Wars that exhaust her People, which she can so ill spare, and her Treasures already brought very low. To the Welfare of *Italy*, by maintaining the Ballance of Power, which is essentially necessary to the several States of that Country, and which can never be subverted, if the *Spaniards* would act with Moderation, and consult their true Interest in this particular. To the Tranquility of *Europe*, all the Powers of which are so much concerned both by Interest and Treaty, in the Preservation of the System in that Country, that it is impossible for them to suffer any Variation without having recourse to Arms, in order to set the Ballance right again.

In reference to *Portugal*, it is certainly the Interest of *Spain* to live well with her, and in the closest Correspondence possible; because though that Power can be no formidable Enemy by herself, yet in case the Enemies of this Crown enter into a Confederacy against *Spain*, she is able to give her more Uneasiness than any other Potentate; as appeared plainly in the last general War, when the Allies became once Masters of *Madrid*, purely by being engaged in Treaty with the *Portuguese*.

It must indeed be owned, that the Situation of *Portugal* is such as must naturally tempt an ambitious Prince on the Throne of *Spain* to aspire to the Conquest of it; yet even ambitious Princes, if they are wise, will weigh the Risk they run against the Advantage they seek; and it will scarce ever happen, that a
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Spanish Monarch shall find himself in such a Situation, as to be able to undertake the Conquest of *Portugal*, without running the Hazard of bringing the War into the Heart of his own Dominions ; which is such a Hazard, as certainly no prudent Prince will run, for the Sake of any Advantage whatever ; even if it were not, as in this Case it must be, attended with the most manifest and flagrant Injustice.

The Emperor of *Morocco*, and the Piratical States of *Barbary*, have always been considered as hereditary Enemies of the Crown of *Spain*, and perhaps they are the only Enemies against whom the *Spaniards* can exert their Force ; and that compatible with the Circumstances of their Affairs at home, agreeable to their own Interest, and without exciting the Jealousy of their Neighbours. The Crown of *Spain* is already in possession of *Ceuta*, *Oran*, and some other Fortresses upon that Coast, which she has hitherto found it difficult to preserve ; and though she has made frequent Attempts, yet has she never been able to make any considerable Addition to her Conquests.

It may perhaps be hereafter in her Power to do something more considerable on this Side ; but in all human Probability, if this is ever done, it must be by a Naval Force, in which as she would meet with no Opposition from any of the *European* Powers, so she might hope for the Assistance of *Portugal* and the *Italian* States ; and any Impressions she could make on that Side, would certainly answer valuable Purposes, and particularly the securing her Coasts, the preserving her Commerce, and the reviving the Reputation of the *Spanish* Navy, which for a Century past has been almost as low, as for the Century preceding it was both formidable and famous.

The Face of Affairs in *Spain* has been greatly changed by the Accession of the present Family to the Throne, who without doubt reaped vast Advantages from the prodigious Efforts made in their Favour by the *French*, who yet made those Efforts in favour of a younger Branch of their own Royal Family, and not as the natural or even political Allies of the *Spanish* Nation ; and it is certain that they have been very well paid for it since. But the Condition to which *Spain* was reduced both in *Europe* and *America*, at the Time of the Death of *Charles II.* is a Proof that there cannot be a greater Misfortune to any People, than for their Princes ever to entertain Thoughts of universal Monarchy, whether by actually subduing, or by maintaining a general Influence over other Nations ; for the former Method will infallibly leave them
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without Men, as the latter must necessarily leave them without Money.

Indeed *Spain* at that Time was left without either; there were not in the important Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*, twenty Pieces of Cannon fit for Service; and the Garrison did not consist of one hundred effective Men; yet in all Probability it was not in a worse Condition than the rest. In short, at that Time the Nation was quite exhausted; and if the Duke of *Anjou* had not succeeded by the King of *Spain's* Will, *France* must very probably have increased her Power and Dominions by the Conquest of a considerable Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy. This ought to prove a Lesson, even to that ambitious Nation: Her People cannot always hold out, her Treasures must be some time or other quite drained; and if in such a Situation they should have either a weak Prince on the Throne, or a long Minority, we might see *France* in as low a Condition as *Spain* was in at the Death of *Charles* the Second; for the same Causes will every where produce the same Effects.

Before the *Spanish* Princes were infected with the Spirit of universal Rule, we find *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, with an Army of twenty thousand Horse, and fifty thousand Foot, besieging the City of *Granada*, when that Kingdom was under the *Moors*, and when *Aragon* refused to take any share in the Quarrel. This shews how powerful *Castile* was before the Addition of so many Kingdoms and Provinces, and before *America* was discovered. Yet it would be very rash to conclude from thence, that *Spain* has been ruined barely by Accession of Territory, and by her sending Colonies to the *West-Indies*. When she acquired the former, they were very well peopled; and she has been fully paid in every respect for all the Expences she has been at about the latter. The true Deduction is this, that vast Territories and immense Treasures cannot secure a Nation from feeling want of Strength, and sinking into downright Beggary, if she is governed by weak and ambitious Counsels.

In the midst of all her Grandeur, the *Spanish* Territories were separated at a vast Distance one from another: If she had maintained a constant Peace, and had lived in Harmony with her Neighbours, she might have kept them all, for no single Power how potent soever durst attack her. Instead of this, she grasped at all, made War on every Side, and forced those she injured to make themselves both rich and powerful, by contributing to her Ruin. It was the Ambition and Injustice of *Spain* that raised

raised up the Maritime Powers, as it was the Ambition and Injustice of *Spain* that lost her many of her Dominions, and exhausted the rest. These are very weighty political Reflections; and by attending to them, we shall come to conceive clearly both of her past and present Condition. In reference to the former, we have said enough; in respect to the latter we shall observe, that as she has still great Advantages, so she still labours under some Inconveniencies.

It is, or at least it might be, a great Advantage to *Spain*, that she alone of all the *European* Powers possesses Dominions both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, that have a direct and immediate Correspondence with each other. If this were properly attended to and improved, she might raise her Revenues much higher than it is possible under their present Circumstances for any other Power to do. She might by encouraging her Commerce, succeed in a great measure to that Share in the *East-India* Trade, which *Venice* has lost since the Discovery of the Passage of the Cape of *Good-Hope*; for by transporting the Commodities of the *East-Indies* to *Acapulcho*, and from thence to *Vera-Cruz* over Land, she might bring them from thence into *Spain* by her Gallies, at as cheap a Rate, and in as short a Time, as the *English* or *Dutch*; more especially if she allowed her Subjects either in the *East* or *West-Indies*, an open unrestrained Navigation.

It is true, that as things stand at present, the *Philippines* do not yield any tolerable Profit to the *Spaniards*; but this is entirely their own Fault; since if we consider the Situation of those Islands, it must be allowed that they might easily come in for a very large Share of the Commerce of the *East-Indies*, or at least for the most valuable Part of it. Some Correspondence they have already with *China*, and might have a greater; no Country lies so conveniently as they do for the Trade of *Japan*; and there is nothing wanting to put them in Possession of all this, but withdrawing those Restraints that are laid upon their Subjects in the *East-Indies*, and adding another Gallieon to carry the Produce of their Trade to *Mexico*. The same Advantage might be reaped by rendering *Vera-Cruz*, the *Havannah*, or even *Buenos-Ayres* a free Port to their own Subjects; for this would draw such a Trade thither, as would make the Intercourse between the two *Indies* before-mentioned both practical and easy in a short Time.

This would be more advantageous to *Spain*; because it would give little or no Umbrage to foreign Nations; which would

would carry on their Trade to *Old Spain* as they do at present; it would occasion a greater Vent for their Commodities and Manufactures, and consequently it would still make it more their Interest to maintain and support the *Spaniards* in their Possessions. It might also, at least in Time, restore some of their decayed Plantations. As for Example, if the *Havannah* was made the Staple of such a Trade, for which it lies very conveniently, this would not only prove highly beneficial to the Island of *Cuba*, but would revive the Industry of the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* and *Porto-Rico*; and though it is very probable, that the *English* and *Dutch* might come in for a Share by an illicit Trade, which is one of the Inconveniencies to which *Spain* will be always exposed, yet even this would be ballanced by the additional Concern, that both the *English* and *Dutch* would have in preserving to the *Spaniards* what produced, tho' in a clandestine way, an immediate and considerable Gain to themselves.

Besides these Advantages abroad, they have also others at home, by which I mean in *Europe*; for as they have no longer any Provinces in *Flanders*, they are wholly exempt from all the Trouble and Expence, which was entailed upon them by those Provinces while in their Possession. They are also Gainers, or might be Gainers, by the Change of Affairs in *Italy*, where, as Things now stand, distinct Principalities in the Hands of Descendents from the Crown of *Spain*, may be as advantageous as Provinces annexed to the Kingdom, and be supported at much less Expence; indeed without any Expence at all, if those Princes pursue only their own Interest, remain well-affected to the Ballance of Power in *Italy*, and maintain a fair Correspondence with their Neighbours, who will be always willing to live upon the best Terms imaginable with them. Another great Advantage is their being free from any Apprehensions on the Side of *France*; to which we may add, their having it absolutely in their own Power to be as free from Danger on the Side of the House of *Austria*; for without Allies she has not the Power of hurting them; and if *Spain* will be content with minding her own Business, the Allies of the House of *Austria* would become hers. All these Advantages are so clear, that we need spend no more Time about them.

The Inconveniencies that *Spain* labours under, are chiefly those which she has brought upon herself. The first is the Want of People, which is the Reason that both the inland and foreign Trade is in a great measure driven by Strangers,

of which also for the most part her Armies are composed. Another great Inconvenience which results from this, is the Poverty of their Country, which is not occasioned by the Barrenness, but from the Want of Cultivation. A third Inconvenience is the excessive Number and unproportionable Wealth of the Ecclesiasticks, secular and regular; of which, as great Bigots as this Nation have been always held, they are now become very sensible, and would willingly find a Remedy for it if they could. Their late Plenipotentiary at *Breda*, Mr. *Macanas*, projected such a Remedy, which though it was not received in the late Reign, may be some time or other accepted, and could not but be attended with very happy Effects.

But after all, the capital and most dangerous Inconvenience is their Court's not being governed by *Spanish* Counsels; for all true Politicians will agree, that there is no Curse can be so heavy upon a People, as to be made Tools and Beasts of Burthen to any other People. For the first twenty Years after the Accession of the late King *Philip*, *Spain* was in effect no better than a Province to *France*; and her Condition for more than twenty Years since that, has been much worse; she is become a Province to those which she takes for her own Provinces, I mean the *Italian* Dominions; for which she has already paid ten times more than they are worth, and has also remained under a Dependence on *France* for the greatest part of that Time. In short, the Queen Dowager governed the King, and by so doing governed *Spain*, with a View only to the Interest of *Italy*; and this Passion was so strong in her, that all the Kingdoms and Provinces of the *Spanish* Monarchy have been exhausted, beggared, and sacrificed to the Love she has to her own little Duchies of *Parma* and *Racencia*.

Whenever this Inconveniency is taken away, the rest will be easily removed: *Spain* will then become an independent and powerful Kingdom: *France*, instead of giving Laws to, must court her; the House of *Austria* would see her flourish without Envy; and the Maritime Powers, instead of regarding her as an Enemy, would behold her in the amiable Light of their Benefactor, and their Friend. All this she may be, and that soon; and if she will not be this, it cannot be long before she is totally undone. For such must be the Fate sooner or later of all Nations, that are obstinately bent upon pursuing Measures diametrically opposite to their own Interests. Political Constitutions are indeed stronger than Natural Ones, but, like them,

if

if they are continually harrassed, they will at last be most certainly wore out.

It may indeed be objected, and surely it concerns the modern Politician to consider the Objection, that since the Conclusion of the War the Affairs of *Spain* are much altered, her Power on the Continent is augmented, an Immense Treasure has poured in from the *Indies*; and when once her Marine shall be restored, she may pass for one of the most formidable Powers in *Europe*. It is farther still insinuated by such as make this Objection, that whatever Weakness there might be in the Politicks of *Spain* in attaching herself so closely heretofore to the Interest of *France*, there may possibly some Event fall out, which will make a full Amends for all this; and which is more, may make the Continuance of the same Measures pass for sound Policy even in the Opinion of the best Judges.

But in answer to this Objection, now in a good measure removed by Providence, we must observe, that it is founded in a Distinction between the Interests of the Crown, or rather the Interests of the Royal Family, and the Interests of the Nation, which is a Distinction that ought never to be made, which notwithstanding has been too often made; and to which the Interests of many Nations, but of none so remarkably as this, have been sacrificed. We therefore maintain, that allowing all that is contended for in the Objection should happen, it would never alter the Nature of Things, or justify that new and strange Method of governing, which sacrifices Interests natural and permanent, to those which are temporary only and fluctuating. In short, we affirm that the Accessions of Territory made by the two last Wars can be rendered beneficial only by pursuing the Principles before laid down; and that the real Strength, Grandeur, and Prosperity of the *Spanish* Crown must be the Work of Peace; and of that mild, just, and equitable Government, to which his present Catholick Majesty King *Ferdinand* the Sixth is naturally inclined; and for the Truth of this we appeal to Time and the Judgment of Posterity.

We are next to speak of that Kingdom, which was once but a Province of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which of all the Accessions of Territory she ever made, it most imported her to have kept, because the keeping of it would have added Lustre to the Crown, and Strength to the Nation. -An Acquisition made by one of the wisest Princes that ever sat on the *Spanish* Throne; an Acquisition, the Importance of which was thoroughly known, and an Acquisition which never could have

been lost, but from those Errors in Government which we have before laboured to shew, ought of all others to be exploded. Those ambitious and all-grasping Measures weakened the Power of *Spain* to such a Degree, that *Portugal* of a Province became once more a Kingdom; and tho' most cruelly harrassed, weakened and exhausted, while under the Dominion of *Spain*, retained still Strength enough to resume, defend, and establish its Independency; and is at present in such a Condition as to deserve the highest Regard from its potent Neighbour, to whom it may be always a most useful Ally; and to whom, how much inferior soever in Power, it is capable of being the most dangerous Enemy.

C H A P. XII.

The advantageous Situation, modern History, present State, political Interests and Connections, of the Kingdom of PORTUGAL, since the Accession of the reigning House of BRAGANÇA.

IN order to give the Reader a distinct Notion of the present State and Condition of the *Portuguese* Nation, it is necessary to say somewhat of the Situation of their Country, which is very pleasantly extended on the Coast of the *Atlantick* Ocean, about three hundred Miles, or somewhat more in Length, from South to North, but scarce any where one hundred Miles in Breadth from West to East. The Climate is very fine, and the Air esteemed as wholesome as any in *Europe*, notwithstanding it lies so far South, the great Heats being commonly tempered by the Sea Breeze. As for the Soil, it would be every where extremely rich and fruitful, if the greatest Part of the Country were not mountainous; but notwithstanding this, they have, considering the Quantity of arable Land, a vast deal of excellent Corn in the Vallies; the Sides of the Hills produce in great Plenty the richest Fruits; and from the Bowels of the Earth they dig almost all Sorts of Metals, Gold and Silver

Silver not excluded ; of the last mentioned they are believed to have the richest Mine in *Europe*, which is that of *Guacaldana*, for this yields one Year with another, Silver to the Value of two hundred thousand Pounds. There are also three great Rivers, that after watering the adjacent Provinces, empty themselves into the Sea in this Country, viz. the *Dueroro* or *Douro*, the *Tajo*, and the *Guadiana*.

After this Description, the Reader will easily believe that for its Size this Kingdom is much more populous than *Spain*, and the Inhabitants also beyond comparison more industrious. Some Writers would persuade us, that the *Portuguese* are, generally speaking, a very corrupt and bad Sort of People ; according to the common Proverb, " Take a *Spaniard*, strip him " of his good Qualities, which are but few, and you make " him a *Portuguese*." These kind of national Reflections are, generally speaking, as ill-founded as they are ill-natured, and ought never to be repeated but with a View to refute them. In their Discoveries, which led the Way and suggested the Design to *Columbus*, they shewed themselves a penetrating and enterprising People ; their Conquests in the *Indies*, though the best Part are now low lost, are yet Proofs of a Courage and Conduct that deserved better Fate ; their reviving Naval Power in *Europe*, and carrying it to so great a Height as they did in a few Years, ought to procure them, with us at least, a better Character. But there is one Circumstance relating to the *Portuguese*, the Truth of which cannot be disputed, and which is alone sufficient to wipe off all the Imputations of their Enemies : They have always been remarkable for their steady Loyalty to their Kings, as on the other hand their Monarchs have been no less distinguished by their Justice, Moderation, and sincere Affection for their Subjects.

Philip II. of *Spain*, under Colour of Right, seized this Country, and annexed it to the rest of his Dominions, in 1580 ; but the People were equally dissatisfied with his Title, and averse to the *Spanish* Government, which was, to say the Truth, the immediate Cause of the Ruin of their Country. It was this that gave Occasion to the *Dutch* to deprive them of their Settlements in the *Indies*, on the Coast of *Africa*, and, in a great measure, the *Brazils* ; for the *Spaniards* looking upon this as a conquered Kingdom, took but little Care of their Concerns ; and the *Portuguese* Nobility, who had formerly shewn so much Courage and Constancy in the Service of their native Princes, were far from exerting themselves in the

same Manner for the Support of Strangers, who they plainly saw did not either use or wish them well.

At last, tired out with the bad Behaviour of such as were sent to govern them by the Court of *Madrid*, they resolv'd to throw off the *Spanish* Yoke at all Events; and it so fell out, in 1640, that a fair Opportunity offer'd itself of carrying into Execution what they had so long designed. *John* Duke of *Bragança*, Grandson to that Duke who was Competitor with King *Philip* for the Kingdom, was prevail'd upon to hazard his hereditary Estates, which were very little short of one third of the Kingdom, in asserting of his Title to the Whole, and the People supported him so unanimously, that there is no general Revolution recorded in ancient or modern History to have been more effectually, or more secretly brought about, or with less Effusion of Blood, than this, from whence he was rais'd to the Throne of *Portugal* by the Title of *John* the Fourth. His Subjects were no less steady and constant in supporting him upon the Throne, than they had been universally willing and ready to raise him to it, though the *Spaniards* maintained a long War, in hopes of recovering this Kingdom, and though the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they were then fighting for their own Liberties against the same Crown, prosecuted their Designs in the *Indies*, and in *Brazil*, against the *Portuguese*.

It is true, that they lost several of their remaining Settlements in *Asia*; and that it was with great Difficulty they preserv'd *Goa*, *Bombay*, *Diu*, and a few inconsiderable Places on the Continent; but in the *Brazils* they had better Fortune, the People preferr'd their Government to that of the *Dutch*, and in a short time they recover'd all that they had there lost.

We must observe that while the *Spaniards* were Masters of *Portugal*, their Maxims of making the most of the Kingdom while in their Hands, ruin'd the Trade, sunk the naval Power, and brought the *Portuguese* Plantations almost to nothing. An equal and just Government is necessary, not only to raise, but to preserve these Advantages to any Nation, since whenever that is wanting, they droop, dwindle, and decay, like Plants that remain unwater'd, or Children trusted to a mercenary Nurse, that soon lose their Flesh and Colour, which were the Result of the Pains taken with them by an affectionate Mother. To judge from Effects may be a bad Maxim in Morality, but in Politicks it seldom fails.

John

John the IVth died in 1651, without seeing an End of that War which his Accession had occasioned. He left his Dominions to his Son *Alphonso* VI. then a Child, under the Tutelage of the Queen Dowager his Mother. This gave the *Spaniards* a great Advantage, and nine Years after they obtained, in Appearance at least, still a greater; for at the Conclusion of the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, the *French*, who had hitherto been the warm and almost the sole Allies of *Portugal*, engaged to give that Crown no farther Assistance; but their great Regard for their own Interest, induced them, in direct Violation of that Article, to send the *Portuguese* greater Assistance than they had ever done, under the Command of Marshal *Schomberg*, an Officer of such Capacity, that it might be truly said, his single Person was equivalent to a small Army.

He reformed many Abuses, and introduced a new Discipline among the *Portuguese* Troops; so that notwithstanding they had the whole *Spanish* Force to deal with, yet they bravely defended their Liberties, and gained two such signal Victories at *Estremos* and *Villa Viciosa*, as convinced their Enemies, that the Desire of Freedom may over-balance Superiority of Numbers. At last in 1668, the *French* King *Louis* XIV. falling, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, with a great Army into the *Low-Countries*, the *Spaniards* found themselves under a Necessity of making Peace with *Portugal*, which was done under the Mediation of King *Charles* II. of *Great Britain*, who had married the Infanta *Catharine*, Daughter to King *John*, and Sister to King *Alphonso*; by this Treaty the Crown of *Spain* renounced all her Claims and Pretensions on that of *Portugal*, and solemnly acknowledged the Rights of the House of *Bragança*, which put an End to a disputed Title, and restor'd Peace to this Country, after a War, or at least the Interruption of Peace, for the Space of twenty-eight Years.

Alphonso VI. having attained the Years, tho' not the Discretion of a Man, resolved to take the Government of his Dominions into his own Hands, tho' his Mother had ruled with great Prudence, and himself could not but be satisfied of his own Incapacity, which is said to have been owing to a long Indisposition, that so much weakened his Abilities, both in Body and Mind, as to render him equally unfit for the Duties of a King, and of a Husband. But his Favourites who had persuaded him to remove his Mother (who is said to have died of Grief in a Year after) from the Administration of Affairs, advised him likewise, from Views of their own,

to marry without Delay ; and accordingly a Princess of *Savoy Nemours* was thought of for his Queen, whom he actually espoused. Those who had pushed him upon these Designs, and who had no other View than that of governing the Kingdom at their own Will under his Name, began next to infuse Jealousies of his Brother *Don Pedro*, the presumptive Heir of the Crown ; and are also said to have engaged him in such other low and shameful Intrigues, as obliged the Queen, after she had cohabited with him for six Months, to retire to a Convent for the Preservation, as she affirmed, of her Honour and her Life.

The Infant *Don Pedro*, considering the Incapacity of his Brother, the confused State of publick Affairs, and his own great Péril, determined by the Advice, and with the Assistance and Consent of the principal Nobility, to secure the Person of the King, and to take upon himself the Administration of the Government. This was accordingly done, and not long after the Queen left her Convent, and a Dispensation having been obtained from the Court of *Rome* for that Purpose, espoused the Prince *Don Pedro*, who removed *Alphonso* to the Island of *Tercera*, where he kept him confined under a strong Guard ; but caused him to be treated with the Tenderness which he owed his Brother, and the Respect that was due to a King. However, some malicious Tongues, in a few Years, reporting the contrary, the Prince caused him to be brought back to the Castle of *Cintra*, within a Day's Journey of *Lisbon*, and there, under an easy Custody, he was served and respected as a King. The Prince was persuaded by many to have assumed that Title himself, but he inflexibly declined it, contenting himself with that of Regent till his Brother died, which was in 1683.

This is the best Account, that, from comparing the most authentick Relations, we have been able to obtain of this Affair ; for as to the fine-wrought and amazing Stories that are found in some secret Histories and private Memoirs, they seem to be destitute of all Foundation in Truth, since if *Don Pedro* had been inclined to get rid of his Brother, and to make himself Master of the Kingdom at any Rate, he might most certainly have done it in the Confusion of the first Revolution, or not long after he was sent to *Tercera* ; but as he did neither, but showed himself in all other Respects a religious and virtuous Prince, there is no Cause for giving Credit to any of those Suspicions, which fanciful, ill-informed, or malicious Writers have published,

King

King *Pedro* had by his first Queen, who had been his Brother's Wife, only one Daughter, and for some time before her Mother's Death, she was considered as the Heiress of the Kingdom, and while she was so considered, a Marriage was treated for her with the young Duke of *Savoy*; nay this was carried so far, that the *Portuguese* Fleet was actually sent to the Coasts of *Italy*, in order to bring over the intended Bridegroom; but that Prince changing his Mind, the Fleet returned without him, and the Infanta dying soon after this Disappointment, the People of *Portugal* violently solicited their Sovereign to think of a second Marriage, which induced him to espouse the Princess *Maria Sophia*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, by whom he had Issue *John* Prince of *Brazil*, and also the Infants *Don Francis*, *Don Antonio*, and *Don Emanuel*.

The King continued for many Years to govern his Subjects with great Justice and Moderation; and as a long and cruel War had wasted his People and his Treasures, during the Reign of his Brother, he was very careful to preserve Peace, to encourage Agriculture, and to promote the Commerce of his Subjects. A little before the Peace of *Ryswick*, he offered his Mediation to *Louis XIV.* but received such an Answer, as showed plainly enough that *France* was resolved to reject it with a kind of Disdain. The *Portuguese* Monarch thought fit to pass by the Affront for the present; but it afterward cost *France* dear. So dangerous a thing it is for Princes, though ever so powerful, to treat with any Degree of Contempt such as are confessedly equal to, them in Rank, though for the present it may be inferior in some other, and those too accidental Respects.

When *Philip V.* mounted the Throne of *Spain*, the Friendship of *Portugal* became not only expedient, but necessary. Upon this Occasion, *Louis XIV.* was as obliging and civil, as he had formerly shewn himself haughty and proud; and tho' *Don Pedro* had already resolved on the Part he was to take, yet considering how soon, and how easily he might be crushed by the Forces of the two Crowns, he entered into an Alliance with King *Philip*, and this for various Reasons. In the first Place, it gained Time, and delivered him from present Danger; in the next, it gave an Opportunity of gaining good Terms, which might be of Use to him on another Occasion; and lastly, he obtained by it some present Advantages, which were very beneficial to his Subjects. Yet notwithstanding this Treaty, he refused, though warmly pressed by the *French* King,

King, to acknowledge the Title of the Son of King *James* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; which showed plainly enough, that in making this Treaty he had followed his Interest rather than his Inclination.

As soon as the general Confederacy was formed against *France*, and it clearly appeared that the Allies meant to set up another King of *Spain*, the *Portuguese* Monarch demanded of the *French* King, pursuant to the late Alliance, a Fleet of thirty Sail of the Line, and a large Sum of Money. He knew well enough, that as Things then stood, those Demands could not be complied with; but he wanted a Pretence for breaking that Treaty, without breaking Faith, and this did his Business very effectually; for as soon as the Fleet of the Allies appeared upon his Coast, he thought fit to declare himself neuter, and not long after made a Treaty with *Charles III.* whose Claim they supported to the whole *Spanish* Monarchy. By this Treaty he stipulated for himself very great Advantages; for the new King was to espouse the Infanta of *Portugal*, though but a Child of seven Years old; several Places were to be yielded to him on the Frontiers of *Spain*; some Concessions were likewise to be made in the *Indies* and *America*; and he was to have the Affiento of Negroes, which had been also granted him by the former Treaty with King *Philip*.

In consideration of these Terms, he agreed to receive King *Charles*, and to assist him with Forces, for the Recovery of his Kingdom, for which, however, he was to have large Subsidies from the Maritime Powers, and a good Fleet to protect his Coasts. A few Days before King *Charles* arrived at *Lisbon*, died the Infanta, who was to have been his Queen; but this made no Alteration in the Measures that had been concerted, his *Portuguese* Majesty resolving to prosecute the War as he had promised; but before any Steps could be taken for this Purpose, he was removed by Death, *December 9, 1706*, when he had lived fifty eight, and from the Death of his Brother, had reigned twenty-three Years.

John V. the Father of the present King of *Portugal*, succeeded his Father, and pursued his Steps very exactly, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* surprized the Town of *Alcantara*, and made the Garrison Prisoners of War, almost before he was warm in the Throne. The Assistance he gave the Allies, brought the *Spanish* Monarchy twice to the Brink of Ruin; and though most of our Accounts say, that the *Portuguese* Soldiers behaved but indifferently in that War, yet this ought not to be under-

understood as a national Reflection, farther than as long Peace, great Wealth, and much Luxury, are capable of corrupting any People. And it may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that the greatest Part of the young Nobility, who were Officers at this time in the Army, were but Fresh-water Commanders, and who from leading indolent and debauched Lives at *Lisbon*, were come to make their Fortunes by their Commissions. It was no great Wonder therefore that they behaved but indifferently, or that the poor People who obeyed them followed their Examples. But that this was the sole Cause of their Misbehaviour appears from hence, that after the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, many *English* Officers were obliged to fill up, and some raised their whole Corps afresh amongst the *Portuguese*; and from the Mouths of those Officers I have heard, that such Men, when in our Pay, behaved in Time of Action as well as any Men could do, and were besides so sober, so diligent, and so attentive to their Duty, that what was at first done from Necessity, became Matter of Choice. This I thought it was but Justice in me to mention, as the calumnious Reports to the Prejudice of their Reputation are already common enough in Print.

At the Close of the War, King *John* raised very high Demands upon the Crown of *Spain*; for he knew well enough that Abatements might be made at any time, and very rightly judged, that by asking a great deal he should be sure to get somewhat, as he really did, both in *Europe* and in *America*, besides a Compensation for the Loss of his Negro Contract. But after all, it fell very short of what he had stipulated with King *Charles*, though perhaps the Peace he made with King *Philip*, in 1715, might be very near an Equivalent for what would have been allowed of his Treaty, if King *Charles* had succeeded, and become the peaceable Possessor of the *Spanish* Monarchy; as there is a wide Difference between what Princes may be brought to promise in their Distress, and their Readiness to perform, when it is in their Power to dispute the Performance.

While the War continued, the Commerce of the *Brazils* began to grow much more considerable than in former Times, by the working of the Gold Mines; and as there was at that Time a great Intercourse between the two Nations, the *British* Traders obtained a large Share of that Gold for the Commodities and Manufactures with which they furnished the *Portuguese*. King *John* could not help seeing this with Concern, he thought it hard they should have but a Sight of the vast Wealth derived

derived from their own Settlements, and that it should immediately vanish, as it were, out of *Portugal* into another Country. His Ministers were exactly of their Master's Opinion, and many Consultations were held about finding a speedy and effectual Remedy for what they considered as the greatest Grievance. At length it was concluded, that the only Method could be taken was to prohibit the Wear of foreign Manufactures; and this had certainly been put in Execution, if Lord *Galway*, the Commander of our Forces in that Country, tho' a *Frenchman* by Birth, had not prevented it.

He was a great Favourite with his *Portuguese* Majesty, and esteemed to be, as he certainly was, a very honest Man. To him therefore, as to a Friend, and under the strictest Injunction of Secrecy, the King communicated this Affair, and asked his Advice about it. His Lordship told him fairly, that the Remedy would be worse than the Disease; that the same Providence which had given his Subjects Gold, had bestowed Commodities and Manufactures upon the *English*; that the Exchange therefore was not so injurious as he imagined; and that by prohibiting Commerce, he might force those that were now his best Friends to become his Enemies, and to employ their Naval Power, which he knew to be so much superior to his own, in taking that by Force for which they now gave a proper Equivalent.

He farther represented, that whatever turn the War might take, *Portugal* must always stand in need of the Friendship of *England*, to prevent becoming dependent on the House of *Austria* or the House of *Bourbon*; and therefore it was much better that his Subjects should trade with those from whom he had so much to hope, than with other Nations from whom he had all things to fear. The King, who was both a reasonable and a just Prince, and who in his Business acted solely from a laudable Affection for his Subjects, comprehended the Force of these Arguments, and immediately laid aside a Project, which how plausible soever in its first Appearance, was certainly at the Bottom neither equitable nor practicable. Happy for the World if all Kings meant as well, deliberated as coolly, and were as ready to receive and follow good Advice!

The next remarkable Point in this Reign was, the Quarrel between his *Portuguese* Majesty and the Pope, about the Affair of the Nuncio *Bichi*, an Incident too inconsiderable in itself to be mentioned in a Work of this Nature, if it did not contribute to explain a political Article which is very well worth the ingenious Reader's Time perfectly to comprehend; because

because on the one hand, it shews the Connection between the Catholick Powers and the Head of their Church; and on the other hand, it explains the Manner in which these Powers act when they believe themselves at any time ill used by the Pope. Signior *Bichi* was sent to the Court of *Lisbon* so early as the Year 1710, and at first the Court was very far from being pleased with him, but by Degrees he got over the Aversion, and in a short time afterwards the King recommended him to *Clement XI.* for a Cardinal's Hat; which was refused, under Pretence that his Nomination was opposed by the Imperial Court; which, whoever, was not strictly true. *Innocent XIII.* confiding in the known Piety of the King of *Portugal*, ventured to use him worse than this Predecessor had done; for he not only refused absolutely to make the Nuncio a Cardinal, but recalled Signior *Bichi*, and sent another Prelate to succeed him. But the King of *Portugal* would not submit to this Indignity, and therefore sent Word to the new Nuncio, not to set Foot in his Dominions, and refused likewise to let the old one go, till he was assured that Respect would be paid to his Nomination.

Upon the Death of *Innocent XIII.* succeeded *Benedict XIII.* who went a Step farther than his Predecessor, by commanding positively the Nuncio *Bichi* to quit the Court of *Lisbon*, which accordingly he did, and returned by the Way of *Madrid* into *Italy*. But this Treatment provoked the King of *Portugal* to such a Degree, that he recalled his Subjects from *Rome*, broke off all Correspondence with that Court; and if the Pope had lived a little longer, would very probably have set up a Patriarch. Cardinal *Corsini* succeeding Pope *Benedict*, by the Title of *Clement XII.* found himself under a Necessity of putting an End to this Quarrel, which had now lasted almost twenty Years, and in his second Promotion in 1731, bestowed the long-expected Hat upon *Bichi*, who was then upwards of Sixty.

There is no doubt the Court of *Rome* hoped that, in the Course of this Dispute, either the King or the Nuncio would have died, and then it would have dropped of course, in a manner honourable to the Holy See; but failing in this, the late Pope was forced to make the best of a bad Bargain, that he might avoid driving things to Extremities.

In the Year 1729, a double Marriage was concluded between the Courts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the Prince of *Asturias*, now his Catholick Majesty, espoused the Infanta of *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Brazil*, now King of *Portugal*, the Infanta of *Spain*, formerly stiled Queen of *France*. The Exchange of the Princesses

was

was made with great Solemnity, and their Catholick and *Portuguese* Majesties had an Interview on the 23d of *January*, in the Island of *Pegon* in the River of *Caya*, about a League from *Badajoz*. But notwithstanding this Alliance, the two Courts were very near coming to a Rupture in 1735; and it is thought, that the sending a *British* Fleet under the Command of Sir *John Norris* to *Lisbon*, was what chiefly prevented it, and saved *Portugal* from an Invasion.

The two Crowns were not reconciled thoroughly till the Year 1737, from which Period they became every Day more united, which gave much Satisfaction to some Courts, and no Umbrage to any. Through the Course of about thirteen Years more, the King prosecuted steadily the same Maxims of Government to which he adhered in his Youth, which would have turned more to the Advantage of his Subjects than they did, if he had not consumed such immense Sums in erecting religious Houses, decorating Churches, and causing a Chapel to be built, the Ornaments and Furniture of which surpassed all Example, and almost exceeded Computation. A Stroke of the Palsy, under which he laboured for many Years, and by which his Faculties were very much impaired, threw publick Affairs in a great measure into the Hands of Priests, as little agreeable to the Inclinations as it was to the Interests of the People. In this Situation of Things, a Treaty was made in 1750 with the Court of *Madrid*, by which *Nova Colonia* on the River of *Plate* was yielded to his Catholick Majesty, to the great Regret of the *Portuguese*, as well on Account of the Value of that Settlement, as because they apprehended their Possession of the *Brazils* would by this Cession be rendered precarious. On the last of *July* the same Year, this Monarch, worn out by his Distemper, deceased, in the sixty-first Year of his Age, and in the forty-fourth Year of his Reign.

Don *Joseph*, Prince of *Brazil*, succeeded his Father, to the universal Satisfaction of his Subjects, and with as great Expectations as ever any Monarch that mounted the Throne. It was generally believed that he would make considerable Alterations, in which he did not disappoint the Hopes of the Publick; and yet they were done so slowly, with such Moderation, and with so many Circumstances of Prudence, as hindered all Grounds of Complaint. Amongst other new Regulations, the Power of the Inquisition suffered some Restriction; the King directing that none of their Sentences should be put in Execution, till reviewed and approved by his Privy Council. But as in the Reign of his Father he had

had consented to the Treaty with *Spain*, he ratified it after his Accession, and has since actually carried it into Execution upon this noble Principle, that no Considerations of Interest ought ever to induce a Monarch to break his Word.

The Progress of his Reign has been of a Piece with its Beginning; and the Allies, as well as the Subjects of the Crown of *Portugal*, have had just Reason to esteem themselves happy in so good a Prince. One Circumstance only occupies the Attention of the former, at the same time that it excites the Fear of the latter. His *Portuguese* Majesty is without Issue Male, his Uncles and his Brother unmarried. This might afford room for many Speculations of a delicate Nature, and for that Reason, at this Juncture more especially, improper. We may be sure that the King and Queen cannot but have this Matter at heart, in which their People and their Posterity have so near and so great a Concern, and therefore we may hope that some Provision will be made, consistent alike with the true Interests of *Portugal*, and the Tranquility of *Europe*. We have had too recent an Example of what happened upon the Death of the Emperor *Charles VI.* notwithstanding all the Care that could be taken, and we know how very near that was to destroying the Ballance, which perhaps would have taken place, but through the Defect of Force in that Prince to whom they gave the Title of Heir. This Error, no doubt, will be avoided here, and the Succession so securely settled as to put it into their Power to maintain themselves with the Assistance of the Nation's Affections, and the Support of Crowns which are naturally bound to respect *Portugal*, and to manifest the Truth of their Professions by their Deeds.

As for the Interests of *Portugal*, they may be divided into Political, which regard their Possessions in *Europe*, and Commercial, which respect their Dominions in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*. As to the first, there is no doubt that it consists in maintaining Peace; a Point to which his late Majesty remained always well inclined, and thereby preserved Quiet to his Subjects in the midst of all the Broils of *Europe*. There is no doubt the Power of the House of *Bourbon* has been, and there is no Reason to suspect that it will not remain, formidable to this Kingdom; and hence arises the Necessity that *Portugal* is under, of living upon good Terms with the Maritime Powers, and more especially with *Great Britain*. It is indeed saying no more than Truth, that there is scarce any Instance in History of a more lasting and sincere Friendship, than has subsisted, for near
a Cen-

a Century past, between the two Crowns; and as it is their mutual Interest that it should subsist, there seems to be no Ground to suspect it will not do so. While this continues, and while *Great Britain* maintains her Superiority at Sea, *Portugal* can hardly ever be in danger.

As for the Northern Crowns, she has very little to do with them, or they with her; and as for the *Italian* States, it is not easy to conceive how any Differences should arise between them and his *Portuguese* Majesty; and if there should, it is very easy for him to do himself Justice. There were formerly long and bloody Wars between the Subjects of this Crown and the *Moors*; but as their Causes are now ceased, their Consequences are sunk with them. We must however except the piratical States of *Barbary*, which are in constant War with *Portugal*, because they are constant Gainers by it; but whenever a martial and active Prince shall be seated upon that Throne, he will not find it a very difficult Matter to put his Navy in such a Condition, as may impose Respect upon these thievish People, whose Depredations are a Scandal to all the *European* Powers, who might easily crush them at once, instead of continuing to pay Tribute to an insignificant Race of Rovers, that owe their Impunity merely to the Negligence and Want of publick Spirit in those, who ought long ago to have destroyed them, and may do it whenever they think fit. Let us now descend to the second Particular.

As to the Commercial Interest of *Portugal*, it lies now chiefly in the *West*, as it did formerly in the *East-Indies*; and in respect to *Brazil*, their Strength is so great, that they have no Reason to apprehend any thing from their Neighbours; the only Danger to which they are exposed, is from an Insurrection of their own Negroes, which might indeed have very bad Consequences. In the present State of Things, this Colony is the most profitable in the World, since, considering the Proportion between the two Kingdoms, *Portugal* draws more Profit from her *Brazils*, than *Spain* from both *Mexico* and *Peru*. It is otherwise in regard to *Asia*, where from an Empire of almost incredible Extent, the *Portuguese* Dominion is in a manner shrunk within the narrow Bounds of the little Peninsula at the Point of which stands the City of *Goa*.

It has often been deliberated in the Council at *Lisbon*, whether they should not desert even that, since in some Years it costs more to maintain it than it is worth. But of late we were told, that a Project has been formed, not for recovering their Dominions indeed, but for restoring their Trade, and extending

ing their Commerce in the *East-Indies*, by reforming the Abuses under which it has long suffered. If ever this is carried into Execution, it must be at a Time when the other *European* Powers, that have Dominions in those Parts, are at War with each other; and therefore they could never expect a more favourable Juncture than the past War, which they neglected. If they had embraced it, there is no doubt that foreign Merchants would have been ready enough to secure their own Effects, trading under *Portuguese* Colours; and a very few Years Practice of this kind would have changed the Face of their Affairs in *India*, and might possibly have encouraged their Government at home to think seriously of giving them all the Assistance in their Power; the want of which has been most apparently the principal Cause of their Decline.

Before the Kingdom of *Portugal* was annexed to that of *Spain*, her Monarchs were remarkable for their Attention to naval Power, to the Support of their Colonies, and whatever might extend their Commerce; and to this extraordinary Care of their Princes, the quick Growth of their maritime Force, and their amazing Progress in *India*, was chiefly due. But while a Province to *Spain*, all this sunk as fast as it rose, and before the *Portuguese* could extricate themselves from this Dependence, they were almost undone. The defending their own Country next, and the recovering of *Brazil*, employed all their Care, and these are their Excuses for neglecting the *Indies*. But as all those Burdens are now removed, as they have no secret Enemies to fear, no avowed Enemies to oppose them, they may certainly, by a timely and steady Application, restore the Face of Things in this Country; but to delay this, will very probably put it for ever out of their Power.

Upon the whole it may be truly said, that under the present and the last Reign, the Kingdom of *Portugal* has had Time to recruit and recover its internal Strength, which was much exhausted by so long a War, as followed the raising the House of *Bragança* to the Throne. If the Advantage therefore of this Conjunction be not lost, but the *Portuguese* avail themselves some way or other of an Interval that leaves them entirely at Liberty, there is no Question that they may make a different Figure in the next Century, from what they did in the last, or do at present. But if, as I said, they let this Occasion entirely slip, and stay till *Europe* settles upon its old Foundation, when their Dependency on

Spain will be again felt, they may continue as inconsiderable as some Writers have taken a Pleasure to represent them.

But this will be their own, that is, the Fault of their Government. For when the great Powers are embarrassed, then the lesser States have an Opportunity of becoming, by some bold Measure, which may be taken before any of their Neighbours are well acquainted with their Views, powerful and independent. If a Plan for regulating what little belongs to them in the *Indies*, had been fixed a Year after the War began, they might have been, by this time, as formidable there as any, except the *Dutch*; and the *French* would have connived at and assisted them as the weakest Side, till they made them more considerable than the rest, and then they would have repented of their good Offices, and endeavoured to ruin them. Yet their first Run of good Fortune might well enable them to stand firm, and the Remembrance of past Misfortunes inspire them with just Principles.

This being conceived, and attentively promoted, is a very feasible Scheme for reviving their past Glory, and restoring naval Power to the *Portuguese*, who must attempt somewhat of this kind, if they really mean to raise up their Heads again, and rival that Reputation they had before Don *Sebastian*, by invading *Barbary*, destroyed himself, his Army, and the Interest of his Subjects, which it had cost his Ancestors so much to acquire. It is true this might have been undertaken with much greater Probability of Success while the War continued, at which Season these Conjectures were first advanced; but it is far from being too late, even now, if Things are maturely considered before they are carried into Execution, and are then executed without Precipitation. It is a Point of great Consequence to those who would understand the Interests of *Europe*, to reflect on past Events, and to speculate freely upon what may possibly happen in time to come.

We have an Instance of this, with respect to the Country of which we are now treating, that ought not to be passed over in Silence. A Resolution was taken a little before the late King's Death in the Councils of *Portugal*, and carried into Execution, by which, under colour of repressing Luxury, some severe Edicts have been published, which have a bad Effect upon Trade. This shewed that his *Portuguese* Majesty either forgot or changed his Sentiments on the Point formerly discussed with the Lord Viscount *Gakway*, which sooner or later, they may have Occasion

sion to repent. There is no doubt at all to be made, that the capital Maxim in Government is the Welfare of the People; but as the Neglect of this is criminal, so Mistakes about it may be fatal. A Prince can never be too much commended for keeping that Maxim constantly in View, but at the same time it is of the utmost Importance to him, that it be thoroughly understood. We will not enter into a long political Dissertation upon so self-evident a Point; but content ourselves with applying what has been already laid down, and which cannot be disputed, to the Matter before us, because this will at once contribute to the Information, and to the Entertainment of the Reader.

It has been already demonstrated, as far as things of this kind will admit of Demonstration, that the Safety, Independence, and Prosperity of *Portugal*, must depend either upon her maintaining a strict Conjunction with her natural Allies, or upon her acquiring a Strength sufficient to sustain herself, without having recourse to any foreign Assistance. But as the latter is a thing very difficult to do, so beyond all Question till it can be brought about, it will never be good Policy in this Crown to run any hazard as to the former. Now we have likewise shewn, that till *Portugal* shall have acquired a naval Force superior to that of her Neighbours, she must, in some measure, depend upon that of *Great Britain*, and therefore it is directly contrary to her true Interest to take any Step whatever that may be either prejudicial to that Force upon which her own Safety depends, or which may weaken those Ties Experience has shewn to have been hitherto strong enough upon any Emergency to intitle her to that Assistance. Whatever affects the Commerce between *Great Britain* and *Portugal*, operates to the Disadvantage of the last mentioned Crown, as well by lessening our naval Force, which depends upon Trade, as by weakening the Connections that unite the two Nations, and are of equal Consequence to both.

It may indeed be pretended, that if this new Scheme of Politics should not lessen the *Portuguese* Commerce in general, it will be of no great Consequence to that Crown, tho' there should happen some Variation in the Manner of carrying it on; yet when this shall be maturely and candidly considered, it will be found there is no Ground at all for such a Pretence. The Kingdom of *Portugal* must be furnished with Commodities and Manufactures from other Countries; but it does not follow from thence, that it is a Matter indifferent from what Countries she derives them. It may be, that a Part of her Trade may

fall to the Share of the Subjects of a Crown, the natural Interests of which are contrary to her own; or they may fall into the Hands of a People, who have no Regard to any body's Interest but their own; and in such a Situation of Things, it certainly behoves the *Portuguese* to be attentive rather in keeping up their Commerce with those who will, for that very Reason, consider the Interests of *Portugal* as their own. If this Method of arguing be not conclusive, in a Point of this Nature, there is nothing that can be so; for Commerce is no longer a Blessing to a Country, than the Consequences of it are beneficial to that Country.

We must indeed allow, that suppressing of Luxury, encouraging Frugality, and providing for the Stay of Riches amongst the Body of a People, in whatever manner they acquire them, are Points that deserve the Attention of a Government, and more especially of a Government true to its own Interests. But these can never be properly attended to, if all the Consequences that may follow them are not foreseen and provided for. When Luxury is purely the Effect of prodigious Wealth, it requires much Circumspection in providing a suitable Cure for it; but when Luxury proceeds from an unequal Distribution of Wealth, Industry with proper Encouragements will work an easy and an effectual Cure. On the other hand, forced Frugality may have very bad Effects, and produce in a short Time Evils attended with worse Consequences than those that are apprehended from Luxury. It may, indeed it must create a very unequal Distribution of Wealth; for if those who are possessed of Money, are forced to save it whether they will or not, Numbers will be driven to downright Want, who would otherwise have subsisted very well upon that Dissipation, which was looked upon as a Calamity. These are Things that merit very serious Reflection in all Countries, but more especially in *Portugal*, where if the Minds of the noble and rich are not to be taken up with splendid Trifles, it is a thousand to one that they are occupied by worse Objects. An historical Instance will set this Matter in a very full and proper Light.

When the Inhabitants of *Portugal* had just thrown off the Yoke of *Spain*, the Conde Duke *d'Olivarez* consulted with a noble *Genoese*, who had great Credit with him, as to the Means by which this Country might be reduced, For now, said that great Minister, the King must recover his Rights by the Sword, and add to his other Titles that of Conquest; but the Business is where to begin, and what Measures we ought to take, in order

order to weaken the Enemy most ? To this the crafty *Genoese* answered, The best Method is to leave them in Peace ; there are many of the noble Families in that Country immensely rich, and if these are not alarmed by the Apprehension of common Danger, they will infallibly fall out amongst themselves and do your Business ; there is a Restlessness in the Spirit of that Nation, which will not suffer them to enjoy their Wealth in Peace. The Conde Duke followed this Advice, tho' it did not succeed ; but it was so very near succeeding, that it shewed plainly he that gave it had judged right.

It is very probable that what this Man said of the *Portuguese* then, may be still true ; for while their Government continues the same, the Humours of Nations seldom alter. If therefore this restless Temper is allowed to spend itself in Dress, Furniture, Equipage, Diversions, and such other Articles of Expence ; this may contribute to the publick Tranquility, and must of Necessity disperse the Riches of the Great among the meaner sort of People, and of these the most industrious will, as it is fit they should, have the greatest Share. But if a sudden Check is given to this before such as lavish their Money have taken another Turn in employing it, this may become the Source of destructive Factions among the Great, and of as destructive Indigence among the Mechanicks and lower sort of People ; the former will find themselves on a sudden too rich to be quiet, and the latter will become poor enough to venture upon any thing that may procure, or even bid fair for a Subsistence.

It may be said in answer to this, that in many Countries sumptuary Laws have had very good Effects ; which is certainly very true ; but then the Causes of this must be looked for in the Nature of the Government, under which the Inhabitants of those Countries lived, and the Disposition of the People. Where the Wealth of a Nation arises from annual Importations of intrinsic Riches from their Colonies, it will be a hard Matter to inspire Industry, at least such an Industry as sumptuary Laws are calculated to promote ; and therefore it is unnatural and impolitick to venture laying legal Restraints upon such a People ; for the true Way to moderate Luxury amongst them must be by encouraging Expence of another Kind, and of publick Utility.

If therefore the Court of *Portugal*, instead of those Edicts, had encouraged the Nobility to interest themselves in Expeditions to the *Indies*, for improving their Settlements on the Coast of *Africa*, or to fit out Squadrons against the *Barbary* Corsairs ; this would have done effectually what the other either will not

do, or if it does, will introduce Distempers infinitely more dangerous and desperate than the Disease it was calculated to remove.

In dwelling so long upon this Subject, we have been influenced chiefly by two Motives, the first general, and the latter particular. In general, it is a Point of great Consequence to have a true Notion of Matters of this Nature, with which State Empirics are much inclined to meddle, and with which if they are suffered to meddle, they seldom fail of creating Confusion; for it is no such easy Matter as some imagine, to rectify the Manners of Mankind by Laws, though it may be safely and advantageously done by Examples. In Countries that derive their Wealth from Trade, or from the Produce of their foreign Settlements, such Attempts are most dangerous, as the Mechanism of their Constitutions is very complicated, and ought therefore never to be tampered with, for fear that while the Correction of some small Inconvenience is endeavoured, the whole Machine should be put into Disorder, and what was intended for publick Service, become unexpectedly the Ground of publick Disturbance.

As to the particular Motive, we have a singular and special Interest in whatever regards the Welfare of the Crown of *Portugal*; its Subjects are our old, our natural, and our useful Allies; we have been benefited by our Commerce with them, and they have derived great Advantages from our Friendship. Besides, the Crown of *Portugal* is one of those Powers, that while it regards its own Interests must remain attached to the Common Cause, by which I mean the Liberty and Independency of *Europe*, the preserving to every Kingdom and State its just Right of pursuing its own Welfare, according to its own Constitution, which as it is a common Benefit to all, is very properly stiled the Common Cause, in Opposition to those arbitrary Systems whereby some overgrown and despotick Crown, or some ambitious and overbearing Family is made the Center, about which other secondary States must move, as the Planets do about the Sun; with this Difference, that as the one is according to the Law of Nature, so the other is in direct Defiance of it, as the Consequences in both Cases plainly prove,

C H A P. XIII.

A succinct Description of ITALY, the Powers subsisting therein at present, their Forces, Revenues, and Trade. The Nature of the BALLANCE in that Country; whence it has been so often in Danger; and why those Powers of Europe interest themselves so much for its Preservation, which are not connected with ITALY by any of the usual Ties.

THE great and fruitful Country of *Italy* has been, as high as History records, either the Seat of Empire, or the Theatre of War. According to the earliest Account we have, this extensive and beautiful Peninsula was then in the same Situation that it now is, cantoned out into various little States and Republicks, all living in Distrust, at least, if not in War with each other. The *Roman* Commonwealth changed the Face of Things by swallowing up all, and making herself the Head and Mistress of *Italy*. The Division of her Empire proved the Ruin of it, and the Provinces adjacent to *Italy* being lost, the barbarous Nations that conquered them very soon became Masters even of the Imperial City of *Rome*, and divided *Italy* once more into separate Principalities, all of which have been extremely subject to Revolutions, sometimes from the superior Power of foreign Invaders, and as often from the Effects of intestine Commotions; so that no History is fuller of Events, and consequently more capable of gratifying the Curiosity, and fixing the Attention of a Reader, than that of this Country. But to enter into this is not our Business; it would be a Work of great Extent, and prodigious Variety, highly entertaining and highly useful. All we aim at, is to make such a Representation of its present State, as may enable every Reader clearly to comprehend the Grounds of the high Attention that is paid to the Ballance of Power there; by shewing as briefly as we can, how it is divided; what are the Titles of its present Possessors, their comparative Force and Interests, with other Circumstances of a like Nature, that may set in a proper Light the Disputes that have been lately composed,

and those latent Pretensions, which it is suspected may produce in our Times further Disturbances.

We have different Computations of the Extent of *Italy*, according to the different Notions that ancient and modern Authors have entertained of the proper Bounds of this Country. But not to trouble the Reader with Geographical Niceties, which have scarce any thing to do with our Design, and would contribute little or nothing to his Information, let it suffice, that from the Frontiers of *Switzerland* to the Extremity of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it is about seven hundred and fifty Miles in Length; and from the Frontiers of the Duchy of *Savoy* to those of the Dominions of the State of *Venice*, which is its greatest Breath, about four hundred, though in some Parts it is scarce a fourth Part so broad. As to its Situation, it is bounded on the West by the *Alps*, which separates it from the adjacent Provinces of *France*; on the North it is likewise bounded by the *Alps*; and on the East by the Dominions of the House of *Austria*; on the one Side it is washed by the *Mediterranean*, from the County of *Nice* to the Coasts of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and on the other by the *Adriatick* and the Gulph of *Venice*; a narrow Streight divides it from the fruitful Island of *Sicily*, which however has been in all times reckoned a Part of it. The Soil and Climate, in different Parts, are as opposite as can well be imagined. In *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Grisons*, the Mountains are as high as in any Part of *Europe*, the Earth barren, and the Air bleak and sharp; the Plains of *Lombardy* again, are justly stiled the Garden of *Europe*, as well on Account of their Fertility, as the Serenity and Pleasantness of the Climate; in the Dominions of the Church, and in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Heat in Summer is excessive, to which however they are indebted for the richest Fruits, and the most odoriferous Flowers, as well as Oyl, Wine, Silk, and other valuable Commodities.

There are few Countries in the World better watered than this, in respect to Springs, Rivulets, small and great Lakes, as well as large Rivers. Thus bountifully dealt with by Nature, it has also, from the Ingenuity and Application of its Inhabitants, been esteemed the Mother of Arts and Commerce, in respect to the rest of *Europe*; its Reputation is still so high with regard to the first, that the Tour of *Italy* is considered as the necessary Conclusion of a polite Education; and in reference to the latter, though the Trade of *Italy* is now nothing to what it was, yet the Ports of *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, *Naples*, and *Venice*, to say nothing of those in *Sicily*, make still a very

very great Figure, and derive vast Advantages to the Sovereigns in whose Dominions they are situated. Besides all this, the several Countries of *Italy* have such Funds of natural Riches, and the People are so happy at improving as well as inventing Manufactures, that they stand in need only of some favourable Juncture to revive their ancient Spirit, and to make as great a Figure as their Ancestors did in comparison with other Nations.

There is no kind of Government subsisting in any Part of *Europe*, of which something of the like Kind is not to be found in *Italy*. As to the Sovereignty of the Pope, it is peculiar to this Country, as it is vested in a spiritual Person, and yet is altogether a temporal Power exercised as absolutely, and, as is generally supposed, with more Policy than in any other Monarchy. The Dominions of those two crowned Heads (for as yet there are no more) that lie within its Limits, are those of his *Sardinian* Majesty at one End, and of the King of the *Two Sicilies* at the other. The Duchy of *Milan*, once the largest and richest in this Part of the World, together with the Duchy of *Mantua* and its Dependencies, belong to the august House of *Austria*. His Imperial Majesty is considered as one of the *Italian* Powers, not only in that Capacity by which he claims a Title, paramount to the greatest Part, if not the whole, but particularly also as Grand Duke of *Tuscany*. The Infant Duke of *Parma* is at length in Possession of a Settlement, composed not only of that Duchy, and of *Placentia*, which was the Patrimony of his Ancestors by the Mother's Side, but likewise of *Guastalla*. His Serene Highness the Duke of *Modena* holds that Duchy and *Reggio*, together also with the Duchy of *Mirandola*; and besides these, there are some other lesser Princes who would take it ill if they were not stiled Sovereigns. The Republick of *Venice* is an unmixed Aristocracy, still venerable for the Wisdom of its Government, as heretofore formidable by the Extent of its Dominions as well as a great naval Force. The Republick of *Genoa* is an Aristocracy also, but not quite so pure as that of *Venice*. The *Swiss* Cantons, the *Grisons* their Allies, and the City of *Geneva*, are so many different Republicks, each having its particular Form of Government, but owing their Strength to their Confederacy, which renders them truly great and formidable. There are, besides these, two free States, the Dominions of which are surrounded by those of Sovereign Princes, to whom notwithstanding they owe no Obedience, or even Homage; the first of which is the Commonwealth of *Lucca*

in the Neighbourhood of *Tuscany*, and the latter the Republic of *St. Marino* in the Midst of the Pope's Territories.

Such is the Distribution of Power in *Italy*; and in the supporting this Distribution, and maintaining each of these Princes and States in their respective Rights, so as to prevent their encroaching upon each other, or being overborn by a foreign Force, consists the Preservation of the Ballance in *Italy*. A Term very significant in Policy, and originally invented here, where it is perfectly well understood, though not always practised; for if it were, the Powers in *Italy* need not the Assistance of Foreigners to keep it steady, since how small or weak soever some of them may appear when considered separately, yet the Conjunction of their Forces would be at all Times found sufficient to defend this Country from Invasions.

This may appear strange, and perhaps incredible, considering the Figure that *Italian* Princes have generally made in the Wars that have happened in our Time. The Fact is nevertheless true. For first with regard to Troops, though the Militia in many of the Principalities are very indifferent, and the regular Forces much fitter for Show than for Use; yet this ought to be reputed the Effects of Luxury and bad Government; for in former Times, as the most authentick Histories shew, these Countries bred as good Soldiers as any in *Europe*. In the next place let it be observed, that there is hardly any foreign Service in which *Italian* Officers have not distinguished themselves; and if we look into the Records of the two last Centuries, we shall find the Names of *Italian* Heroes, who in Point of Courage and Conduct were little inferior to those of Antiquity.

To say the Truth, most of the great Houses in *Italy* were founded by illustrious Soldiers, and there is no doubt that if a true Spirit of Liberty prevailed, they would very soon become famous again. As it is, the *Swiss* and the *Grisons* furnish in other People's Quarrels as good Infantry as any in the World; his *Sardinian* Majesty's Troops have acquired a just Reputation in the three last Wars, and the Insurrection of the *Genoese* Peasants shew what might be expected from the Valour of those who knew what they were fighting for. All the Strength of *Italy* collected, is rather under than over computed at one hundred and forty thousand Men, which in their own Country and for their own Defence, those Princes and Powers that raise them might very well maintain, since if it were not for a vain Affectation of Show and Magnificence, and a still vainer Propensity to costly Superstition, the Subjects of the *Italian* Potentates

tentates would be very far from wanting wherewith to defray such an Armament for the general Security.

But after all, notwithstanding that the Ballance of Power is the common Interest of all these Princes and States, notwithstanding that they know this better than Strangers possibly can do, and are as well satisfied of it as can be wished, yet so it is, that with all their Penetration and Prudence, some or other of them are continually deluded by specious Views and flattering Promises, to act against what they are convinced is their true and great Interest, which would certainly appear a Thing monstrous and absurd, if it happened no where but in *Italy*, and must on the contrary appear very natural and probable to any impartial Politician who is well acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, and who is sensible that notwithstanding all their Circumspection and Gravity, the Inhabitants of *Italy* are Men like their Neighbours, Men having the same or perhaps stronger Passions, and consequently very capable of being wrought upon when the Hopes of gratifying those Passions are placed in a full, though at the same time in a fallacious Light. In their Writings and in their Discourses, you see the Benefits of the Ballance perfectly explained, and the Errors of their Ancestors in calling now the *French*, then the *Spaniards*, often the *Germans*, into *Italy*, very judiciously exploded, while the same thing is practised by themselves to this very Day. Nor can the strongest Foresight discern, when this Insatiation will cease.

The Truth of the Matter is, that the Influence of the two great Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, have in our Days chiefly contributed to keep the Scale in almost constant Motion, and whenever there has been any little Recess, it has lasted no longer than till the silent Intrigues of the Partisans of one or other of these Houses have been able to pave the Way for new Disputes. Sometimes it has been thought for the Interest of *Italy* to rid themselves entirely of one House by the Assistance of the other, and when this has been in a good measure effected at the Expence of much Bloodshed and Confusion, Experience has shewn them their Mistake, in consequence of which they have entered into a new War to set Things right again. Other Nations more at a Distance, find themselves strongly interested in the Preservation of the Ballance from a Variety of Motives, but principally from these two; first, because their Trade in the *Mediterranean* must suffer exceedingly if the Ballance in *Italy* be destroyed; and secondly, this Ballance is attended to, because a Diversion on the Side of *Italy* proves often

often a Thing of the last Consequence in the Case of a general War, the very Apprehension of which keeps a very considerable Part of the Forces of each of the contending Houses from being employed where they might be of most Prejudice to those Powers, who for this Reason make the Ballance of *Italy* so much their Concern.

Whatever there may be, either dark or difficult, in these short and general Reflections, will be rendered very perspicuous by what follows ; for we will now treat of these *Italian* Potentates separately and distinctly, in order to give the Reader a competent Idea of their comparative Strength, the Nature of their particular Interests, and the Means by which they have been wrought upon from the Desire of bettering these, to sacrifice from time to time that Safety and Security, which would certainly result from adhering to their general Interest of preserving the Ballance, which being built upon this Principle, that Princes and States be content with their own, and pursue the Good of their Subjects without Prejudice to their Neighbours, is a thing always to be wished, but at the same time hardly ever to be expected.

S E C T. I.

The modern History, political Interests, and Connections, of the Dukes of Savoy, Kings of Sicily and Sardinia.

THE Dominions of his *Sardinian* Majesty, considered as Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince of *Piedmont*, have been always regarded as the Key of *Italy*, on the Side of *France* ; and in latter Times this Prince has been justly looked upon as the natural Master of the Ballance in *Italy* ; not that his Dominions even now, when by various Acquisitions they are become much superior to what they were under any of his Ancestors, qualify him to give Law to his Neighbours, or even to secure himself from the bad Effects of a general Alliance against him ; but upon the Score of its being his Interest to affect Peace rather than War ; and because while he remains firm to his own Interest, Reason and Experience shew, that he will never want Allies willing to give him all the Assistance he needs for the Preservation of his own Territories, and maintaining

maintaining that System, upon which their Security and his own Grandeur must always depend.

To trace the Family of *Savoy* to its Origin, and to enter into a long Detail of what has happened to its Princes in Times past, would not contribute much to the Performance of what we have promised to the Reader; and therefore we shall ascend no higher than *Victor Amadeus* the Second, the Father of his present *Sardinian* Majesty, and who in his Life-time was esteemed one of the greatest Captains, as well as one of the ablest Politicians in *Europe*. He was likewise of all the Princes of his Time best versed in the Business of Negotiation, which therefore he never trusted at all to his Ministers, who were seldom acquainted with his Treaties till they came to signing, and sometimes not then. His whole Study was the Ballance of *Italy*, which he perfectly understood and steadily pursued. His Situation made this requisite, his Penetration brought this very early to his Notice, and having once conceived its Importance, it became his Rule of Action to his Life's End.

He succeeded his Father Duke *Charles Emanuel*, in the Year 1675, and that by a very surprizing Accident. He was then a Boy, and had just begun his Exercises; his Father, who had a true Foresight of his great Qualities, was extremely fond of him, and coming one Day to see him ride, the young Prince had the Misfortune to be thrown from his Horse, with such Violence that those about him cried out he was killed, which affected Duke *Charles Emanuel* to such a Degree, that he fainted upon the Spot, and died in a few Days of the Fright. His Mother, the Duchess Dowager of *Savoy*, governed his Dominions during the Minority of *Victor Amadeus*; and when he had attained to an Age fit for Marriage, she negotiated a Match for him with the Infanta, who was then esteemed Heiress of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which was carried so far, that the Duke de *Cadeval* came with a *Portuguese* Squadron to *Nice*, in order to have carried his Highness to *Lisbon*.

But the young Prince suspecting that he might lose his hereditary Countries, and possibly miss of the foreign Crown he was seeking, changed his Mind suddenly, and broke off the Marriage. It would carry this Article into too great a Length, otherwise we might from this brisk Resolution in so young a Prince, and the Consideration on which it was founded, shew how very early in some Minds the Seeds of political Prudence appear, and that Faculty of judging (as it were) by a single Glance, on which Side the Advantage lies, a Thing hardly ever to be taught. But to proceed; some time after
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he espoused *Anna Maria* of *Orleans*, the eldest Daughter of *Philip* of *Orleans*, only Brother to the late *Lewis XIV.* by *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of our King *Charles I.* So that he became nearly allied to our Royal Family; and his Son the present King of *Sardinia*, is the first Prince of the Popish Line, after the Heirs Male of the House of *Stuart*, but excluded from this Succession by the Act of Settlement.

It was in virtue of this Marriage, that in the Beginning of his Reign the Duke of *Savoy* went into the Measures of *France*, and at the Instigation of *Lewis XIV.* began a violent Persecution against his Protestant Subjects in the Vallies, about the Year 1685, which threw his whole Country into Blood and Confusion. But it was not long before he perceived his Error, and that nothing could be so fatal to a Prince as depriving himself of a great Part of his Subjects. He was also convinced that the *French* Monarch meant him no better than the rest of his Neighbours; and therefore when the first Grand Alliance was formed at the *Hague* in 1690, he took care to be included in it, and ventured so far as to stake his Dominions, to preserve his Independency.

His Success in that War was but indifferent; his Troops were not so well disciplined as those of *France*, and he had not himself acquired that Experience in the Art of War, for which he became afterwards so remarkable. He persisted however in his Purpose, tho' he lost the Battle of *Staffard*, and most of the strong Towns in his Dominions that Year. But in the next the *French* were baffled before *Coni*; and the Duke, to shew that he was not so despicable an Enemy as the Grand Monarch imagined, made an Irruption into *Dauphiny*, where he took *Gap* and *Ambrun*, and then returned into his own Dominions. This IncurSION had its Effect; for in 1693, *Lewis XIV.* proposed, and the Duke accepted a separate Peace, by which *Nice*, *Susa*, *Villafranca*, and *Montmilian*, were restored to him, as was also *Pignerol*, but the *French* thought 'fit to demolish it first. He obtained also three Vallies, and a very considerable Sum of Money, as a Compensation for the Loss he had sustained by the War.

To attach him more firmly to his Interest, the *French* King consented that the Duke of *Burgundy*, his eldest Grandson, should marry the eldest Daughter of the Duke, and that his Highness should command his Troops in *Italy* against his old Allies. After the general Peace, there happened some new Differences between him and *France*, which were compromised by another Treaty in 1701, when the most Christian King thought
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nothing could strengthen the Interest of *Philip Duke of Anjou*, whom he had declared King of *Spain*, so much as marrying into the House of *Savoy*; and therefore he consented to his Match with the second Daughter of the Duke; and it was at the same time agreed, that in case of a War, his Highness should be Generalissimo of the Army of the two Crowns in *Italy*.

By this Step the Politicians at *Versailles* imagined that they had carried two great Points, that of fixing the House of *Savoy* for ever in its Dependence upon the *Bourbon* Family, and providing for the Defence of the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, by putting them under the Protection of the only Power whereby they could be hurt; and it is very highly probable that this Scheme of theirs would have taken place in its full Extent, if *Louvois*, who had then the greatest Credit with *Lewis XIV.* had not overturned it. He had conceived an unreasonable and a very unaccountable Distaste to the Duke of *Savoy*, and from the Brutality of his own Temper, was so far from concealing, that he expressed it in Terms so gross and so abusive, that no Gentleman could have borne, and which therefore it was impossible that a Sovereign Prince should not resent.

Victor Amadeus considered, that if his close Alliance with the House of *Bourbon* could not defend him from such Treatment, his Successors, when the Power of that House should be more extended than it was, would sink into a Degree of Dependence, more uneasy and not less dishonourable than downright Subjection; he took therefore the glorious Resolution of forgetting the Ties of natural Affection for his Daughters, that he might support the Dignity derived to him from his Ancestors, and leave his Posterity as free as, in spite of the Difficulties they had to struggle with, those Ancestors had left him. Such were the Motives that threw him into the second Grand Alliance, though at the Beginning Things did not seem to go much better than when he entered into the first. The *French* were every where superior, he was surrounded by them on all sides, his Friends were at a Distance, and it required a good deal of Time before they would be able to act. No Prince could know this better than he, yet he prosecuted his Plan, and what he had concerted with the Wisdom of a Politician, he supported with the Magnanimity of a Hero,

The *French* King was no sooner acquainted with, or rather no sooner suspected his Royal Highness's Design, than he caused a great Body of his Troops which had joined the
French

French Army to be seized and disarmed; he sent the Duke *de Vendome* into *Piedmont*, who took *Vercell* on one Side, while another Body of *French* Troops became Masters of *Susa*; all *Savoy* was conquered, and the important Fortrefs of *Montmilian* demolished. The County of *Nice* was reduced soon after, and the greatest Part of *Piedmont* by degrees; at last *Turin* was invested, and the Duke saw himself upon the very Point of losing every Foot of Ground he had. - He bore his Misfortunes with Patience, he took his Measures with Prudence, and with great Generosity of Soul rejected the Terms that *Lewis XIV.* would have prescribed, with this remarkable Expression, *that it was better for a Prince to starve with Honour than reign with Shame.* The Imperial Army designed for the Relief of *Turin*, was commanded by a Prince of his own House, the Great *Eugene*. His March appeared wonderful both to Friends and Enemies, and when he arrived in *Italy*, his Army was so much inferior to that of the Enemy, that the *French* boasted he had taken so much Pains, and run so many Hazards, merely to sacrifice them.

Their Triumph was but short; the Prince attacked the Duke of *Orleans* in his Lines before *Turin*, beat him, and by a single Victory recovered *Piedmont*, and saved *Italy*. This was in 1706; the very next Year the Duke invaded *France* in his Turn, forced the Passage of the *Var*, marched directly thro' *Provence*, and formed the Siege of *Toulon*, which miscarried by Accidents it would require too much room to relate. One Thing is remarkable, the *French* with a Fury more than barbarous, had destroyed all his fine Walks, and cut down all his fair Plantations near *Turin*; he had an Opportunity of returning this Compliment in *Provence*, by destroying their Mulberry, their Olive Trees, and their Capers; but he disdained it, and on the contrary, took all the Pains imaginable to preserve them. He continued the War with his own Forces, and obliged the *French* to keep an Army on that Side constantly to prevent his Irruptions, which weakened their Forces elsewhere, and convinced them he was no contemptible Enemy.

At the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the late Queen *Anne* insisted upon the Cession to him of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and took care that the Crown of *Spain*, failing the Heirs of *Philip V.* should be entailed upon this Prince. *France* restored to him the Duchy of *Savoy* and the County of *Nice*, and yielded to him likewise in Perpetuity the Valley of *Pragelas*, with the Forts of *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, with the Vallies of
Oux,

Ouz, *Bardonache*, and *Chateau Dauphine*; but on the other hand he yielded the Valley of *Barcelonetta* to the Crown of *France*. His most Christian Majesty likewise confirmed the Cessions that were made by the Emperor, of a Part of *Montferrat*, the Provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valentia*, the Countries between the *Po* and the *Tenaro*, the *Lomelin*, the Valley of *Sessia*, and the Equivalent that was to be given for *Vigevanasco*.

All this contributed to make the King of *Sicily*, as he was now styled, a very considerable Prince, and he would have soon become much more considerable, if he had remained longer in Possession of *Sicily*, where he began to make himself very agreeable to the People, by supporting the Authority of the Civil Government against the Clergy, who made use of their too great Wealth and Privileges to oppress and pillage the People. He had not time, however, as we have hinted, to bring his Designs to bear; the *Spaniards*, on the one hand, could not endure that he should keep that Island, and the late Emperor *Charles VI.* on the other, kept up his Claim to it, and resolved to take the first Opportunity that should offer of re-uniting it to his Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Lovers of secret History have reported, that *Spain* offered to King *Victor Amadeus*, an Expedient for extricating him from these Difficulties, which was the driving the *Imperialists* out of *Italy*, and then granting him all that he could desire or expect; but they say likewise, that *Spain* insisted upon having the Prince of *Piedmont* delivered as a Hostage, which the King excused, upon account of the Tenderness the Queen his Mother had for that Prince; but at the same time offered the Prince *de Carignan* in his stead, which was accepted; but when the Time came for the Delivery, it was said, that Prince had made his Escape, and was retired into *France*, which so irritated the Court of *Madrid*, that they immediately resolved upon the Invasion of *Sicily*.

That there was a Negotiation set on foot between this Monarch and the *Spanish* Court, I do not at all doubt; but as to the Tale of his giving Hostages, I look upon it as a Chimera. *Victor Amadeus* was of another Temper, than to sacrifice the Safety of his Heir Apparent, or any Prince of his Family, in such a manner. The Use he made of that Treaty was to amuse the *Spanish* Ministers, and gain Time to take the best Measures possible, which, after mature Deliberation, he judged was striking in with his old Allies, who about this Time concluded the Quadruple Alliance. All he could obtain was the Exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia*, which tho' a

very great Loss, was better than nothing; but in a little Time it seemed very doubtful whether he would be able to obtain even this, the *Spaniards* making themselves entirely Masters of that Island, at the same time that they attacked and conquered a great Part of *Sicily*. These Events passed in the Year 1718, when the Affairs of this Monarch wore but an indifferent Aspect, till Sir *George Byng* having entirely destroyed the *Spanish* Fleet, put it in the Power of the *Imperialists* to make themselves Masters of *Sicily*; and so far check'd the Ambition, and humbled the Power of the Catholick King, that he was once more content to abandon *Sardinia*, which in consequence of the Alliance before-mentioned, was delivered up to *Victor Amadeus*, who bore ever after the Title of his *Sardinian* Majesty, and continued also in Possession of that Island, situated very near his own Dominions, very far from being an inconsiderable Acquisition; though certainly much inferior to the noble Kingdom of *Sicily*, that for the present fell under the Dominion of the Emperor *Charles VI.* and continued so many Years after, till in consequence of the Resentment of his present *Sardinian* Majesty, it was once again recovered by the *Bourbon* Family, remains still, and is like to remain, in their Possession.

As soon as the King found himself in some measure free from those Troubles and Disputes, with which his Reign had hitherto been embarrassed, he set about the Execution of a Project which had been long floating in his Mind; in short, he compiled, or caused to be compiled under his Direction, a compleat CODE or *Body of Laws* for the Use of his Subjects, which he ordered to be published in 1723, by which he in a great measure freed his People from trivial and vexatious Suits, and from the running into a tedious Length of such as were more necessary. The Lawyers were somewhat displeased with this, but the King told them, "what they lost
" would be a Gain to their Posterity, and that in Dominions
" so narrow as his, and some of them not over fruitful, it
" was inconsistent with common Sense to grant an Indulgence
" to any one Set of Men to eat up the Produce of all other
" Men's Labours." By his royal Edict therefore, and without any further Ceremony, this CODE divided into five Parts (the sixth not being then published) making a Volume of 644 Leaves, was declared the Measure of Civil Right throughout his Territories.

It is certain that he had projected other Regulations, and seemed wholly bent upon such Measures as might tend
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to the Improvement of his Country, and to better the Condition of his People, when he found himself under a Necessity of taking a very extraordinary Step, which however it is highly probably he had very maturely considered before he took it, tho' he was so secret therein, that nobody either in his own Country, or in any of the Courts of *Europe*, had the least Intelligence thereof, before it appeared in the Gazette of *Turin*. In conducting which important Design as he did, his Majesty had in view the confirming and establishing that great Character he had obtained through *Europe*, by observing the same Conduct to the last, as well as to secure those great Advantages for the Sake of which this amazing Step was taken, and which would have been infallibly lost, if it had been discovered or disclosed.

This singular and surprising Measure was the Resignation of his Crown in favour of his Son the Prince of *Piedmont*. He was moved thereto from various Considerations, but particularly three. In the first Place he found himself so extraordinarily pressed by the Emperor on one Side, and by *France* and her Allies on the other, that he could scarce determine with himself which Side to take, and therefore inclined to make a Chasm in the Government, rather than take either, in hopes of gaining Time for his Successor. He was so sensible, in the second Place, that many Reasons might be alledged against the Execution of several Schemes he had formed, in relation for the most part to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government of his Dominions, that he judged they might be better managed by his Son. He was, thirdly, much worn with the continual Fatigues of a long and active Reign, and was desirous therefore of passing a few Years in repose with the Countess *St. Sebastian*, whom he married when a private Man, and retired with her to *Chambery* in *Savoy*.

This Resignation took place in the Month of *September* 1730; it was made with great Solemnity, in the Presence not only of the great Ministers of his Court, but also of almost all the Nobility and Persons of Distinction in his Dominions. He reserved to himself an Annuity of one hundred and fifty thousand Livres *per Ann.* and having recommended Moderation to his Son, and Fidelity to his Subjects, parted with his Crown with the utmost Appearance of Satisfaction.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. his Son and Successor, mounted the Throne which his Father had quitted, in the Flower of his Age, being then in his thirtieth Year. He had married in the Year 1722, a Princess of the House of *Newburgh*, and

upon her Demise he espoused in 1724, a Princess of *Hesse Rhinfelds*. He had given great Hopes from his most tender Years, of making a mild and gracious, as well as a gallant and wise Prince; and at his Entrance into the Government he met with so many and so unexpected Crosses, that Posterity will learn with Wonder how he extricated himself from them without Blemish to his Character, and without Prejudice to his Administration.

In short, the old King, at the Instigation of the Lady he had made his Wife, but not his Queen, grew dissatisfied with his private Condition, and began to form Designs of resuming his Dignity, which he prosecuted in a manner suitable to so wild and inconsistent a Project, and to the Disposition of the Person at whose Instance he was weak enough to attempt it. The young King acted a very wise and discreet Part, he called together the great Officers of State and the Nobility, and having acquainted them with the Necessity he was under to secure his Father's Person, he demanded their Advice; and they were unanimously of Opinion, that as well for the Sake of his Subjects as himself, he should continue to administer Affairs with the same Spirit, Economy, and Prudence, which he had shewn from the Time he mounted the Throne.

In following their Advice, he shewed himself a true Father to his Country; for there is nothing more certain, than that it was with the utmost Reluctance and Concern, that he took the only Measure that was left for him to take, that of confining the old King to his Palace at *Montcalier*, where he remained to the Day of his Death, which was the last of *October* 1732, in the sixty-seventh Year of his Age.

But if the Situation of this Monarch's Affairs at home continued all this time uneasy and perplexed, the Concerns he had with foreign Powers were not at all less embarrassed. The Imperial Court had afforded many Occasions to his Father of Complaint; and those Occasions were not removed under the Reign of the Son. Whether this proceeded from Design or Inadvertence is yet undecided, but from whatever it proceeded, its Effects were fatal. His *Sardinian* Majesty acquainted the late Earl of *Essex*, then the *British* Minister at his Court, with the Nature of his Grievances, and the Reasons which led him to suspect that they were not very sincere at *Vienna*, in reference to the Concessions that had been made him, the rather because that all the Titles and Records of the *Montferrat*, which was yielded to him by Treaty, were withheld; and he could not help regarding this, and the forming some Pretensions upon certain Districts, as if they were dependent on the Duchy of
Milan,

Milan, as Signs that he was no longer to retain the Possession of those Territories, than till some fair Opportunity should offer for resuming them.

The *British* Court having just Apprehensions of what happened, laboured earnestly with his late Imperial Majesty *Charles VI.* and his Ministers, to remove these Obstacles, to a close and cordial Correspondence with the Court of *Turin*; but the Dilatoriness which had been but too observable on all such Occasions, hindered them from taking those Steps which perhaps they were inclined to take, and which might probably have given his *Sardinian* Majesty Satisfaction. So that while they were negotiating and trying a variety of Methods, to oblige this Prince to let fall some of his Pretensions, the general Affairs of *Europe* took such a Turn, as proved by no means favourable to their Views.

In the beginning of the Year 1733, died King *Augustus* of *Poland*, which, as we have shewn elsewhere, gave Occasion to a Rupture between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, and together with the ill Conduct beforementioned, afforded the latter an Opportunity of detaching his *Sardinian* Majesty intirely from the former. In pursuing this extraordinary Measure, that Monarch acted with all the Secrecy and Address which have been the constant Characteristics of his Administration. He signed on the twenty-sixth of *September*, with the Marquis *de Vaugrenant*, an offensive and defensive Alliance with *France*, to which *Spain* afterwards acceded. The true Design of this wise Prince in making this Treaty, was that expressed in his Manifesto, viz. restoring the Ballance of Power in *Italy*; where he thought the House of *Austria* had acquired too great an Ascendancy.

It is at least certain, that many of the *Italian* Potentates had just Reason to complain of the Conduct of the Court of *Vienna*; and that notwithstanding this, their Complaints were very little regarded, which joined to his own particular Grievances, induced his *Sardinian* Majesty to believe, that if the Plan laid down in this Alliance could be carried into Execution, the Affairs of *Italy* would not only be put into a better Condition for the present, but that all things might be properly settled on a right and solid Basis for the future. When the *French* Army began to pass the *Alps*, Count *Traun*, at that Time Governor of *Milan*, was so little apprised of the true State of Things, that he offered his *Sardinian* Majesty all the Assistance in his Power, to impede their Passage; to

which the King answered coldly, *That they did not come as Enemies.*

Marshal *Villars* commanded the *French Army*, and his *Sardinian Majesty* having joined his Troops, with those under his Orders, the Conquest of the *Milanese* was very soon atchieved. The King made this Campaign in Person, as he likewise did the next Year; but the Queen falling dangerously ill, he was constrained to return to *Turin* in the latter End of the Month of *June 1734*, and during his Absence was fought the famous Battle of *Parma*. Count *Merci* commanded the *Imperialists*; he was extremely ill of the Gout, but that did not hinder his taking Post on the Right of the first Line of his Infantry in his armed Chair, where with great Coolness and Intrepidity he gave his Orders till he was mortally wounded. The *French General* was *Monsieur* since *Marechal de Coigni*, who having been lately deceived by the *Imperialists* passing the *Oglio*, and penetrating into the *Parmesan*, which he thought impracticable, he was the more concerned to recover his Reputation by gaining a Battle. This rendered the Dispute very obstinate and very bloody; for some People say, that there never was an Action in which the Business was determined by small Arms that lasted longer than this, except the ensuing Battle of *Guaftalla*.

The *Imperialists* were obliged to retire; but Prince *Lewis* of *Wirtemberg*, who succeeded Count *Merci* in his Command, brought his Forces in very good Order to *Reggio*, and the late Field-Marshal Count *Koningsfegg* coming to take the Command, it was not long before he made the *French* sensible of his superior Capacity; for on the fifteenth of *September 1734*, he passed the *Secchia*, surprized a part of the *French Army*, and obliged Marshal *Broglio*, who was a Horse-Officer, and ought to have known the Fords better, to make his Escape without his Breeches.

This brought on the Battle of *Guaftalla*, which was fought on the nineteenth, and therein the King of *Sardinia* commanded in Person. He had already gained a great Character in publick and private Life: He was the Father of his Family and of his People, enjoyed in his Court the Pleasures of a regular and amiable Oeconomy, at the same time that he was revered and adored by his Subjects; he had shewed a Reach in Politicks much superior to his Age, but his Behaviour in the Battle of *Guaftalla* obscured all that he had hitherto performed; and the Splendor of that Victory, which was entirely owing to his personal Courage and Conduct, threw all his former great Actions into Shade, since all *Europe* rung now with his Praises as a Hero.

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In the Beginning of the next Year died his Queen, which however did not hinder the King from appearing again in the Field, where Count *Koningsegg* found himself obliged to yield to the great Superiority of the Allies, and the Skill of the *Spanish* General the Duke *de Montemar*, one of the ablest Proficients in the Art of War then in *Europe*. All the *Imperialists* had to do was to preserve their last Stake, the important City and Fortress of *Mantua*, and this they did till the Preliminaries were settled and signed at *Vienna*.

On this Occasion his *Sardinian* Majesty had a convincing Proof of the Steadiness, good Faith, and upright Intention of the Court of *France*; for the *British* Ministry having concerted with the Court of *Vienna* a Plan of Peace, by which *Tortona* and the *Tortonese*, *Novara* and the *Novarese*, together with the *Vigenavasque*, were to be detached from the Duchy of *Milan*, and annexed for ever to *Piedmont*; the *French* Court, by a clandestine Negotiation, deprived him absolutely of one of these Districts, and only left him his Choice of the other two, in which Situation he preferred the former. These Preliminaries were signed *October 3, 1735*, and were in every respect favourable to *France*, injurious to her Allies, fatal to the House of *Austria*, and destructive of the Ballance of *Europe*.

By them, under Colour of King *Stanislaus's* Right to the Crown of *Poland*, *France* obtained *Lorraine* for herself, contrary to repeated Declarations, that she meant to gain nothing by this War; for this *Spain* was obliged to give *Tuscany* as an Equivalent, and *Parma* and *Placentia* were also yielded to the Emperor in lieu of *Sicily* and *Naples*. The King of *Sardinia* well understood the ill Usage he had met with, and saw clearly how little he had to hope in favour of the Ballance of *Italy*, from either the Justice or the Policy of the House of *Bourbon*. But the Preliminaries being signed, there was no drawing back, and therefore he acceded to them on the 16th of *August 1736*, at *Turin*, fully satisfied, that he had exposed his Person and his Dominions, only to aggrandize a Power already but too formidable to all its Neighbours, and particularly so to him.

It was from this Time that his Majesty pursued with the greatest Steadiness his original System, of restoring and preserving, to the utmost of his Power, the Ballance of *Italy*, by preventing the Incroachments of either of the two great Families, whose Quarrels have so long disturbed the Peace of that Country, and indeed of all *Europe*. I call it the original System

of this Prince, because it was really what he aimed at by this War ; so that when our minor Politicians glance at his Inconstancy, and affect to be witty upon his having been on both Sides, they shoot very wide of the Mark, for he never was but on one. I mean by one, his own natural, rational, and invariable Interest, that of the Ballance, from which his Wisdom will never allow him to depart, and which it is hoped his other heroic Qualities will always enable him to sustain.

It is not however to be expected, that this Disposition should bind him inseparably to either of those Houses ; his Principle is Independency, not for himself only, but for the other Powers of *Italy*, in whose Cause he fights as well as his own ; and this is not his Interest singly, but ours ; and therefore he is, with great Propriety, stiled our natural, as from his unalterable Steadiness to the common Cause he is with equal Propriety called our faithful Ally. But to return from Reflections to History.

At the pressing Instances of his Subjects he consented to a third Marriage, and in the Month of *March* 1737, espoused the Princess *Elizabeth Theresa*, Sister to the present Emperor, then Duke of *Tuscany*, a Princess who joined all the Accomplishments that are amiable in her Sex, to all the Virtues that were requisite to adorn her high Station. She made her Entry into *Turin* on the 22d of the Month last mentioned ; and as there never was a Marriage more agreeable to the Maxims of true Policy, so never was there any more happy with respect to the Parties themselves ; for with regard to the Conjugal State, it may without Flattery be affirmed, that their *Sardinian* Majesties were a Model to their Subjects. On the 3d of *May* 1739, his present Imperial Majesty, at that time Great Duke of *Tuscany*, made a Tour to *Turin*, where he was received with all the Respect and Affection imaginable.

A little after, the definitive Treaty of Peace was proclaimed there. I mention this particularly, because it was attended with a Declaration from the King of *Sardinia*, by which it plainly appeared that some Doubts had been started about the Town of *Saravalla*, whether it was to be regarded as a part of the *Tortonese* or not ; and from thence it also appeared, that the Records beforementioned were not even then delivered up, but the King signs upon an express Condition, that they should be delivered to him in six Months Time, pursuant to the Treaty of 1703. This very clearly shews how much Reason this Prince has had to act with great Caution and Circumspection,

spectation, in respect to whatever Cessions have been made him since; but with Regard to the Uprightness of his Intention, and his sincere Design of maintaining the respective Powers in *Italy* in the just Enjoyment of their Rights, no part of his Conduct has given the least Cause to doubt it.

After the Death of the late Emperor *Charles VI.* when *Spain* was determined to push her Pretensions in *Italy* by Force, and had also secured the Assistance of *France* for that Purpose, no Stone was left unturned to bring his *Sardinian* Majesty into their Measures, and Threats and Promises were employed with all the Address of which their ablest Ministers were capable; and yet to no manner of Purpose. We are however to consider, that at that Time his Majesty's Affairs were in a very embarrassed Situation; the Queen of *Hungary* was pushed to the utmost in *Germany*, her Forces weak in *Italy*, and as yet there was no Treaty of Subsidy settled with *Great Britain*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Modena* was actually arming in favour of the *Spaniards*, they succeeded perfectly in their projected Descent upon the Coast of *Tuscany*, and the *Neapolitan* Forces were ready to join them, when there was just Reason to fear that *France* would invade *Italy* on the other Side.

In these perplexed Circumstances the King of *Sardinia* shewed himself equally firm and prudent. He was determined to act in favour of the Queen of *Hungary*; but in such a Situation of Things, it was not either requisite or convenient that he should declare his Intention. He published therefore a Manifesto, asserting his own Rights to the Duchy of *Milan*, which he laid down as the Foundation for his defending that Country against a *Spanish* Invasion. Soon after this he entered the Duke of *Modena's* Dominions, and upon his Serene Highness's refusing to disarm his Troops, and retiring to the *Spanish* Army, his Majesty made no Difficulty of reducing *Modena* and *Mirandola* by Force; and by a wise and well-conducted Opposition, forced the *Spanish* Army under the Duke de Montemar to retire towards the Frontiers of *Naples*.

But the *Spaniards* having a surer Game to play, and marching another Army through the South of *France*, the King found it necessary to return to *Turin* to provide for the Defence of his Country on that Side; and this he did so effectually, that the Enemy, after attempting to force his Retrenchments at *Villa Franca*, were obliged to abandon their Design of penetrating through the County of *Nice*; and they were also defeated in another Attempt they made through the Valley of *Barcelonetta*. It is true that in the Winter they fell upon the Duchy of *Savoy*,

Savoy, and made themselves Masters of it; but the King soon drove them out again, and covered that Country till towards the Close of the Year, when by dint of superior Force they became Masters of it again.

By this Time the Face of Affairs was somewhat chang'd in *Europe*, and his *Sardinian* Majesty was more at Liberty to avow his real Intentions; which when he found himself secure of being supported by his Allies, he did without Scruple, and his Troops had a very considerable Share in the famous Battle of *Campo Santo*, which was fought in *February* 1743, in which Count *Aspremont*, who commanded his Forces in Chief, lost his Life. It is very true, that after the Court of *Vienna* thought fit to recall Marshal *Traun*, and send Prince *Lobkowitz* towards the Frontiers of *Naples*, his Majesty did not appear extremely vigorous in supporting that Measure; but the Reason is very plain, and was no other than this, that he suspected his own Dominions would be again attacked, as they accordingly were in the most unlikely Season of the Year, by the *French* and *Spaniards* in Conjunction.

His Majesty took the Command of the Army, upon this Occasion, in Person, in the Month of *October*; and though he was seized with a violent Cold, so that his Head and Face were swelled to a great Degree, yet he visited his Retrenchments himself, and contributed not a little by his Presence to the Defeat of the Enemy at the Village of *Pont*, where they lost five thousand of their best Troops, and were obliged to abandon all Hopes of penetrating into *Piedmont* for that Year. These Transactions are demonstrative Proofs how defensible the Entrances of the Dominions of this Prince really are, when he is able to defend them, and how impossible it would be to force him if his Power and Revenue were somewhat greater than they yet are, though in both he is far superior to his Ancestors.

It was about this Time that his *Sardinian* Majesty, as the strongest Proof of his constant and unalterable Resolution to support the common Cause, and preserve the *Austrian* Dominions in *Italy*, concluded with that Princess, and his *Britannick* Majesty, the famous Treaty of *Worms*, the only clear and explicit Alliance entered into during the War; by the eighth Article of which he obtained certain Concessions in return for what he had already done, and in consideration of what by that Treaty he undertook to do, and which he afterwards most punctually and faithfully perform'd.

By the *ninth* Article the Queen of *Hungary* yielded to him any Right she might have in the Marquisate of *Final*, then in the

the Possession of the *Gonessa*, who were to receive an Equivalent for it, and exclusive of the general Benefit that was the result to all *Italy* from its being made a free Port, and from its opening a Communication by Sea to the Dominions of his *Sardinian Majesty*, who from the Terms of this very Treaty, became the perpetual Protector of the *Italian Liberties*. By the *tenth Article* it was agreed, that no Peace or Truce should be made till his Majesty was restored to those Parts of his Dominions, of which he had been dispossessed by the common Enemies, and of which they continued possessed, till they were totally eaten up and impoverished.

There is no doubt that the Advantages stipulated in favour of this Prince by the Treaty beforementioned were very considerable; but when it is remembered that he had already dearly earned them, that what was given him was as much for the good of the common Cause as his own, and after losing a great Part, he was still to risk all the rest of his Dominions in defence of this Cause; it is impossible for any sensible Man to think that what was thus granted him was too much. It is the more necessary to clear up these Points, because many Mistakes have been made about them, and because without having a right Idea of them, it is impossible this Subject should be thoroughly understood.

There is another Circumstance which we must not pass over in Silence, and it is this; at the very Time the King of *Sardinia* concluded this Treaty, he was offered higher Terms, in respect to his private Advantage, by the *French* and *Spaniards*; which shews the Importance of his Friendship, and proves the Reasonableness of granting him a just Equivalent for the extraordinary Expences to which he was put, by adhering to this Cause. There were however some Difficulties made in the Execution of this Treaty, but they were at last got over, and his *Sardinian Majesty* reaped the Benefit of it in its full Extent during the War, so far as depended upon the Queen of *Hungary*.

The Campaign of 1744 afforded new Proofs of his *Sardinian Majesty's* Abilities, and of the Significancy of his Friendship. In the very Beginning of the Year, the *Spanish* and *French* Army, commanded by the Infant Don *Philip* and the Prince of *Conti*, assembled on the Frontiers, and as soon as the Season would permit passed the *Varr*, and took Possession of the Town of *Nice* upon the first of *April*. His *Sardinian Majesty's* Forces, under the Command of the Marquis de *Suza*, remained in the Retrenchments thrown up in the Neighbourhood

hood of *Montalban*, where on the twenty-second of the same Month the Enemy attacked them, and bought at a very dear Rate (*viz.* the Loss of six thousand Men, exclusive of Officers) a very small Advantage.

But however, this enabled them to penetrate into *Piedmont*, and to lay all the Country waste in their Passage ; and yet they found so many Difficulties in this Expedition, that when they seemed to have in a manner accomplished it, they were glad to abandon all they had taken rather than venture a Battle ; and turning off into the *French* Territories, took the Rout of *Chateau Dauphine*, which in five several Attacks, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth of *July*, they could hardly master ; after which, however, they reduced *Demont*, and so forced a Passage on that Side into *Piedmont*, in which Country, when once they came into it, they lived with all the Humanity and Politeness of *Tartars*.

As late as it was in the Year, they besieged the Fortress of *Coni*, in which there was a small Garrison commanded by Baron *Leutrum*, who notwithstanding defended it with the utmost Resolution, and interrupted the Progress of the Besiegers by such well-timed and such well-concerted Sallies, as gave the King his Master leisure to come to his Relief, which he attempted the thirtieth of *September*, with great Intrepidity, attacking the *Spaniards* and *French* in their Lines, which however were so well defended, that he retired with some Loss, but not without finding an Opportunity of letting the Governor know, that he would very soon adventure another Engagement ; for which however there was no Occasion, since the *French* after a general Storm, in which they lost near three thousand Men, found themselves in no Condition to carry on the Siege, and therefore raised it on the nineteenth of *October* following, burying at their Departure many Pieces of Cannon, and suffering in their Retreat to such a Degree, that not one half of their Army returned into *France*.

In 1745, the *Spanish* and *French* Courts having concerted Measures with the Republick of *Genoa*, made very little doubt of overpowering the King of *Sardinia*, more especially as they were certain that the *Prussians* would employ the whole Forces of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Germany* ; neither at the Beginning was it at all unlikely that they should have succeeded to the utmost of their Wishes, since they had by a vast Superiority, penetrated through the Dominions of the Republick as they proposed, united all their Forces, which hitherto they never had been able to effect, and having received their Auxiliaries
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and a Train of Artillery from *Genoa*, began to attack the most considerable Places in his *Sardinian* Majesty's Dominions, such as *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, &c. which were so well defended, that before they could be reduced, the Army of the two Crowns was lessened by a full Third. All this Time the *Austrians* were acting upon the Defensive, Things had taken a very bad Turn in *Germany*, and the Rebellion was at its greatest Height here.

In such Circumstances, and after a Battle which brought their Forces within Sight of *Turin*, the *French* set on foot a new Negotiation with his *Sardinian* Majesty, in the Course of which they made him greater Promises than ever, and at last offered him his own Terms; but the King remained firm to his Engagements, and discovered the same Activity, Diligence, and Spirit, as in the former Campaigns. In this he followed his Father's Example, and shewed that while his Allies kept the Terms stipulated with him, he was incapable of setting on foot a separate Treaty, and thereby making himself easy at their Expence, though he might have pleased Necessity with as great a Colour as any Prince ever did or could. But all the use he made of this Conjunction was to set a good Example, and to shew that Alliances deliberately made, were to be religiously kept.

In the Spring of the succeeding Year, when the Circumstances of the Queen of *Hungary* allowed her to reinforce her Armies in *Italy*, his Majesty very early exerted himself, and by a most surprizing Stroke of military Courage and Conduct, drove the *French* out of most of the Places they had taken in his Territories, and afterwards joining the *Austrian* Army, shut them up in the City of *Placentia*. This brought on the famous Battle of *Rottoffredo*, in which they opened a Passage for a Flight out of *Italy*, abandoning *Genoa* to the Resentment of her Enemies, and retiring with Precipitation into *France*, whither they were soon after followed by the Allies.

His *Sardinian* Majesty took this Opportunity, and availing himself of his good Fortune, reduced *Savona* and *Final*, which remained in his Possession to the close of the War. These glorious and incontestable Proofs of his Wisdom, Valour and Probity, received the next Year a noble Addition, by the almost incredible Victory gained at *Exilles*, by which the best-laid Plan the *French* and *Spanish* Generals ever form'd, was entirely disconcerted, and the Flames of War hindered from spreading again into the Heart of *Italy*.

The different Attempts that were made for reducing the City of *Genoa* after its Revolt, had all the Assistance and Countenance given them by this Monarch that could be expected, consistent with his Safety, tho' he had many Reasons to be displeased with the Usage he met with in the original Capitulation. Yet Surmises there were, as if somewhat of Indifference had appeared in his Conduct in this Point, which if true, must have been prejudicial to the common Cause. We are not, however, obliged to credit any such Story, without the slightest Degree of Evidence, more especially when it is remembered, that his *Sardinian* Majesty desired to have a military Minister constantly resident in his Court during the War on the Part of the Crown of *Great Britain*, who might assist in Councils, and see the Corps that were employed every Campaign, that it might appear he fulfilled in every Respect the Terms stipulated on his Part by the Treaty of Subsidy; which Punctuality his Majesty considered as the most efficacious Means for preserving the Friendship of *Great Britain*, even when the War should be at an End; and in this there is no doubt but he will find his Account.

In the Negotiation carried on at *Aix la Chapelle*, for the definitive Treaty of Peace, his Majesty employed the *Chevalier d'Offorio*, and the Count de la *Charvannes*. By the sixth Article of the Treaty concluded there, he was obliged to restore to the Republick of *Genoa*, and to the Duke of *Modena*, whatever had been taken from them; so that by this Means he lost both *Savona* and *Final*, and consequently all that had been stipulated in his Favour by the Treaty of *Worms*, as to the last mentioned Place; but by the same Article the Duchy of *Savoy*, and the County of *Nice*, were restored to him by the House of *Bourbon*. By the seventh Article he made a solemn Renunciation of that Part of the Duchy of *Placentia*, which had been yielded to him by the Empress Queen, by the Treaty beforementioned. But by the twelfth Article, the Possession of all his former Acquisitions, as well as those that were left to him in Consequence of the Treaty of *Worms*, were recognized and secured, and he likewise obtained the general Guarantee established by that Treaty for those Provinces, as well as for all the rest of his Dominions wherever situated; or in what manner soever acquired.

We will now take a short Survey of the Territories of this Monarch, as they stand since the Conclusion of the Peace, distinguishing the modern Acquisitions from the hereditary Estates descended from his Ancestors. The Island of *Sardinia* is,

is, next to *Sicily*, the largest in the *Mediterranean*; it is about forty-five Leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, has several good Ports and large Towns, very populous for its Size, though the Air is reputed not very wholesome to Strangers. It produces a coarse strong Wine, and a considerable Quantity of Oil, but the Staple Commodity is Corn, of which in a very plentiful Year there has been exported to the Value of two hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. The People are rough and unpolished, live in a kind of barbarous Plenty, which affording them much Meat and little Labour, they look upon their own Island as a Paradise, out of which they are drawn with great Reluctancy. We have shewn that the late King *Victor Amadeus* was obliged to accept this Island instead of *Sicily*; and as it is now managed, it affords a tolerable Revenue, more especially when the King's Circumstances permit him to receive it in Corn.

The Duchy of *Savoy* is a large but very far from a fruitful Country; however, the Inhabitants are a hardy and laborious People, and by their Industry subsist tolerably well. The Principality of *Piedmont* is a very large, and the best Part of it a very fertile and well-cultivated Country, much less exposed than *Savoy*, on Account of the difficult Entrances into it, very strong by Nature, and most of them well fortified by Art. *Turin*, which is the royal Residence, is a very large and beautiful City, standing on the River *Po*, and admirably well fortified. The County of *Nice* is less fruitful, but of great Importance, at it is almost the only part of the King's Dominions on the Continent, which lies upon the Sea. These Countries are the ancient Patrimony of his Majesty's Family, but the Additions made to them are very considerable. The *Montferrat* is a Duchy that was formerly annexed to that of *Mantua*, but the House of *Savoy* had an old Claim to it, which was revived when the last Duke of *Mantua* was put under the Ban of the Empire in 1708, when the present King of *Sardinia's* Father obtained the Investiture of it from the Emperor, which was confirmed to him by the Peace of *Utrecht*. The Districts which from time to time have been acquired at the Expence of the Duchy of *Milan*, have augmented very considerably both the Power and Revenue of his *Sardinian* Majesty, and have also extended his Influence in such a Manner, as to make his Friendship very essential to the Safety of all his Neighbours; so that he is justly esteemed one of the most considerable Potentates in *Italy*, exclusive of his Expectancies, which if any of his Family should come to enjoy, would render them one of the most considerable Powers in *Europe*.

The Commerce of these Countries was heretofore so very inconsiderable as to be scarce worthy of Notice, but by Degrees, and under the two last Reigns more especially, Things have been very much changed. The Staple Commodity of *Piedmont* is a kind of Silk indispensably necessary in many Manufactures, and his *Sardinian* Majesty has put this under such Regulations as make it rise to the highest Amount possible. The Navigation of the *Po* enables the Inhabitants of *Turin*, and the adjacent Country, to carry on a considerable Trade to *Venice*. There is a little (and but a little) Traffick stirring at *Alexandria* and *Villafranca*. Besides all these, his *Sardinian* Majesty has gradually and silently possessed himself of all the Passages by which the inland Trade is carried on between *France* and *Italy*, and having it by this Means in his Power to lay what Duties he thinks proper, derives from thence an additional Revenue, which is not only of great Consequence in itself, but the more so by keeping the neighbouring States in a kind of Dependence, through Fear of the Injuries he might otherwise do the Commerce of their Subjects.

This Account, concise as it is, sufficiently demonstrates the Power of his *Sardinian* Majesty, and the Truth of what we at first laid down, that, it is both natural and expedient the Ballance of *Italy* should be held by him. His Interests seem so direct, the Situation of his Country demands, and even without the least Suspicion of Flattery, we may add, the Conduct of the present King deserves it. Whatever Addition of Territory he receives from any Quarter, is not more an Acquisition to him, than to the common Cause; and we have Reason to wish his Power increased, because we see the whole of his Power has been exerted for the noblest Purposes, in preserving the Freedom and Independency of *Italy*, which without Question will be always at his Heart, and in his Eye.

The Doubts and Suspicions which weak and narrow Minds have been, at certain Seasons, too apt to suggest with Reference to this great Prince's Conduct, are in Reality as idle and improbable, as they are false and groundless; because it is impossible that the House of *Bourbon* should ever give him any Security for the Performance of the Promises they may be induced to make him. A little Consideration will set this in the strongest Point of Light. The Offers they made him have been almost without Limits, which, at the same time that it shews his Importance, must convince him, that unless they had mighty Views for their own Advantage they would never make them. But what are these Views? The establishing a
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superior Power in the House of *Bourbon* in *Italy*. If we put this into other Words, it means neither more nor less than proposing to give him a Master; which is such a Proposition, as no Offers whatever can tempt a wise and brave Prince to listen to with the least Attention.

It was to avoid this, that in the earliest Part of his Reign he entered into an Alliance with those very Powers, which gave him an Opportunity of knowing their Maxims so well, while they professed themselves his Friends, that it is the greatest Absurdity to suppose he can ever be brought to trust them, after having had them so long, and to such a Degree, his Enemies. It was to prevent his having a Master, that he engaged in the late War, and run so many risques in the Course of it. This was manifestly the Basis of the Treaty of *Worms*, the whole Scope of which was to render him independent, and to give him the Power of supporting that Independence.

To depart therefore from this Plan, for the Sake of any thing that could be offered by the *Spaniards* and *French*, would be such a manifest Sacrifice of the Substance to the Shadow, that considering the Knowledge we have of his *Sardinian Majesty's* Character, ought never to be suspected. The smallest District granted him by the Queen of *Hungary*, under the Guarantee of his other Allies, is of more real Consequence to him, than half the Duchy of *Milan* given him by the House of *Bourbon*, admitting they should have it in their Power to give it; because they can never have this Power, without having at the same time the Power of taking it again, which would not only render the Possession of that, but of all his other Dominions, precarious.

It is very apparent, that even as Things stand now, the Territories of this Monarch are very far from being extensive; but it must be allowed that they are very populous, and the People of *Savoy*, and of the Valleys, are naturally martial; so that under these two last Reigns a very considerable Army of regular Troops has been constantly kept up, and the King can never be at a Loss to bring forty or fifty thousand Men into the Field, when Occasion requires it. This Force is indeed nothing in Comparison of that of *France* and *Spain*; but it will appear very considerable, when compared with the Strength of other *Italian* Princes. Besides this, the Fortresses of *Piedmont* are in so good Order, that his *Sardinian Majesty* can always make a Stand till he is supported by the *Austrians*,

which he must be so long as they desire to preserve their Dominions in *Italy*.

Upon these Principles therefore we may safely lay it down, that though his Revenue is not so large as that of the Great Duke, yet he is one of the greatest Powers in *Italy*, and is justly esteemed so by his Neighbours, his Allies, and his Enemies. His Claim upon the City of *Geneva*, and the Attempts made by some of his Predecessors to become Masters of it, will be hardly ever forgot by that little Republick, which however is sufficiently covered from either his Ambition, or his Resentment, by its strict League with the *Swiss* Cantons, as well as by the Protection it may always expect from the *French* Crown.

The Pretensions he inherits from his Ancestors to several Places possessed by the Republick of *Genoa*, will probably hinder him, at least for some Years, from living in any strict Degree of Harmony with that Commonwealth, which is naturally jealous of him, and will probably continue so; though if they knew their own Interest, they would certainly compromise their Differences with this Prince, which would be a Thing of great Consequence to both. His taking the Title of King of *Cyprus*, and some other Circumstances, has created a Coldness between this Monarch and the Republick of *Venice*, though it is certainly for their mutual Good to forget old Injuries, and to assist each other.

There have been formerly high Disputes between his Majesty's Predecessors and the Pope, which have been renewed in the last, and even in the present Reign, but they seem now buried in Oblivion, as they ought to be, considering that his Holiness must be long ago convinced by Experience that the Thunder of the *Vatican* has lost its Efficacy, and Excommunications will do very little, either with this Prince or his Subjects; and as to the temporal Power of the Pope, it is not to be compared with that of the *Sardinian* Monarch.

The Territories of the King of the *Two Sicilies*, if we consider him only in the Light of an *Italian* Potentate, lie at too great a Distance to create any Differences between them; but considered as a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, the King of *Sardinia* cannot but be jealous of any Augmentation of his Power. But to say the Truth, the great Point which this Monarch must always keep in View, is the ballancing the Power of that House and the House of *Austria*; to the latter of

of which, notwithstanding his near Relation in Blood to the former, it is more natural for him to adhere.

As Things stand at present, it is far from being probable that the Court of *Vienna* will incline to Measures that may justly provoke a Prince, to whom she has so many Obligations, for whose Assistance she must so often have Occasion; and who in that Case, would easily find Resources sufficient to defend himself against all Attempts. On the other hand, while from a due Regard to their respective Interests, a good Correspondence is kept up between them, the Light of Experience plainly shews, that their Enemies will find it very hard to make any Impression upon either; and in Process of Time it is highly probable that such Alterations may happen in *Spain*, as will render their Capacity of defending themselves still greater than they are at present.

But with respect to the House of *Bourbon*, though it will be always decent and proper for his *Sardinian* Majesty to preserve for it a just Measure of Respect and Complaisance; yet as his Safety must perpetually depend upon the Greatness of his own Strength, and the Limitation of their Power, so it can never become either requisite or agreeable to him to enter into any close Alliance with that Family, the aggrandizing of which must be always, if not at his Expence, at the risque of his Security. There are also good Reasons to believe, that *France* will not easily be drawn to quarrel with a Prince, who keeps as it were the Gates of her Dominions, and who may be justly stiled a Terror to her, while she is so to all the rest of her Neighbours; for, without doubt, if the King of *Sardinia* were thoroughly provoked, and the House of *Austria* at full Liberty to support him, he might carry his Arms either into *Dauphiny* or *Provence*, or perhaps into both at the same time, more efficaciously than in the last, or the preceding War; in both which, however, Irruptions on this Side have brought the *French* Monarchy into Circumstances of very great Distress.

As for the Maritime Powers, they are, though at a Distance, the natural and constant Allies of the Monarch of whom we are speaking; because their Interests and his are the same: And if a good Port could be made in the County of *Nice* capable of admitting Men of War, he would be quickly able not only to maintain his own Freedom, but also to protect the Liberty and Independency of *Italy* against all Invaders: And though he would not be even then in a Capacity of giving Law to others.

If once the Affairs of this Part of the World were put into such a Situation, the Benefits resulting to the People there, as well as to all the rest of *Europe*, would be so great and so evident, that his *Sardinian* Majesty would have no room to apprehend any new Confederacy formed against him, since his Neighbours would be then as willing to defend that System, as for want of considering it properly, they formerly seemed averse to receive it.

We have dwelt the longer upon this Article, because, with respect to the *British* Nation, there is no Power in *Italy* with the Strength and State of which it imports us so much to be well acquainted as the Crown of *Sardinia*. Besides, from the manner in which we have treated this Point, many Things have been said which relate to the general Interest of that Country, as well as to the particular Concerns of several of the *Italian* Powers, which consequently we shall be under no Necessity of repeating again. But there is one thing very requisite to be observed before we conclude, which is this, that nothing can be of greater Importance to the Trade of this Nation, than the preserving the Ballance in *Italy*, which, if lost, must necessarily throw all that valuable Branch of Commerce in which we have present so large a Share, and from which we derive annually a considerable Profit, into other Hands, and which is worst of all, into the Hands of the *French*; a Thing against which we have as much Reason to guard as a trading Nation, as the King of *Sardinia* himself has Cause to oppose, as far as possible, the Growth of the *French* Power, out of regard to his own Safety. This sufficiently shews, that our Interests are really mutual, and that there is nothing of political Art in what we have been told, of the Expediency of supporting this Monarch against all his Enemies, though at a large Expence to ourselves.

S E C T. II.

The Present State of the Dominions of the House of AUSTRIA in Italy.

THE great Point which the Maritime Powers had in View at the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*, the last Heir-Male of the eldest Branch of the House of *Austria*, was to divide his Territories in such a manner between the remaining Part of the House of *Austria*, and the Descendents of the Dauphin of *France*, as might preserve the Tranquility of *Europe* at that Time, and the Ballance of Power for the future. It was to answer this End, that by the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, all the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy* were secured to the Emperor *Charles VI.* and the Quadruple Alliance, and all the Negotiations founded thereon, were built upon the same Principle.

By this Means his Imperial Majesty became possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Duchy of *Milan*, and all its Dependencies, together with the Duchy of *Mantua*, which was seized upon the late Duke *Charles IV.*'s adhering to *France* in the preceding War, and dying in Exile at *Venice*. The Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were yielded to him by the Treaty of *Vienna*, as an Equivalent for *Naples* and *Sicily*, though in the Opinion of the Court of *Vienna*, but a poor one.

The noble Duchy of *Milan*, which has been deservedly esteemed one of the finest Principalities in *Europe*, is above two hundred and forty Miles in Length, and eighty in Breadth. It is generally divided, together with the Countries annexed to it, into thirteen Districts, viz. The *Milanese* Proper. The *Pavese*. The *Lodasan*. The *Cremonese*. The *Comasco*. The County of *Anghiera*. The Vallies of *Sessa*. The *Novarese*. The *Vigevanois*. The *Lomeline*. The *Alexandrin*. The *Tortonese*. And the Territory of *Bobbio*. But of these several have been ceded to the King of *Sardinia*, some by the Emperor *Charles VI.* and others by the Empress Queen now reigning, as we have already shewn in another Place; but notwithstanding this, what remains to the House of *Austria*, may be still considered as one of the fairest and finest Countries in her Possession.

It lies in a most excellent Climate, and is blest with as fruitful a Soil as any in *Europe*, watered by the noble Rivers *Po*, *Tessin*, *Adda*, and *Sessia*, besides the famous Lakes of *Maggiore*, *Lucano*, and *Como*. But to come to the most material Point, the Revenues that are drawn from it amount to at least three hundred thousand Pounds Sterling a Year, besides its furnishing Subsistence for thirty thousand Man, and enabling the Court of *Vienna* to provide with Governments and Preferments, Ecclesiastical, Military, and Civil, Numbers of her Dependents, and that too, which is no very easy Matter, even to the Extent of their Hopes and Wishes.

The Duchy of *Mantua* is also a very fine Country, about fifty Miles in Length, but so unequal in Breadth, that there is no saying any thing of it with certainty. The Capital is very large, and withal one of the best Fortresses in *Italy*, both by Art and Nature; the Country abounds in Corn, Fruit, Flax, Silk, and Cattle, and the Revenue is usually computed at about a fourth Part of that of *Milan*.

At the Conclusion of those Treaties which followed the long War upon Account of the *Spanish* Succession, the Emperor engaged himself to give the Duke of *Guaftalla* a competent Satisfaction for his Pretensions to the Duchy of *Mantua*, which were thought to be pretty well founded, but what that Satisfaction amounted to, or when it was given, no Author I have ever yet met with mentions; but this is very certain, that when his Serene Highness *Joseph Maria Gonzagua*, Duke of *Guaftalla*, died in 1746 without Issue Male, Possession was taken of his Dominions on Behalf of the present Emperor. It will be very proper to mention here, that his present Imperial Majesty has by Descent a better Title to the Succession of *Guaftalla*, and perhaps I should not err, if I said *Mantua* too, than any other Prince in the World; and therefore it was no more than his Right.

It is very easy to conceive, even upon this slight Survey, of how great Importance the *Italian* Dominions were to the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*, and how much Reason the Empress Queen had to take every Step possible for preserving them at the Beginning of the late War, since at that Time, and in the Course of it, they consisted of five fine Duchies, *viz.* *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Guaftalla*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, yielding a clear Revenue, if they could have been kept, of very little less than six hundred thousand Pounds a Year, besides accidental Advantages, and the great Conveniency of providing the Princes and Princesses, or as they are stiled at *Vienna*, the Archdukes and Arch-

Archduchesses of that august Line, with Governments, in which they might have resided with Dignity and Magnificence, little inferior to that of sovereign Princes. It is true, that in order to be in a Condition to defend these Dominions, it was necessary to make considerable Cessions to the King of *Sardinia*; but then it is likewise true, that by making these Cessions, those Dominions were actually preserved; and after a bloody and expensive War of several Years Continuance, there was not a Foot of them lost, but on the contrary, the whole Duchy of *Modena* and its Dependencies, together with a Part of the Territories of the Republick of *Genoa*, were actually conquered, and remained in the Possession of the Empress Queen and his *Sardinian* Majesty, at the Conclusion of the Peace.

By the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, a provisional Establishment was made for the Royal Infant Don *Philip*, which swallowed up the Duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaftalla*, and consequently reduced the Dominions of the House of *Austria* to the Duches of *Mantua* and *Milan* only; and the latter of these severely dismembred. Yet notwithstanding these Misfortunes, the Territories still preserved are very considerable, more especially if we consider two Advantages with which they are attended; the first is, that they are capable of maintaining a Force sufficient for their own Defence; and next, that upon any Emergency, the Court of *Vienna* can pour what Reinforcement she pleases into the Duchies through the *Tyrolse*; so that notwithstanding the Power and the Ambition of the House of *Bourbon*, there is good Reason to hope that these Countries, in the Condition they now are, will remain in the peaceable Possession of their august Sovereign, not only from the Force of the general Guaranty contained in that Treaty, but from the Interest of the other Powers in *Italy*, to preserve the House of *Austria* in its present Condition, as a Point essentially necessary to the Ballance.

There has been, ever since the Conclusion of that famous Treaty, a Rumour of a Congress to be held for composing amicably the discordant Interests in *Italy*; for whatever the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* might be, with respect to the other Parts of *Europe*, it was very far from being definitive here, since it has left Things in such a Situation as it is impossible they should continue long. But then this Defect is attended with a Circumstance, whether owing to the Penetration of those able Politicians who negotiated it or not, we will not presume to determine, which in a good measure ballances that

Defect. That Circumstance is this ; all the Potentates whose Interests were regulated by that Treaty, are equally dissatisfied and distressed, which will probably have this good Consequence, that they will concur in making such Alterations for their mutual Convenience, as may procure a definitive Establishment of their respective Territories for the reciprocal Benefits of the several Parties. Something of this sort has been long in Agitation ; and when by secret and silent Negotiations, the principal Points are settled, it is thought that a Congress will be held at *Pisa* for adjusting lesser Matters, and putting all Things into form. When this is over, and not till then, we shall have a clear and distinct View of the Distribution of Power in this Part of the World, and therefore what has been already said, and what we have farther to say, must remain subject to the Consequences that may result from any Exchanges or Alterations which shall be then made.

In the mean time it is certainly the Interest of the House of *Austria*, with respect to her Dominions in *Italy*, to preserve a strict Friendship with the King of *Sardinia*, and a fair and equal Behaviour towards all her Neighbours. This would have been at all Times exceeding proper and advantageous, but at present it is indispensably necessary. For though it may seem a Paradox to maintain, yet in Time it will be found a political Truth, that the Loss of *Power* in *Italy* may prove the Means of augmenting the *Influence* of the House of *Austria*. A moderate, firm, and just Conduct, will not only excite Veneration and Esteem, but will by Degrees beget Confidence and a strong Attachment, since now all jealous Apprehensions are removed, and the Protection of that Power may be sought without any Fears that this may give Occasion to dangerous Incroachments.

Whenever this shall be brought about, it will promote a sincere and an extensive Union, founded upon a mutual Respect, and a Concurrence of natural Interests, which will afford a much higher and more effectual Security than any distant Guarantees. It may possibly be suggested, that this being the Conjecture only of a private Person, cannot deserve much Regard. But if this Conjecture be founded in the Nature of Things, and arises from a serious Contemplation of Facts that cannot be denied, it may be justified by Consequences let it be whose Conjecture it will. For after all, it will be found that private Speculatists in Politicks have seen as far into future Events as more elevated Politicians ; for being neither blinded by their Passions, nor misled by false Lights,

Lights, they derive as many Advantages from thence as great Statesmen do from their private Intelligence ; since Negotiations and Intrigues, howsoever so well contrived, or how secretly soever managed, rarely reach the Ends proposed by them, but are counter-acted by Circumstances neglected or overlooked by their Authors ; and yet obvious enough to those who content themselves with studying things, instead of listening to the Projects of Men.

There was great Reason to hope, and the Publication of this Edition was for some time deferred, on Account of that Hope, that by a Convention lately concluded, as it is said, between the Courts of *Vienna*, *Madrid* and *Turin*, all Disputes were settled from the Principles above suggested ; but notwithstanding this is still affirmed and generally believed, yet as no such Convention has appeared, it is impossible to state the Terms or to give any Opinion about it.

S E C T. III.

A concise Account of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany ; the Manner in which it is possessed by his present Imperial Majesty ; the Advantages derived from thence to the Austrian Dominions ; and the Reasons which particularly interest the Maritime Powers in the Preservation of it in the same Condition in which it at present subsists.

THE Grand Duchy of *Tuscany* is composed of the Territories that formerly belonged to three small but potent Republicks, viz. those of *Florence*, *Sienna* and *Pisa*. It was about the middle of the fifteenth Century that *Cosmo de Medicis*, who had the glorious Sirname of the Father of his Country, assumed the supreme Power. *Alexander de Medicis*, his Descendent, was made Duke of *Florence*, by the Emperor *Charles V.* in 1531. He was succeeded by his Cousin *Cosmo*, who had the Title of Grand Duke bestowed upon him by Pope *Pius V.* in order to raise him to a Rank superior to the Princes of *Italy*, though he had the Stile only of Serene Highness, whereas that of Royal Highness was given to the Duke of *Savoy*. About the Beginning of the present Century the Grand Duke *Cosmo* the Third, finding the Title of Royal Highness given by the Emperor *Leopold* to the Duke of *Lorrain*, applied himself likewise to his Imperial Majesty in order to obtain the same Favour, which was accordingly granted.

This

This Prince, after a long and happy Reign, deceased *October 31, 1723*, and was succeeded in his Dominions by his Son *John Gaston de Medicis*, the last Heir Male of his Family. The Infant *Don Carlos*, at present King of the *Two Sicilies*, was declared his Heir, and soon after his Arrival in *Italy* assumed, with the Consent of the Grand Duke, the Title of Hereditary Grand Prince of *Tuscany*. But upon the Conclusion of that War by which he acquired the Kingdoms he now enjoys, it was stipulated by the Treaty of *Vienna*, that the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany* should be given to *Francis Duke of Lorrain* in Exchange for that Duchy, which was yielded to his most Christian Majesty after the Demise of King *Stanislaus*.

The Bounds that are generally ascribed to *Tuscany*, are the River *Tiber*, the *Apennine* Mountains, and the River *Magra*. The whole Extent of this Country from South to North is about one hundred and thirty Miles, and about one hundred and twenty from East to West. It is washed on the South and on the West by the *Mediterranean*, and with respect to Strength and Convenience, it has all the Advantages from Situation that can be wished. As to the Soil of this Country, it is in some Parts mountainous, where there are Mines of Copper, Iron, Silver and Allum, and Quarries of fine Marble, Alabaster and Porphyry. In other Parts it abounds with pleasant Hills which are covered with Vines, Oranges, Lemons, Olives, and other Fruits, and in some Places there are Vallies which produce abundance of Corn and Grass.

It has many little Rivers, but the Chief of them is the *Arno*. The other Commodities besides those already mentioned, are Wool, Flax, Saffron, Serges, Woollen Cloths, Silks, Tapestries, gilt Leather, Earthen Ware, Perfumes, &c. There is no Country in the World where the People are, generally speaking, better adapted to mercantile Affairs, or where they know better how to make this Disposition of theirs turn to Account. All the Princes of the House of *Medicis* were themselves Merchants, and by their Example Commerce has been always thought there what it ought to be thought elsewhere, a thing not at all incompatible with Nobility.

The Country round about *Florence* is excellently cultivated, and the City itself so rich and beautiful, that it is stiled at home and abroad *FLORENCE the Fair*, according to the *Italian* Humour of bestowing Epithets upon all their great Cities. The other two Parts of the Grand Duke's Dominions, *viz.* the *Pisan* and the *Siennois*, tho' the Country is not at all inferior to the *Florentine*, are far from being so well peopled, and consequently

quently from being so much improved. On the contrary, in some Places they lie almost waste for want of Inhabitants, which has been owing chiefly to the Jealousy of their Princes. As this Humour is now pretty well wore out, there is good Reason to hope that these Countries may recover, at least to a tolerable Degree, tho' not to their ancient Splendor in the Times when *Pisa* and *Sienna* were Republicks, and either of them very capable of making Head against *Florence*. This shews the different Effects of Government, and that Places may derive from Liberty almost as great Blessings as from Nature.

But the great Glory of *Tuscany*, and the true Source of her Power and Wealth, at least in modern Times, has been her famous Port of *Leghorn*, or, as the *Italians* call it, *Livorno*, obtained in Exchange for *Sarzana* from the *Genoese*. The Country about it was formerly a vile Morass, or rather Quagmire, the noxious Steams of which rendered the Air unwholesome; but by the Skill and Pains of an *Englishman*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, Son to Queen *Elizabeth's* potent Favourite the Earl of *Leicester*, and himself created Duke of *Northumberland* by the Emperor, the Soil was rendered habitable, the Air much less unwholesome, and the Port improved so as to become the best in *Italy*.

By his Advice also it was made a free Port, that is, the Duties inwards are very easy, and upon Exportation there are no Duties at all. This has rendered it for about a Century past the great Magazine of the *Levant* Trade, and drawn thither Merchants from all Parts, more especially *Jews* and *Armenians*, of whom many reside there, and have great Privileges allowed them. But after all, the greatest Part of the Commerce was and is carried on by the Subjects of the Maritime Powers, who for that Reason have their Consuls resident there, and interest themselves upon all Occasions in its Favour.

On this Account Care has been taken to stipulate in all the Treaties since the Quadruple Alliance, that the Port of *Leghorn* should remain in its present Situation, in whole Hands soever it was left; which however to some may appear almost a needless Precaution, since it is of such very high Importance to the Sovereign of *Tuscany* that it should so remain. It is in Truth the great Wheel which gives Motion to the Trade of that Country, and attracts thither the richest Commodities and the most valuable Manufactures of *Italy*, from whence vast Advantages arise, not only to the Subjects of the Grand Duke, but also to the Prince himself; whence one would be tempted to suppose, that Respect to his own Interests might supersede the Necessity of any such Interposition.

Besides,

Besides, the Friendship of the Maritime Powers is a thing of so great Consequence to whatever Prince is in Possession of *Tuscany*, that the bare Consideration of that seems to be a Motive more than sufficient to secure all the Immunities granted to the Port of *Leghorn* from the smallest Violation. However, in Matters of so tender a Nature nothing ought to be neglected, and therefore we have the greater Reason to persuade ourselves, that a thing so perfectly agreeable to the Interests of all Parties will never become the Subject of any kind of Dispute.

John Gaston de Medicis, Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, having had the Mortification to see his Territories disposed of in his Lifetime to Strangers, notwithstanding all the Opposition he could possibly give to that Measure, left this World *July 9, 1737*, and his Royal Highness the Duke of *Lorraine* succeeded him without the least Dispute, in Consequence of the fourth Article of the Preliminaries signed at *Vienna* in 1735. Throughout the whole Course of the last War, the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany* was considered as a neutral Country, as indeed it ought; for his Imperial Majesty holding it in Exchange, and under the same Rules of Succession with those of his hereditary Countries of *Lorraine* and *Barr*, there could be no Pretence formed to his Prejudice, or that could so much as afford any Colour for disturbing or distressing his Subjects.

It is to be hoped that this Precedent will be exactly followed, in case any future Disturbances should break out in this Country, and it is very easy to perceive what real Advantages are derived from so valuable a Privilege, more especially when it respects a Country which subsists in a great measure by Trade, and which in consequence of this Privilege must always prove, as it did in the last War, the Asylum of such as have no other Desire than to live by the Fruits of their own Industry.

It is now time to speak of the Revenue and Forces of this Principality. The Grand Dukes of *Tuscany* were always remarkable for their prudent Œconomy, which rendered them without Comparison the richest Princes in *Italy*; they were great Patrons of Industry and Arts, very attentive to what might promote the Welfare of their Subjects, and omitted nothing that might engage Strangers of Merit to settle amongst them. Yet the Politicians of *Italy* had always a Notion, that though in all other Respects these Princes made very good Shepherds, they were nevertheless apt to shear their Flock a little too close. However that Matter may be, it was never thought an extravagant Computation when the Revenues of this Grand Duchy were estimated at between three and four Millions of Crowns yearly,

yearly, one half of which, at least in Times of Peace, remained safe in the Coffers of the Grand Duke, or if it found its Way out, was employed in Trade, or lent to his Subjects at a good Interest. Whether the Savings are altogether as great now as in former Times, may possibly admit of some Doubt, but there is none with Regard to the Income, which is as great as ever.

The Grand Duke had also commonly thirty thousand Men in Pay, or rather inrolled; but as they were seldom called to Service, some have suspected that instead of costing him any thing, his Troops might possibly contribute to the Increase of his Revenue. In the Situation that Things are now, there is a small regular Force, and but a very small one, maintained by the Grand Duke, but the Militia either are, or might be, put upon the same foot as in former Times. The Princes of the House of *Medicis* had likewise a considerable maritime Force, by which is meant a considerable Force in respect to their Neighbours, which tho' in itself no great Matter, yet the Grand Duke's Squadron of Gallies, in Conjunction with those of *Naples*, and the Pope, kept the Sea clear of Privateers, and the Inhabitants of the Coast without Apprehension of being insulted by the Corsairs of *Barbary*. In a word, the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany*, through their Wealth and their Power, under the Direction of a right Plan of Policy, maintained a high Reputation, and were esteemed and treated by their Neighbours as the greatest Princes in *Italy*; as in Return, they were never wanting either in good Offices, or in any other Assistance towards such of their Neighbours as were oppressed, or seemed to be in Danger of Oppression. This therefore, as far as it is practicable, ought to be the Policy of modern Times.

Before the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, the Communication between *Tuscany* and the Dominions of the House of *Austria* in *Italy*, was open and easy, but as Things now stand, it is quite otherwise; for all the Dominions of the Infant Duke of *Parma*, as well as Part of those of the Duke of *Modena*, lie between the Grand Duchy and that of *Milan*; and the Duchy of *Modena*, and the Dominions of the Church, interpose themselves between *Tuscany* and the Duchy of *Mantua*. This will explain to the Reader the true Reason of the Pains that is taken to make a large and convenient Road from the Frontiers of *Tuscany* to *Bologna*, which would indeed facilitate a Communication with *Mantua*, but then it must be through the Dominions of other Princes. This is a great and visible Inconvenience, and so much the more mortifying, as there seems to be no Possibility of finding a Remedy, because it is not any Parcel

Parcel or Corner of a Country that interposes, but the whole Length of one, and the whole Breadth of the other, which in Time of War at least, will render all Correspondence precarious, if not impracticable, and without doubt is a Matter which deserves Consideration.

But however troublesome and inconvenient this Change may be for the present, yet assuredly neither the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany*, nor the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, are in any imminent Danger from it, or the Ballance of *Italy* much affected thereby. The Grand Duchy, as we have already shewn, belongs to the Emperor by such a peculiar Right, that while there is any Faith, any Honour, or any Shame in Princes, it can never be attacked. On the other hand, as his Imperial Majesty succeeds the House of *Medicis* in all their Prerogatives, and is from the very Nature of his Tenure obliged to pursue their Maxims of Government, that is to say, avoiding as much as may be, all Disputes with his Neighbours, we may well expect that the interior Strength of his Dominions may prove a sufficient Security to him, as it did to them. We may add to this, that the Sea must remain always open, and considering the Interest that the Maritime Powers have in the Port of *Leghorn*, as well as the Guarantee they have granted to the Grand Duchy, there is no room to fear that they would be remiss in sending a speedy and sufficient Naval Force to his Assistance.

As to the *Austrian* Dominions, their Safety cannot be endangered through the Want of a direct Communication with *Tuscany*, because Experience has shewn us in the last War, that they may be very well defended, tho' the Grand Duchy maintained a strict Neutrality. Besides, if contrary to all Appearances, *Tuscany* should be attacked on both Sides, that is, by the King of the *Two Sicilies*, and the Infant Duke of *Parma*, or any of their Successors, a powerful Diversion might be made from the *Austrian* Dominions, and a new Communication quickly opened. As to the Ballance in *Italy*, there is not the least Colour to suspect that it should suffer at all by this Means, for the Safety of that ever did, and ever will depend upon the several Governments that subsist there, attending to their respective and several Interests, without incroaching upon or disturbing their Neighbours; so that whatever contributes to this, may be very reasonably considered as advantageous to that likewise. But tho' this is a great deal to this Point, yet it is not all.

For

For we must consider at the same time, that if the Establishment of the Royal Infant, and the Duchy of *Modena*, lie between the *Austrian* Dominions and the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany*, the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany* at the same time lies also not only between them and the *Two Sicilies*, but also between them and the Sea, which is a Point of very great Consequence, I mean to the Tranquility of *Italy*, and to the Balance of Power there; because it puts both the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* under equal Difficulties, in case of their forming any Projects to the Prejudice of each other, or of any of the rest of their Neighbours, which in whatever Light they may regard it, cannot certainly be displeasing to other Powers, who have no other Interest or View, with respect to this Part of the World, than to see it remain quiet, and the several Princes therein employed in promoting the Welfare of their respective Subjects, which if they would do, they might be all rich and happy, and free from the Fear of seeing ultramontane Armies in its Bowels.

It is plain from what has been said, that there is very little Probability, and no sort of Necessity, of such a Change as has been long rumoured of this Grand Duchy, for the new Establishment of the Infant Duke, with a Sum of Money equivalent to the Difference of the Revenues produced by the two Countries. Such an Exchange it is true would remove the Obstacle beforementioned, would restore the Connection between the *Austrian* Dominions and those of his Imperial Majesty, and make the Royal Infant Sovereign of Territories, that confine not indeed upon his Brother's Dominions, but upon those of the Church, through which his Armies might always command a Passage. It may however be doubted, whether this Plan would be acceptable to the other Princes of *Italy*, as well as whether it would be really productive of any extraordinary Advantage to the Parties interested therein, for the Reasons that have been already given. The Point however seemed worth explaining, because notwithstanding the Noise this Project made, there were but very few at this Distance who seemed to have a true Notion of the Motives upon which it was founded.

To conclude, the plain Interest of his Imperial Majesty, in Quality of Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, is to maintain the ancient Form, and to pursue the old Maxims of Government in that Country, to take every Measure requisite for preserving, encouraging, and extending the Commerce of his Subjects, and cultivating with all possible Care a sincere Friendship with the
neigh-

neighbouring Powers. Such Measures cannot fail of procuring the desired Effects ; that is, cannot fail of making the Grand Duchy rich and flourishing, which is the only Means to secure its Sovereign a great Revenue, while his Subjects enjoy the greatest of temporal Blessings, Plenty and Peace.

S E C T. IV.

A brief Account of the Family, Dominions, and political Interests, of his Serene Highness the Duke of Modena.

THE House of *Este* is not only allowed by the best Historians to be without Controversy one of the most ancient and illustrious in *Italy*, but also in *Europe*. This Family derives its Descent from *Azon*, Lord of *Este*, which is a small but pleasant Town in *Lombardy*, not far from *Padua*, who flourished in the tenth Century. His Descendents became very considerable Princes, and so continued down to *Alphonso I.* who was Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*. This Prince had three Wives, the first *Anne* Daughter to the Duke of *Milan*, by whom he had no Issue : The second, *Lucretia*, natural Daughter to Pope *Alexander VI.* by whom he had Issue three Sons ; *Hercules*, who succeeded him in his Dominions ; *Hypolito*, Cardinal of *Este*, the greatest Prelate of his Age ; for he was Archbishop of *Milan*, *Auch*, *Arles*, and *Lyons*, Bishop of *Autun*, Abbot of *Flavigni*, &c. and *Francis* Marquis de la *Massa* : His third Wife was *Laura Eustochia*, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Modena*, by whom he had *Alphonso de Este*, Marquis de *Montechio*.

Hercules II. succeeded his Father, and married the Daughter of the French King, *Lewis XII.* by whom he had *Alphonso*, and *Lewis*, styled Cardinal of *Ferrara*. *Alphonso II.* succeeded his Father, and having no Issue, called to the Succession of his Dominions, *Cæsar de Este*, Son to *Alphonso de Este*, Marquis of *Montechio*, and died in the Year 1597. Pope *Clement VIII.* resolved to lay hold of this Opportunity of uniting the Duchy of *Ferrara* to the Dominions of the Church ; and accordingly, under Pretence that *Alphonso de Este* was illegitimate, he marched in Person with an Army into the Territory of *Ferrara*, and by Force of Arms drove out the new Duke. This Transaction must be entirely attributed to Ambition, supported

ed by Violence, since the Pope had no Colour of Right: For, first, *Alphonso de Este* was no Bastard, his Mother, tho' much inferior in Degree, being lawfully married to the Duke his Father: In the next Place, he was expressly legitimated by the Emperor, to remove all Objections: And, thirdly, if he had been a Bastard, he might have succeeded in that Duchy by a Custom sanctified, if not introduced, by Authority of the Holy See. It is therefore not without Reason, that the Dukes of *Modena* always insist on their Right to the Duchy of *Ferrara*.

Caesar de Este, however, tho' he lost the Duchy of *Ferrara*, received the Investiture of *Modena* and *Reggio* from the Emperor *Rodolph II.* He married *Virginia*, Daughter to *Cosmo I.* Grand Duke of *Florence*; and having reigned thirty Years, deceased in 1628. He was succeeded by his Son *Alphonso III.* who had married in his Father's Life-time the Princess *Isabella*, Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, for whom he had so tender an Affection, that upon her Death he renounced the World and became a *Capuchin*, leaving the Government of his Dominions to his Son *Francis*, who became Duke of *Modena* in 1629. This Prince, was thrice married; first to the Daughter of the Duke of *Parma*, by whom he had his Successor *Alphonso*, and several Princesses; secondly, to her Sister, by whom he had an only Daughter, who died an Infant; and lastly, to the Daughter of the Prince of *Palestrina*, by whom he had a Son *Rinaldo*, honoured with a Cardinal's Cap from *Rome* in 1686.

Alphonso, by some reckoned the second, by others the fourth, succeeded his Father in the Year 1658. He married *Laura Martinuzzi*, Niece to Cardinal *Muzarin*, by whom he had a Daughter *Mary Beatrix Eleanor*, who espoused *James* the second, King of *Great Britain*; and *Francis*, who succeeded him in his Dominions while a Child in his Cradle in 1662. This Duke married in 1692 the Daughter of the Duke of *Parma*, and dying without Issue in 1694, his Uncle the Cardinal of *Este* laid aside his Purple, and assumed the Title of Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*.

Rinaldo de Este attached himself from the Beginning of his Reign to the House of *Austria*, and remained firm to those Engagements so long as he lived. He espoused in 1695 *Charlotta Felicia*, Daughter to the Duke of *Hanover* and Sister to the Empress, which very probably fortified his Zeal to the Imperial Family, which discovered itself at a Time when it was far from turning to his Advantage, that is, upon the breaking out of the War occasioned by the disputed Succession to the Throne of *Spain*; which induced *Lewis XIV.* towards the Close of the Year 1703 to dispossess him of all his Dominions, and to unite them to the Crown of *France*. The Duke of *Modena* had some

Time before retired to *Bologna*, and went from thence to *Rome* in order to solicit the Pope's Interposition with the Eldest Son of the Church in favour of a Prince, whose Crime was of no deeper Dye than acknowledging the Archduke *Charles* for King of *Spain*; but except specious and delusive Promises, his Serene Highness reaped nothing from this Journey.

The most Christian King however perceiving, that tho' the Duke of *Modena* could not defend his Dominions, yet the Manner in which he had treated him was universally offensive to the *Italian* Princes, and did him much more Hurt than the Possession of *Modena* and its Dependencies could do him Good, thought proper to renounce all Title to his new Conquest, declaring it to belong to his Grandson the King of *Spain*, and uniting it to the Duchy of *Milan*. In this Situation it continued till Prince *Eugene* with the Imperial Army entered *Italy* in 1706, when in the Night between the 19th and 20th of *November* the City of *Modena* was taken by Storm, or rather by Surprize, and the greatest part of the *French* Garrison cut to pieces. The small Remains of that Garrison retired into the Citadel, which they not only threatened to hold out to the last Extremity, but even pretended to bombard the Town and reduce it to Ashes, which his Serene Highness Prince *Eugene* prevented by acquainting the Governor, that if he proceeded in his brutal Design, he would infallibly cause him and every Man under his Command to be hanged upon the Walls. This gave a new Turn to Things; for Monsieur de Bar, the *French* Governor, being informed that the Duke of *Modena* was returned from *Bologna* to his Capital, sent him a very polite Message, importing, that he desired to have the Honour of delivering up the Citadel into his Hands, as to its lawful Master; which Proposition was immediately accepted, and the Duke entered again into the Possession of his Countries, which had been miserably harrassed and exhausted by his Enemies, who treated his Subjects with inexcusable Severity out of Hatred to their Sovereign.

His Serene Highness, in 1708, had some Hopes given him, that after suffering so much by the War he might at length be a Gainer by it, since his Brother-in-law the Emperor falling out with the Pope seized the County and Castle of *Comachio*, to which the Duke of *Modena* had the same Right as to the *Ferrarese*, and it was generally thought that he would have restored both Duchy and County, as he might very easily have done, to its lawful Owner. But his Imperial Majesty having carried his Point with the Pope by a Treaty signed *January* 15, 1709, left the Decision of the Duke's Claim to a Congregation of Cardinals, who to be sure were most equal Judges between the Pope and

and any Prince whatever ; but in the mean time the Emperor kept *Comachio* in his own Hands by way of Sequestration. In this Situation Things remained, very little to the Satisfaction either of the Pope or of the Duke, till by a Treaty between *Benedict XIII.* and the Emperor *Charles VI.* dated at *Rome November 24, 1724,* *Comachio* was restored to his Holiness, but with an express Reservation of the Rights of the Empire and of the Duke of *Modena* upon that Fief, and a Proviso that this Restitution should have no Operation whatever in favour of the Pope's Title.

But if his Serene Highness of *Modena* failed in his reasonable Expectation of being once more put into Possession of the Patrimony of his Ancestors, he had however the Satisfaction of receiving a noble Equivalent for the Losses he had sustained by his Fidelity to the House of *Austria.* For the *French King* having given the Example of transferring the Dominions of one *Italian Prince* to another, his Imperial Majesty made no Difficulty of granting to the then hereditary Prince, and now reigning Duke of *Modena*, the Investiture of the Duchies of *Mirandola* and *Concordia*, their Sovereign of the House of *Pio* having thought fit, a little imprudently, to declare himself very early in favour of the two Crowns, which by those valuable Duchies were united to the Dominions of *Modena*, and have continued Part of them ever since.

The Tranquility of *Europe* being in some measure restored by the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, his Serene Highness thought fit to provide for the Succession to his Dominions, by marrying the Hereditary Prince in the Month of *June 1720,* to *Charlotte Aglae d'Orleans*, Daughter to the Duke Regent of *France.* This Marriage soon after it was celebrated, became, from Causes the World has never been acquainted with, the Source of some Family Discontents, upon which the Hereditary Prince and Princess quitted the Court of *Modena*, and endeavoured to mitigate the Sense of this Disaster by Travelling. The old Duke in the mean time remained firm to his original System, and in the War which broke out upon the Death of the King of *Poland*, adhered steadily to the Interests of the House of *Austria*, which cost him as much Trouble and ill Usage in the very Decline of Life, as he had experienced in the Flower of his Age. He had however the Satisfaction of surviving his Misfortunes, and of returning from *Bologna* (which he had again chosen for his Retreat) to his Capital of *Modena.* His Imperial Majesty *Charles VI.* in Gratitude to the Virtues of this great and good Prince, made him a Present of a most noble Lordship in *Hungary*, and entailed it upon his Family. After passing through such a Variety of Fortunes without the least Diminution of

Character, this venerable Duke departed the World in Peace in his own Palace *October* 26, 1737, aged eighty-three.

Francis Maria de Este succeeded his Father in his Dominions, but having married a Princess of the Blood of *France*, by whom he has a numerous Issue, he entered into Engagements with the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, tho' with great Secrecy, before the breaking out of the last War, raised Forces, and fortified all the strong Places in his Dominions. His *Sardinian* Majesty, however, taking Advantage of the Difficulties the Duke of *Montemar* who commanded the *Spanish* Forces in *Naples* was under, entered the Dominions of his Serene Highness with a superior Force, and upon his withdrawing to the *Spanish* Army, seized and reduced them, having first disarmed his Forces. After this, all the Territories of this Prince in *Italy* were administer'd by the Authority and for the joint Benefit of the Empress Queen and the King of *Sardinia*. The former likewise confiscated and disposed of his Estates in *Hungary*, to which however, as well as to all his Dominions in *Italy*, his Serene Highness was restored by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, and is in full Possession of them at this Time. He has already begun to restore Things to their former State, by directing the strong Citadel of *Mirandola* to be repaired and fortified, and that he may appear no less careful of his Subjects Interests than of his own Security, has abolished various Duties and Impositions that were injurious to Commerce, and is meditating other salutary Resolutions, amongst which it is said a cordial Reconciliation with the Court of *Vienna* is one of the chief. This is so much the more probable, as there is no Prince in *Italy* to whom the Friendship of the Emperor and the House of *Austria* is of so great Consequence as to the Duke of *Modena*. The Truth of this will manifestly appear from the following Description of his Territories.

The Dominions of his Serene Highness the Duke of *Modena* are composed, as the Reader has already seen, of various Territories acquired at different Times, and held by different Titles. If we compare the present State of the House of *Este* with its original Condition, it will seem to be greatly improved; but if we reflect upon the Condition of this Family when the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and the County of *Comachio*, as well as the Duchies of *Modena* and *Reggio*, were in its Possession, we shall find it far short now of what it was. However the present Duke of *Modena* is a much more considerable Prince than his Grandfather, whether we consider the Extent of his Dominions, or the Amount of his Revenues; neither is it at all impossible, in case of any future Alterations in the Distribution of Power in *Italy*, this Prince

or his Successors may be Gainers, as well as his Predecessors were in Times past.

The Duchy of *Modena*, properly so called, comprehends one of the fairest and most fruitful Countries in *Italy*, abounding with Corn, Wine, Oil and Fruits, very populous, and inhabited by an ingenious and industrious People. The small County of *Frignano* bordering on the *Bolognese*, is annexed to it on one Side, and Part of the Country of *Carfagnano* on the other, the rest belonging to the Republick of *Lucca*. It is very mountainous, but far from being despicable for all that, since in these Mountains there are Mines of great Value, and the Inhabitants are a Race of People robust, hardy, and brave, as any in *Italy*. The Duchy of *Reggio* lies West from that of *Modena*, and is by some accounted the more considerable Duchy of the two, and indeed so it is, if we consider its Dependencies, such as the Principalities of *Correggio* and *Carpi*, the former heretofore possessed by the Princes of the same Name, and the latter belonging to the Family of *Pio*. In the North-west Corner of this Duchy, stands *Bercello* upon the *Po*, formerly a Place of great Strength, yielded by the late Duke of *Modena* in 1701 to the Imperialists, to facilitate their military Operations in *Italy*, and for that Reason, besieged, taken, and entirely demolished by the *French* in 1705, nor has it been ever since restored to its ancient Condition.

The Duchy of *Mirandola*, including that of *Concordia*, is about twenty Miles in Length, and five in Breadth ; it is a very beautiful and a very plentiful Territorry, full of Villages, and the Country round about them thoroughly cultivated. *Mirandola* is strong by Situation, and has been formerly well fortified. The City of *Concordia* stands on the *Secchia*, at the Distance of six Miles from *Mirandola*, between which Cities there is a fine Canal called the *Navilio*, which facilitates the Commerce of both. These Duchies were very great Acquisitions to the Family of *Este*, since their Revenues are moderately computed at one hundred thousand Crowns a Year. Having spoken of these Countries separately, we will consider them next as they lie together, and make the Patrimony of this Prince, now settled and confirmed, as well as guaranteed, by the greatest *European* Powers.

The whole Estates of the Duke of *Modena* have the Duchies of *Mantua* and *Guaftalla* on the North ; the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany* on the South, together with the Territories of the Republick of *Lucca* ; the *Bolognese* and the Duchy of *Ferrara* on the East ; and the Duchy of *Parma* on the West. The Extent

of these Countries from South to North, is about fifty-six *English* Miles, and they are about fifty Miles in Breadth from West to East. The Duke of *Modena*, in time of Peace, enjoys a Revenue of about one hundred thousand Pounds a Year at least, with which he maintains a very splendid Court, and when his Circumstances render it requisite, can keep up a Body of eight thousand regular Troops. The greatest Inconveniency in the Situation of his Country is, that it has no Communication with the Sea, which might be easily removed, if he could recover either by Treaty or Force the Duchy of *Ferrara*, which lies upon the Gulph of *Venice*.

It is to be observed, that the Western Part of the Duchy of *Reggio*, intervenes intirely between the Duchy of *Parma* and that of *Guaftalla*, so that they can have no Communication but by the River *Po*; as this is very inconvenient for the Infant Duke, it has been furnished that he would restore to the Empress Queen a Part of the Duchy of *Guaftalla*, in order to engage her to grant the Duke of *Modena* an Equivalent for this Part of his Country; and if this Negotiation is ever brought to bear, that Equivalent will be easily found, since the Country of *Novellara*, which is likewise a Part of the *Mantuan*, lies in the midst of the Estates of the Duke of *Modena*, and would be very convenient for him. On the other hand, there has been a Rumour as if his Serene Highness was desirous of exchanging for it the Countries that he holds in *Hungary*, which to him no doubt would be very acceptable, but will hardly appear in the same Light to the House of *Austria*. Upon the whole, it is plainly the Interest of his Serene Highness (if he proposes to continue an *Italian* Prince) to resume his Father's System, and to attach himself closely to that Family, which will be always able to protect him, and from which alone he can expect any Assistance, in reference to the old Claims of his Family, which if they could be brought to bear, would alter his Condition very much.

Since our former Edition, the Prospect with respect to this ducal House is much altered by the Death of the Cadet Prince of *Este*. The present Duke is old, and the Duchess also, who resides in *France*. The Hereditary Prince, upon whom the Continuance of this illustrious Family depends, is not on the best Terms with the Princess of *Massa-Carrara*, by whom as yet he has only a Daughter. So that considering the Nature of Fiefs in *Italy*, the Fate of so considerable a Succession may excite much political Confusion.

S E C T. V.

The Power of the Pope considered as the Head of all Christians who hold Communion with Rome; his Grandeur as a Temporal Prince; the Maxims of his Government; the general Interest of the See of Rome with regard to the Princes and States of Christendom, and particular Interests, in reference to the Princes and States in Italy; including also an Account of all the Temporal Dominions of the Pope, their Situation, Extent, Revenues, &c.

THE Design of this Work makes it absolutely necessary to examine the Nature of the Papal Power, for many Reasons, but more especially, as it has a very great Influence on the Ballance of Power in general, as well as a very particular Relation to that of *Italy*. It would indeed require much more Room than we have to spare, and lead us at the same time beside our Purpose, to treat this Matter in its full Extent, and to enter into an express Deduction of the Means by which the Spiritual Authority of the Popes was gradually raised to such a Height, as that with which it was exercised in the Times immediately preceding the *Reformation*; neither is it at all necessary that we should enter into any express Detail of the Means by which the Popes have acquired the several Parts of their Temporal Dominions. What we chiefly aim at, may be accomplished by a succinct View of the Nature, Prerogatives, and Influence of this Spiritual Monarchy, so far as it respects the Christian Powers, and a short Description of those Territories, from the Possession of which the Pope is considered as a Temporal Prince, and as one of the most considerable Potentates in *Italy*, which will be found highly useful towards obtaining a thorough Comprehension of the Interests of *Europe*.

If we consider that the Popes rise to that Dignity from very inferior Stations, were heretofore frequently, and are still sometimes of mean Families, without any Support from Kindred or Relations, deriving a great Part of their Revenues from the

Subjects of other Princes, and this in Virtue of their claiming a Share in their Allegiance; exercising an Authority grounded only in Opinion, and frequently assuming a Superiority over those to whom they have not only been themselves in Obedience, but have also rendered them domestick Offices in the Nature of Servants: When, I say, we consider all this, with a Multitude of other Particulars, that every intelligent Reader's Memory will furnish, we cannot help wondering that this *Ecclesiastical Empire* has stood so long, grown up to so great a Height, and continues yet to enjoy a green old Age, that does not seem to betray any Symptoms of a speedy Dissolution.

But upon a nearer and closer Inspection, we shall find that this *Spiritual Monarchy*, like some of the leaning Towers that have made so much Noise in *Italy*, tho' it seems to carry evident Marks of Weakness, is in fact a Structure very strong in itself, contrived with great Skill, as well as erected with much Art. If in other Monarchies Princes have pretended to a *Divine Right*, the Pope goes still farther, and claims a kind of *Divine Power*, by which he is raised as much above other Princes, as those Princes are above their People. This Claim, together with the Title of *Holiness*, having the Recommendation of a long Prescription, cannot but excite an high Veneration in the Minds of such as believe it. The *Papal* Character being given with the greatest Ceremony by those who are presumed to be the best Judges of Religion and religious Interests, seems in the Opinion of the Multitude to alter the very Nature of him who is adorned therewith, and to transform him from a Man of like Passions with themselves, into a *Sacred Person*. It is true, that in Protestant Countries, as nothing of this is believed, so it is very hard to be understood. Yet the Fact is beyond Dispute, and whatever wiser Persons in Popish Kingdoms may conceive, the Bulk of the People have the highest Reverence for the Holy Father.

The close Connection between the Clergy in all Popish Countries and the Court of *Rome*, joined to the occasional Benefits that Monarchs themselves may receive by Bulls from the Holy See, makes them unwilling to interpose, or break off that Commerce which their Subjects have with *Rome*, that upon certain Occasions they may derive Favours from thence, which may easily procure what otherwise might with Difficulty be forced by their own Authority. The Subjection of the Clergy to a foreign Head makes them sometimes more tractable to their natural Sovereigns than they otherwise would be, since the

the Good-will and Friendship of a *single Person* is more easily attained, than the Direction of *many*, and besides in those Cases there can be no Appeal to the People, because in all such Disputes they think an implicit Submission the Duty of the Clergy. We may add to this another Reason, which is, that the Popish Princes cherish the *Spiritual Power* of the *Pope*, as the Means of preserving Unity in Religion, and thereby preventing religious Disputes, which very seldom disturb the Church, without disturbing the State also. Thus it appears, that independent of Enthusiasm and Superstition, political Principles have no small Share in promoting that Adherence to the *See of Rome*, which at first Sight seems so irreconcilable to the absolute Authority of *Sovereign Princes*, and which notwithstanding by their dextrous Management is often made to co-operate therewith.

As to the *interior Strength* of the Papal Government, we need only reflect that the Advantages of Birth are well supplied by the great Parts, and other Qualifications with which a Man must be necessarily endow'd, who is promoted to this Dignity. His being obliged to Celibacy is another Point of great Consequence, in as much as it prevents the changing this elective into an hereditary Sovereignty, which would be entirely repugnant to the fundamental Maxims of this Constitution. We may add to this, the Precautions taken in electing commonly a Person far advanced in Years, which leaves no room for attempting to alter the settled Principles of the Government; and all great Politicians allow, that it is the sacrificing these to the Interests of a Family, or to the private Advantage of the reigning Prince, that opens a way to the Ruin even of the best digested Systems. It has been also an old Rule in the Conclave, never to elect two Popes of the same Family, Faction, or even of the same Disposition, in immediate Succession, for the same Reason. It would indeed be endless to enter into all their Refinements upon these capital Points, from whence the Character of the Court of *Rome*, in respect to Policy, has always stood so high, as to be thought the best School for breeding Ministers in all the Popish Monarchies, from whence also it draws great Advantages.

We must not however imagine from hence, that because the fundamental Maxims of the *See of Rome* have been always the same, the Administration of the Government has been exactly uniform; since considering the vast Variation in Men's Tempers and Habits in different Ages, this must appear a Thing absolutely impossible. Neither ought we to imagine, that any
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Constitution could be so framed, as to extinguish in the Minds of Princes all natural Affection for their Families. But on the one hand, such has been the Skill and Capacity of these Spiritual Monarchs, that from Time to Time they have made such prudent Alterations in their exterior Conduct, as hath perfectly kept up that Relation between the *Church* and the *Court* of *Rome*, upon which their Authority depends. They have likewise on the other reduced their Family Tenderneſſes into a kind of System, by which the *Nepotism* of the *Roman* Pontiffs has been in many Reigns made subservient to the Interest of the State, as well as agreeable to the Inclinations of the Popes, who thought they could never trust their Affairs in so safe Hands for themselves, as with those who must be conscious, that their Wealth, their Influence, and their Power, must in a great measure determine with the Life of him from whom they were received, and that besides they must from that Moment lie open to the strictest Inquiries possible into their past Conduct.

One may with great Truth and Impartiality venture to assert, that the whole Scheme of the *Romish* Religion is admirably well adjusted, to maintain in every respect the Power of the supreme Head. He is reputed infallible that his Decisions may have the greater Weight; the Traditions of the Church, which with the Members of it pass for the Rule of Faith, are subject to his Controul; all religious Doctrines are liable to his Censure; the Power of Absolution, even in the highest Cases, is attributed to him; he dispenses the Treasures of the Church, I mean Spiritual Treasures, such as Pardons and Indulgences; he grants Dispensations of all Kinds; he regulates Fasts and Feasts at his Pleasure: In a word, being reputed the Successor of *St. Peter*, and the visible Head of the Christian Church, he has Prerogatives without Bounds, and without Number; so that it is no surprizing thing at all, that so much Power, directed by so great Policy, should be able to perform such mighty Things, and to preserve itself for so many Ages.

But our Draught would be extremely imperfect, if we did not take notice of the several Ranks and Orders of Men subject in an especial Manner to the Holy See, and which without any great Impropriety in the Term, may be stiled the Spiritual Forces of his Holiness. In the first Class of these stand the *Cardinals*, who are acknowledged *Princes* of the Church, and pretend to be next in Dignity to *Crowned Heads*. They were originally no more than the Parish Priests of *Rome*, and their Number sometimes greater, sometimes less, but

but now it is fixed to seventy-two, in Allusion to Christ's Disciples. Heretofore a Cardinal was content to be stiled his *Excellency*, but now they assume the Title of *Eminence*, which was formerly given to Princes, and thereupon the latter took the Title of Highness. The Cardinals are of all Nations, that the Influence arising from the Hopes of this Dignity may be the more extensive; the Nomination to *Hats* by crowned Heads is a new Stroke of *Roman* Policy, which heightens the Dependence upon the *Holy See*, while it seems to lessen the *Papal* Authority. The Majority, however, are always *Italians*, to prevent the Throne from being filled by a Stranger, and it is provided that in all Elections the Persons chosen shall have the Voices of two Thirds of those who enter the Conclave, that there may never be a strong Faction against the Pope, amongst the Cardinals, which might be attended with ill Consequences. All the subordinate Dignities in the Church, may be considered as the Nobility in the Pope's spiritual Empire.

But in all others, so in this, the Strength of the Monarchy consists in the Number of its Subjects, and if we take into our View the secular and regular Clergy in the Church of *Rome*, the former bound by the most sacred Ties, and the latter not by Vows only, but by their Interests, to the Obedience of the Holy See, we cannot but entertain a high Idea of its Power, since long ago it was the Calculation of a certain Sovereign Pontiff, that in *Europe* he had three hundred thousand Parishes, and fifty thousand Convents subject to his Jurisdiction. The constant Resort of all these to *Rome* upon different Occasions, must carry thither annually an immense Treasure, and tho' Prelates sometimes complain of the Expence attending their *Bulls*, yet it is observed, that since the Reformation gave them Apprehensions of seeing Ecclesiastical Estates secularized, they have been less frequent in their Remonstrances, and chose rather to sit down under those kind of Burthens, than expose the Value of their Preferments to all the World, and thereby encourage that Spirit of Envy which they find strong enough already, without any such Inducement.

It is very easy to discern, that nothing has been neglected which could possibly contribute to render the Foundations of this Monarchy firm and strong. That most important Trust of educating Youth is intirely in their Hands, who are devoted to the Service of the Holy See. The Jesuits are particularly famous for their Application in this respect; and when they have received the first Tincture of Literature, such as are sent to compleat their Studies at the Universities meet with the same Doctrine

Doctrine and Discipline, and whatever the Science be to which they apply, Veneration for the Pope is a Thing so frequently insisted upon, and so strongly impressed, that it is almost impossible they should ever lose it while they remain constant to their Religion. The Offices of the Church, by which I mean Ecclesiastical Benefices of all sorts, are so numerous, and afford such ample Maintenance and such agreeable Prospects to Men of all Ranks and Tempers, in conjunction with the Canon Law which is peculiar to this Spiritual Monarchy, that the most effectual Provision is made for a constant Succession of Persons bound to support that Interest, which is the Support of themselves and all their Pretensions.

As these are bound by Affection, and by finding their own Account, to a constant Submission, so the proper Methods have been taken for subjecting the Laicks in that Church also to such an Obedience as they cannot well break through. Amongst these we may reckon Auricular Confession, Masses for the Dead, the Direction of Female Consciences, the Opportunities they have of working upon Persons in their dying Moments, and many more. So that judging according to those Rules of Probability, which hold in other Cases, there is no great Reason to expect that the Papal Authority will decline much more than it has already done; especially if succeeding Popes imitate the Moderation of their immediate Predecessors, and endeavour to maintain themselves rather by Address than by the Force of Ecclesiastical Censures, which is a sort of Artillery than no longer does the Execution it did in the darker Ages, when the little Learning there was remained intirely among the Priests and Monks.

The Reader will apprehend this more clearly, if he takes a short View of the *European* Powers that still profess Obedience to the See of *Rome*. In *Poland* the Clergy are numerous, and well provided for, have a great Share of Power allotted them by the Constitution, and are for the most composed of the younger Sons of the Nobility. In *Germany*, it is visible that the Popish Religion rather prevails than declines, and the Ecclesiastical Electors and other Prelates are so formidable a Body in the Diet, as not to be apprehensive of any future Secularizations. It is besides the Interest of several great Houses to support the Church as it is now constituted, on the score of the Preferments which are in a manner entailed on the younger Sons of their Families, so as not only to afford them noble Establishments, but also render them capable of supporting the Head of their House, instead of being a Burthen upon him, as would be the Case if these Dignities

Dignities were secularized. The hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria* remain strictly attached to the See of *Rome*. The *Gallican Church* has always claimed a kind of Freedom, which having been improved by the Struggles that have been heretofore made against them, the modern Popes have wisely had recourse to another Method, which seems to have had a better Effect; and while the Courts of *Rome* and *Versailles* agree, both will find their Account in the reciprocal Support of each other's Power. In *Spain* and *Portugal* the Papal Authority stands upon a much stronger Foundation, as appears from the amazing Wealth of the Clergy in the former, and the Joy with which the Sovereign of the latter accepted very lately from the Pope the Title of *Most Faithful*. In *Italy* the Influence of the Pope extends every where; and he is so able to make either his Favour or Repentment felt, that all the Princes and States of his Communion find it their Interest to live upon good Terms with his Holiness, and as none understand their own Interests better, are like to continue in the same Inclinations received from their Ancestors in that respect.

It has been generally supposed, that one of the Maxims of the See of *Rome* has been attaching itself to the superior Interest, and always courting that Power most which was uppermost; and in proof of this much has and may be said: but at the same time it is very certain, that the true Interest of the Holy See consists in supporting the BALLANCE of POWER, because its Influence depends chiefly upon an Equality among the Princes of that Communion: and if any of these should gain an entire Ascendancy, the See of *Rome* could not fail of feeling the first Effects of it. This is not only evident from Speculation, but from Experience likewise. When the *Spaniards* were in the Zenith of their Power, the Pope felt the Weight of it. And in much later Times, when *Lewis XIV.* thought himself in a Condition to give Law to *Europe*, his professing himself the Eldest Son of the Church did not restrain him from treating the Holy Father very undutifully; upon which the wisest Protestant Politicians did not in the least hesitate at giving the Article for making his Holiness Satisfaction a place in the Grand Alliance. The Truth is, that while the Court of *Rome* continues famous for its Policy, for which it is like to continue famous as long as it continues at all, we can never suspect its falling from this Maxim. For as in Decency it imports the Holy Father to shew an equal Affection for all who profess themselves his Children, so it is his Interest to be really indifferent; and tho' some Cases may happen that require a temporary Suspension of that Appearance,

pearance, yet wise Men will not be deceived by the Conduct of Popes under such Circumstances. But it is now Time to speak of the Temporal Authority which the *Roman* Pontiff enjoys in consequence of his Dominions in *Italy* and elsewhere; and in treating of these we shall be as succinct as the Subject will allow.

As an *Italian* Prince, the Pope would be very powerful if the Number and Wealth of his Subjects bore any Proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, which lie in the very middle of *Italy*, and go quite across from the Gulph of *Venice* to the *Mediterranean*, which is an Advantage that (except the King of the *Two Sicilies*) no other Prince in that Country enjoys but himself. We will speak of the several Provinces into which they are divided, or rather of the several Territories of which they are composed, in their natural Order, beginning with the Country that lies farthest to the North-West, which is the Duchy of *Ferrara*. This, which was formerly one of the finest Principalities in *Italy*, lies stretched upon the Gulph of *Venice*, the River *Po* running through it, and falling there into the Sea. The Climate was formerly good, and the Soil fruitful, producing Corn, Flax and Hemp, and other valuable Commodities, which made the Duke rich and the People happy; but now Things are quite altered; for the Country lying low, and being thinly inhabited, the Inundations of the *Po* have rendered a great Part of it a Morass, and *Ferrara*, from being one of the finest in *Italy*, now scarce deserves the Name of a City. The Town and County of *Comachio* is no better than a Fishing Village, surrounded by unwholesome Marshes. The *Bolognese* is still a very fine Country, and retains something of its ancient Freedom: The Capital is stiled *Bologna*, or *Bononia the Fat*, from the Fertility of its Territory in Corn, Wine and Flax: Fort *Urban*, which stands ten Miles from *Bologna*, is a Fortrefs built to cover the Pope's Frontier on this Side: The *Bolognese* is an Inland Country, but as it lies between *Tuscany* and the Duchy of *Mantua*, the Road through it creates some little Trade. The Country of *Romagna* is next, it lies upon the Gulph of *Venice*, and is very pleasant and fruitful, watered by several fine Rivers, and enriched by its Salt Mines: The Capital is *Ravenna the Old*, as the *Italians* call it, and indeed its Appearance speaks it so, for it is now fallen very much to Decay. The Duchy of *Urbino* lies also upon the *Venetian* Gulph, and though it was formerly reckoned a fine Country when under Princes of its own, there is nothing more certain than that the Air is very unwholesome, and the Soil
extremely

extremely barren; the best Place now is *Pesaro* on the Coast of the *Adriatick*, from whence it enjoys some Trade, and is tolerably well built. The Marquisate of *Ancona* lies also on the same Gulph; the City from whence it receives its Name was formerly famous for its Port, now in a very low and poor Condition; but *Loretto*, which stands about ten Miles from it, is famous for its Riches acquired by the worst sort of Trade.

The Territory of *Citta de Castello* is small, and derives its Name from that Place which stands on the River *Tiber*, and is pleasant and well built. The *Perugiano* lies next, and abounds with excellent Wine and very good Corn. The Capital is *Perusa*, enriched by its famous Lake well stored with excellent Fish. The *Orvietano* lies next, so called from its Capital *Orvieto*, a small but beautiful Country, rich in Corn and Wine, and enjoying the best Air in the Pope's Dominions. Adjoining to this Province lies the Duchy of *Castro*, belonging formerly to the Dukes of *Parma* and *Placentia*, but rejoined to the Holy See partly by Usury, and partly by Violence: The Pope's Possession was quieted by a Treaty with the Emperor *Charles VI.* in 1724, but it is possible the old Title to it derived from the Dukes of *Parma*, on a favourable Occasion may yet be revived.

The Patrimony of *St. Peter* lies on the *Mediterranean*, and is fruitful in Corn and Wine, and famous also for its Allom Mines: The Capital of it is *Viterbo*, anciently a fine Place, now little better than a Heap of Ruins: *Porto*, formerly (as its Name signifies) a noble Haven, now capable only of receiving Barks: But *Civita Vecchia* has still a fine Port, and would be a very considerable Place, if the Unwholesomeness of its Air did not render it thinly peopled, and the Laziness of those People who dwell in it did not contribute to the Unwholesomeness of the Air by leaving their Country uncultivated. *Umbria*, or the Duchy of *Spoleto*, is a Country well watered, and much diversified in its Appearance, in some Parts mountainous, in others marshy, but intermixed with Plains fruitful in Corn, Wine, Oil and Fruits: The Capital is *Spoleto*, and there are some other good Towns in this Country, which is owing to a little Trade stirring there. The Province of *Sabina*, which takes its Name from the *Sabines*, is small, but very fruitful and pleasant. The Country about *Rome*, called *Campagna di Roma*, would be wholesome and fruitful if well cultivated, but at present it is neither, especially in some Seasons of the Year, when that Capital becomes a kind of Desert, being alike abandoned by Strangers and its best Inhabitants, for the sake of enjoying a purer Climate.

The whole Dominions of the Holy See that lie thus all together, and compose what the *Italians* call *Stato della Chiesa*, are bounded on the North by the Territories of the State of *Venice* and the *Adriatick* Sea, on the East by the Kingdom of *Naples*, on the South by the *Mediterranean*, and on the West by the Dominions of the Great Duke and the Duchies of *Modena*, *Mirandola*, and *Mantua*. The greatest Length of this Country, computed from *Francolino* in the Duchy of *Ferrara* to *Terracina* in *Campagna di Roma*, which is in a Line from North-East to South-West, may be about two hundred and forty *Italian Miles*; as to the Breadth, from *Civita Vecchia* in the Patrimony of St. *Peter* to *Ancona*, it is about one hundred and thirty Miles, but in many other Places it is not near so broad. We have already taken notice of the Advantage of its Situation, from which tho' the Pope derives no great Benefit, yet ought it to be considered as a Point of very great Consequence in treating of the Importance of his Countries. Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that after the two crown'd Heads, the Pope is the most considerable Power in *Italy* in point of Dominions, and might be in every other respect, if any thing like the same Policy was discoverable in the Conduct of his Temporal Estates that is shewn in the Management of his Spiritual Authority. As it is, his Subjects are the hardest used, and yet his Revenue is below that of any other Prince, the Extent of his Territories considered; for it has never been computed at above two Millions of *Roman Crowns*, whereas *Tuscany*, that is not half as big, produces twice as much to the Grand Duke. His regular Troops are now only fit for Show, hardly any of his Fortresses in a State of Defence, and tho' the Gazettes sometimes mention the Pope's Gallies, his naval Power is very inconsiderable. We must however in Justice to some of the last Popes allow, that they have endeavoured to correct the Errors of their Predecessors, and that their Subjects have lived much easier under them; but then these Amendments have extended no farther than to keep Things from growing worse, and much more must be done before they can be expected to grow better.

Besides these the Pope has other Dominions, as well in *Italy* as elsewhere. The Kingdom of *Naples* is held from him by an annual Tribute. The Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were Part of the Patrimony of the Church, but by the famous Quadruple Alliance, they are declared to be Fiefs of the Empire, and are like to be considered in that Light for the future. The Principality of *Masseran*, belonging formerly to the

the Family of *Fiesque*, and at present to the King of *Sardinia*, is held in like manner from the Pope. Other Dominions he has in Possession, which are held from other Princes, such as the Territory of *Benevento* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Archbishop of which is the second Ecclesiastical Dignity in that Kingdom; and the County of *Avignon*, in the South of *France*, in which, while they were deprived of *Rome*, the Popes themselves resided, who still govern it by a Vice-Legate, and this in every respect is a very considerable Acquisition, of which the Popes are particularly tender, and which is the only Part of their Possessions obtained in the way of a fair Purchase.

After having thus fairly and clearly stated the just Extent of the Papal Dominions, and the Nature of their Government, which is truly despotic, the Reader will easily see, that as an *Italian* Prince, the Sovereign Pontiff is obliged to keep great Measures with most of his Neighbours. The King of the *Two Sicilies*, tho' he considers him as his Subject, is nevertheless a very powerful Prince; and as we have lately seen by his blocking up *Benevento*, not at all afraid of resenting any Injury that may be done him by the Court of *Rome*. The Grand Duke was also to be managed for many Reasons; and tho' the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena* were never formidable from their own Power, yet they seldom wanted some very puissant Protector. With the Republick of *Venice* the Popes have generally speaking endeavoured to live well, and when at any time they have departed from this salutary Maxim, Experience has quickly taught them to recur to it for their own Safety. They have always kept fair with the Duke of *Savoy*, or at least endeavoured it, as knowing that he held the Passages into *Italy*; neither have they often differed with the Republick of *Genoa*. On the other hand, the Princes and States of *Italy* having more frequent Occasion than other Potentates to solicit Favours from his Holiness, in temporal as well as spiritual Concerns, have very seldom been wanting in Testimonies of Duty and Respect, and this tho' they have sometimes had Jealousies of the personal Conduct of particular Popes.

As a temporal Prince, every wise Pope considers the Balance of *Italy* as his most important Concern, and therefore labours as far as in his Power lies, to preserve the Tranquility of that Country, and to provide as much as may be against a Revolution, because he is sure that in time of War his Countries must suffer, and he is very far from being sure, considering the many Flaws in the Titles by which he holds many of them, that some part or other will not be taken from

him. Besides, nothing exposes his Weakness so much to the World, as a War in *Italy*, when he is often able to do but little by Intreaty, and always incapable of doing any thing by Force. Upon these Principles the Popes endeavour to keep all the *Italian* Princes in a State of Equality, as much as possible, and are also very attentive to prevent either the House of *Austria*, or the House of *Bourbon*, from gaining the Ascendancy there, which may be fatal to the Independency of other Powers, and consequently destructive of the Pope's Influence, which thereupon entirely depends. The same Maxim governs the Cardinals in the Choice of a Pope, so that they not only avoid electing a Subject of either of those powerful Houses, but are likewise very cautious in raising to the Papal Throne any Cardinal who has shewn himself warm in either of their Interests.

The Pope is jealous and afraid, not without good Reason, of the *Turks* and of the pyratykal States of *Barbary*, his Coasts being very liable to Descents from the one, and to Insults from the other. It has indeed been suggested, that from a refined Stroke in Politics, the Countries seated on the Gulph of *Venice* and on the *Mediterranean* have been suffered to lie waste and uncultivated, that the Unwholesomeness of the Air, and the Poverty of the Inhabitants, might take away all Temptations from an Enemy that might otherwise prove irresistible. If one could imagine any Truth in this, it must give a strange Idea of his Holiness's Councils; but as the *Italians* have been always esteemed subtle Politicians, so there have never been wanting a certain Class of Writers, willing to attribute the grossest Mistakes in Government to some mysterious Design far above the Reach of ordinary Capacities; which in plain *English* is refining to a Degree that is palpably ridiculous. But after all, the real Source of the strange Conduct in the Administration of civil Affairs in the Dominions of the Church, is the known Consequence of Industry, Wealth and Commerce, which is Freedom of Thought, and a Liberty in acting, Principles that are not at all compatible with that kind of Sovereignty; and this alone very fully accounts for that otherwise surprizing Opposition between the Dexterity with which every thing relating to the spiritual Monarchy is managed, and that negligent Stiffness which appears so manifestly in the Direction of civil Affairs.

The Reader may probably wonder at finding these *Italian* States so fully and particularly described, and therefore it may not

not be amiss to give the true Reason of that Attention in this Place, which is, that new Disputes in *Italy*, may in all Probability create the next general War in *Europe*; on which as it is not at all impossible that we may have our Eye, so it seems to be very reasonable that we should be able to form some Notion of the Merits of the Cause, and of the Situation of Places in that Country, that at the Beginning will be, in all Appearance, the Theatre of the War. We have already seen how the *Austrian* Dominions are stated, how the Territories of the Duke of *Modena* are blocked up by the Pope, what fine Countries belong to the Holy See, and how far he is from making the best use of them. We will next apply our Thoughts to the solid Establishments that have been made since the Peace of *Utrecht* in favour of the House of *Bourbon*.

S E C T. V.

The Pretensions and Dominions of the House of BOURBON in Italy.

WE have heretofore mentioned this Subject occasionally, in order to explain other Matters which we were treating; but we will now take the Opportunity of going to the Bottom of it, and of stating the Rise and Progress of that Establishment, which has chiefly occupied the Attention of the *European* Powers since the Conclusion of the last general Peace at *Utrecht*. By that Treaty the Emperor was put in Possession of the Dominions of the House of *Austria* in *Italy*, and it was thought this Disposition had secured the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, in spite of almost all Events. But it very often happens, that when Politicians have some one great and important Object in View, they neglect or pass by unobserved what merits their Attention; so in this Case, the Care they had of the Ballance of *Europe* made them intirely forget the Ballance of *Italy*, which was absolutely overturned by this very Settlement.

It is indeed true, that *Sicily* was given to the Duke of *Savoy*; but as this proceeded from the pure Affection of Queen *Anne*, so the giving him that Kingdom was not attended with such an Augmentation of Power as might enable him to keep it; for at this time, the Emperor was not only Master of great Dominions in, but to speak truly, was Master of all *Italy*. He

had the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Duchy of *Milan*, together with the Island of *Sardinia*, as his hereditary Countries; the Duchy of *Mantua* he kept as an escheated Fief; and in virtue of his Imperial Dignity, he had, or claimed, such Rights over the *Italian* Princes and States, as gave most of them infinite and intolerable Uneasiness.

Before the Death of *Lewis XIV.* they had entered into some secret Negotiations with the Court of *France*; for it was evident enough that the House of *Bourbon* only could afford them the Protection they wanted; and upon the Death of the Queen of *Spain*, the Marriage of *Philip V.* with the Heiress of the Houses of *Farnese* and *Medicis*, gave them no small Hopes of seeing a Turn in their Favour. By this one sees how ill the Imperial Ministers took their Measures, who beginning early to set forth the Claims of the Head of the Empire on the *Italian* Fiefs, persuaded the Politicians on that Side the *Alps*, there wanted only a fair Opportunity to deprive them all by Degrees of their Territories, as has been the Fate already of the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Mirandola*. This converted them at once; so that now they were as desirous of recalling the *Spaniards* as they ever were to see them expelled.

His Catholick Majesty had two very different Interests in *Italy*; one founded on the Pretensions, which as Successor to the House of *Austria*, he had on the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the Duchy of *Milan*, which he had renounced by force; and another in Right of his Queen, his Issue by her being intitled to the Succession of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Tuscany*. The Emperor was jealous of both these Rights, and was very earnest with his Allies to provide against them; which might have been very effectually done, the Pope having a Claim to the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and his Imperial Majesty at least a Colour of Right to dispose of the Grand Duchy of *Tuscany*, upon the failing of the Male Line of the House of *Medicis*.

The Quadruple Alliance, however, was concluded soon after, with a View to remedy the Defects of the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*; but the Regent of *France* could not be brought into that Alliance, without stipulating in favour of his Catholick Majesty the eventual Succession of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by which there was a formal Decision against the Rights of the Pope, and in Favour of the Prerogatives of the Emperor; but then the latter were only acknowledged, to support his Power, in giving these Duchies away. There is no doubt, that the Protestant Powers interested in that Alliance, acted very consistently, because they deny all the Claims of the Pope, but the same
cannot

cannot be said of the Catholick Princes ; yet this was afterwards solemnly confirmed by Cardinal *Fleury* : so much stronger with Politicians is *Interest* than *Principle*.

The Emperor, without doubt, foresaw all the Inconveniencies that would attend this Concession ; but the immediate Advantages which he derived from that Alliance, by the Exchange of *Sardinia* for *Sicily*, induced him to consent to it, though it is very certain that he did it with Reluctance, and that he expostulated the Point with his Allies to the utmost. It is also very likely, that the Succession to *Parma* and *Placentia* being eventual only, and attended with many Contingencies, was what chiefly prevailed upon the *British* Ministers to go so readily into this Scheme. It looked as if they had judged right upon the Death of *Francis* Duke of *Parma*, Uncle to the Queen Dowager of *Spain* ; for his Brother *Antonio Farnese* no sooner succeeded to the Duchy, than, contrary to every body's Expectation, he married the Princess *Henrietta* of *Modena*, by whom if he had been fortunate enough to have had any Issue, the Succession of the King of *Spain's* Children by his second Marriage had been defeated, and this Duke's Descendents would have been the Heirs, not only of his Dominions, but also of those of the Grand Duke.

But he dying in *January 1731*, without Issue, the Infant Don *Charles*, in virtue of a Multitude of Treaties, which having been mentioned in their proper Places need not be repeated here, became intitled to that Succession, and according to the Stipulations in the Treaty of *Seville*, was actually put into the peaceable Possession of *Parma* ; and in Consequence of a Negotiation with *John Gaston*, the last Duke of *Tuscany*, was by him also acknowledged for the Heir Apparent, and had the Title of *Grand Prince*. It was now thought that the Views of *Spain* were intirely accomplished, and that both the King and the Queen would be content with seeing their Son so amply provided for, and his Possessions so well secured to him as they were by several Treaties. The *Italian* Princes also were very well satisfied, because they were at length sure of Support in case they entered into any Alliance amongst themselves, to set Bounds to the Power of the House of *Austria* in that Part of the World, which was all they wished.

But upon the breaking out of the War, occasioned by the Death of the late King of *Poland*, the Face of Affairs in *Italy* intirely changed, and his Catholick Majesty having already obtained all that he could pretend to in Right of his Queen, began to revive the Claims which he had renounced in Right of

his Crown, and in the Month of *March* 1734, the Infant Don *Carlos* having penetrated through the Ecclesiastical Dominions, arrived with a *Spanish* Army, commanded under him by the Count de *Montemar*, on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Count de *Visconti* was at that Time Viceroy of the Kingdom for the Emperor *Charles* VI. and had the Misfortune to succeed his Predecessor in the general Hatred of the People, who revolted almost unanimously as soon as the *Spaniards* entered their Country; upon which the Viceroy quitted *Naples*, after plundering all the Mounts of Piety; Funds, which had been accounted sacred in all former Revolutions. The only Cities that were in a Condition to make Resistance, were those of *Gaeta* and *Capua*, and in these there were pretty good Garrisons. The Imperial Troops that kept the Field were about nine thousand Men, and they retired to a very strong retrenched Camp, under the little Town of *Bitonto*, where they were attacked and forced by the Count de *Montemar*, who gained the most signal Victory recorded in the *Neapolitan* History, for which he was deservedly rewarded with the Title of Duke of *Bitonto*; which however I do not find that he used, but was afterwards stiled in *Spain* and by Foreigners, Duke de *Montemar*.

The Infant Don *Carlos* Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and Hereditary Grand Prince of *Tuscany*, as hitherto stiled by this Revolution, became King of the *Two Sicilies*, in virtue of the Cession made to him of his Father's Rights; which Rights however he had renounced over and over, in Favour of the then Emperor. Having so good a Title, he was pleased to constitute the Duke de *Montemar* the Year following Viceroy of *Sicily*, who made the Conquest of that Island in as short a Time as of the Kingdom of *Naples*, if indeed it could be called a Conquest, where the People rose in every Province to favour his Expedition, as having been always fond of a *Spanish* Government in the same Proportion that they hated that of the *Germans*. Upon this Don *Carlos* went over thither, made his publick Entry into *Messina* with all the Magnificence imaginable, and after having done the same at *Palermo*, where he was crowned, he returned to *Naples*, which was to be the Place of his Residence.

By the Revolution in these two Kingdoms, and by the other Losses which the Emperor had sustained in *Italy*, where he had nothing now left but the City of *Mantua*, the Ballance was again altered, and the *Italian* Princes had then as much to fear from the House of *Bourbon*, as they apprehended a very few Years before from the House of *Austria*. But things did not long wear this Face. *France* was resolved to get out of the War, and to
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get something for going into it; the compromised Matters therefore with the Emperor at the Expence of her Allies. Instead of the Duchy of *Milan*, the King of *Sardinia* was forced to be content with two very small Districts, tho' the Emperor would have given him three. The Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were bestowed upon his Imperial Majesty, as an Equivalent for the *Two Sicilies*, which was rather a worse Equivalent than had been given the House of *Savoy* by the Quadruple Alliance.

As for the eventual Succession to *Tuscany*, it was given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, according to the old Plan of *France*, which many Years before had offered to exchange it for the Duchy of *Milan*. By this Treaty of Peace, to which Don *Carlos* was obliged to accede in *December* 1736, the Dominions of the House of *Bourbon* were reduced to the Kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, and the Fortresses on the Coast of *Tuscany*.

All the World knows how much the Court of *Madrid* was displeased with this Distribution of Things, and how soon the Queen of *Spain* began to revive her Pretensions to her hereditary Dominions in Favour of her second Son the Infant Don *Philip*. It was to pacify her, and to give a kind of Security, that on the first proper Occasion, *France* would assist in obtaining her new Demand, however unjust and unreasonable; that a Princess of *France* was given to Don *Philip*, which the Cardinal de *Fleury* hoped would have quieted Things for his Time, as in all Probability it would, if the sudden Death of the Emperor *Charles VI.* had not obliged him to abandon his pacific System: I mean by this, that it put an End to all his Expedients, and forced him much against his Inclinations upon a new War, for which he seemed to have provided, but was really in hopes that some lucky Event would have afforded him the Means of disengaging himself from the Measures he entered into for the Sake of gratifying the Court of *Madrid*, or rather the Ambition of the Queen of *Spain*.

The Consequences attending these Measures, together with the Progress of the last War in *Italy*, have been so often and so fully considered in other Parts of this Work, that there is no need of running them over again here; and therefore it shall suffice in this Chapter to take notice of the Effects of this War with respect to the King of the *Two Sicilies*, as in the next Chapter we shall shew the Nature and Value of that Establishment, which by the definitive Treaty of Peace was stipulated in Favour of the Royal Infant Don *Philip*, in whose Cause perhaps more Men have bled, than there are living Souls in those Territories, which have been at last given up to him. These

Remarks will compleatly answer our Intention, and exhibit a concise, but at the same time a clear Account of the *Italian Territories* in the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*, so as perfectly to comprehend not only the Accessions made to them in the two last Wars, but also the present Prospect of Things in that Part of the World, and the Danger there is that even in our Times the present definitive Disposition of Property may be again violated, upon Pretences as idle and trifling as gave Birth to that War which ended but the other Day.

His Majesty of the *Two Sicilies* seemed at first disposed to embrace a Neutrality, but when it was judged that Affairs were ripe enough, he declared himself, at least by his Actions, a Party. This Conduct of his, however, did not turn at all to his Advantage, but on the contrary irritated those Powers that had contributed most to his Establishment in *Italy*, drew upon his Subjects inexpressible Distresses, and exposed both his Crown and his Person to very great Hazards. In the Course of that War, he had the Mortification to see his Troops defeated, almost as often as they came to Action, to have his Coasts insulted, his Ports blocked up, and even his Capital menaced by *British* Squadrons. His Subjects also gave frequent and open Testimonies of Disaffection to his Government, which obliged him to take many disagreeable Precautions, which served only to increase the Malady they were meant to remove. The *Austrian* Forces ravaged a Part of his Dominions; he was obliged to put himself at the Head of an Army destined to repel these Invaders; and tho' he had the good Fortune to prevent their penetrating into the Heart of his Territories, which would probably have been attended with a total Revolution, yet this could not be accomplished without feeling great Inconveniencies, and exposing his Person in a Manner that could not fail of giving him much Chagrin. After all this, instead of reaping either Conquests or Laurels from these Dangers in the Field, he was again constrained to have recourse to a Neutrality, which was procured for him chiefly by the Necessity that the Powers in War were under of temporizing with the Father of his Consort; in which Situation, as little pleasing as it was honourable, he saw the repeated Defeats of his Allies, and in the Midst of Troubles and Anxieties, spun out the Remainder of the War, from which after all that he had suffered, he did not acquire either the least Honour or Advantage.

The Kingdoms of which this Prince is in Possession, are in themselves as rich, as fruitful, and as happily situated, as even the most ambitious Monarch could desire. They abound not only

only with all the Necessaries of Life, but with a Variety of useful Commodities that might serve to entertain an extensive Commerce, for which both Kingdoms were formerly famous, and for the carrying on of which they are furnished with capacious and convenient Ports. His Subjects are numerous, and under a better Government might be rendered industrious, But the Prerogatives of the Crown are of such a Nature, the Authority of the Nobility over their Vassals so exorbitant, and above all, the Power and Property of the Clergy so excessive, that there are hardly any Countries upon the Face of the Globe, where the Bulk of the People are most dissolute in their Morals, or more wretched in their Circumstances, which is the true Reason that in the Midst of so many natural Advantages, the Crown of the *Two Sicilies* is regarded in a Light so little favourable to it, by most of our Politicians, and their Opinion from time to time confirmed by that Impunity with which both its Commerce, and its Coasts, are insulted by the *African* Privateers.

Yet it must be acknowledged, that since this Country has been restored to the Possession in some measure of an independent Government, and that Providence has been pleased to bless his *Sicilian* Majesty with Male Issue, there might be probable Grounds to hope, that in Time, and by Degrees, many Inconveniencies might be removed, the real Power of the Crown increased by a wise Circumscription of Rights, rather terrifying than useful, by a strict Execution of Justice, and by obliging all Ranks of People to submit to such Laws as are for the common Benefit. But then this is not to be expected till the Administration is delivered from all Cares, but those for its own Safety and Welfare, and released from the Consideration of any Interest but that of the Crown of the *Two Sicilies*, and its Subjects. These are Objects that might sufficiently employ the Attention even of able Politicians, and from a due Care of which, very considerable Advantages would arise to these Countries in particular, and in their Consequences to *Italy* in general.

But while Doubts are still remaining, in spite of an occasional Settlement, as to the future Fate of these Kingdoms, while the Councils of the Court of *Naples* receive their first Impressions from that of *Madrid*, while the Ambition of making fresh Acquisitions is the ruling Passion in Breasts where the Study of their People's Happiness should alone take place, there is little Reason to wonder that a Change so apparently bene-

beneficial, as that of a King for a Viceroy, has not hitherto been attended with greater Effects, and still less Grounds to expect that the Monarch of the *Two Sicilies* should retrieve the ancient Splendor of that Diadem, and make the Figure that some of his Ancestors in past Ages have done, as the most puissant Prince upon the Continent, and the greatest Maritime Power in *Italy*; of which his Territories however are still as capable as ever, and will be found so when their King shall have nothing else either in Will or in View, but to extend his own Authority by cultivating the Arts of Peace, and promoting Industry and Trade amongst his Subjects.

S E C T. VI.

A succinct Account of the present Establishment of the Royal Infant Don Philip in Italy; including also a clear and concise Deduction of the Pretensions of the Queen Dowager of Spain, as Heiress of the Houses of Farnese and Medicis; with other Points of great Consequence.

IT has been already observed, that at the Time the Quadruple Alliance was form'd, the late King of *Spain*, Philip the Fifth, had two very different Pretensions to certain Dominions in *Italy*, neither of which could be said to be over-well founded. As King of *Spain*, by a mixt Right of Descent, and the Will of *Charles* the Second, he conceived himself to have an indefeasible Right to all the Dominions in the Possession of that Prince, from which therefore he could not bar himself by any Renunciations. His other Claim was in Right of his Wife, in case she or her Issue became Heirs to the reigning Duke of *Parma*, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*. On the first of these Rights he insisted before his Accession to the Quadruple Alliance, in consequence of which he actually conquered *Sardinia*, and attempted the Conquest of *Sicily*, notwithstanding his former Renunciations. Upon his Accession to that Treaty, his Catholick Majesty once more renounced those Rights, in consideration of the eventual Succession to the Duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Tuscany*, being secured to
his

his Children of the second Marriage, which was done at the Request of the Regent of *France* by the Quadruple Alliance. All these Pretensions were actually realised by the famous Treaty of *Seville*, when it seemed to be understood by all the contracting Parties, that the Succession of Don *Carlos* in the Manner prescribed by that Treaty, should terminate all Disputes, and extinguish all Rights, except those that were settled thereby.

But when the next War broke out, it appeared that the King of *Spain* had no such Meaning, but that after engaging the Emperor to grant the Investiture of the Dominions claim'd in Right of his Wife, he was resolved to keep up still his other Claim against the Emperor himself in Reference to the Countries formerly belonging to the Kings of *Spain*, or the House of *Austria*, and in consequence of this Don *Carlos* invaded and possessed himself of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Then came the Treaty of *Vienna*, by which those Kingdoms were left to that Prince, *Parma* and *Placentia* given up to his Imperial Majesty, and *Tuscany* exchanged for *Lorrain*. But notwithstanding this last Treaty, upon the Demise of the Emperor *Charles VI.* his Catholick Majesty revived his old Claims to the Duchy of *Milan*, as Heir of the House of *Austria*, and to *Parma* and *Placentia*, as belonging to his Queen and her Children, and hence arose the Pretension of procuring a Settlement for Don *Philip*, which after a long and bloody War, was at length obtained by the Definitive Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, which has put that young Prince in Possession of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Gualtalla*, upon certain Conditions.

In order to understand how and why he holds these Countries, as well as the Consequences of his having this Establishment given him in *Italy*, it is absolutely necessary to give the Reader a succinct History of the House of *Farnese*, from which he is supposed to derive his Right; for without some Knowledge of this, and of the Situation of the Countries he possesses, it is absolutely impossible that we should have a distinct Conception of the present State of Things in *Italy*, or frame any tolerable Opinion of the new Claims that are already become the Subject of Discourse, will in all Probability serve for the Foundation of new Treaties, and it is not at all impossible may sooner or later become the Causes of another War. But these Points being once settled, this Matter which is at present so very obscure and perplexed, will appear as plain and perspicuous as can be, and we shall have the same

same Facility in judging of the Controversies that may arise in *Italy*, as in those which have been agitated in the North and in *Germany*, and that very possibly may again require our Attention, since where-ever the Spark of War may first fall, it will not be long before the Flame communicates itself into all Quarters.

At the Time the *Lombards* acquired by Force of Arms a very considerable Kingdom in *Italy*, and threatened to extend their Dominions still farther, many Cities finding their Liberties in Danger, and having no Hope of Protection from the *Greek Emperors*, tho' they still retained the Name of Sovereigns, confederated together for their joint Preservation, and with the same View put themselves under the Protection of the Pope, among which Cities were *Parma* and *Placentia*. When the Holy See lost both Power and Credit, and the Popes themselves were forced to retire to *Avignon*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, as well as other Parts of their Territories, suffered a long Succession of miserable Revolutions, sometimes under one Race of Tyrants, sometimes under another, till at length, when most of these were extirpated, the Cities and the Duchies belonging to them, were again annexed, in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, to the Dominions of the See of *Rome*, and were peaceably possessed and enjoyed by *Leo X.* *Adrian V.* and *Clement VII.* in a Manner as absolute and independent as any of their other Temporal Estates whatever, not barely without Molestation, but with the full Knowledge and express Consent of the Emperor *Charles V.* Let us now see how they were detached from the Pope's Territories.

Authors are divided as to the Original of the House of *Farnese*, but amongst several Opinions, there is none more probable, than that they were Lords of *Castello Farnese*, in the little State of *Castro*. *Alexander Farnese*, Head of this House, having insinuated himself into the good Graces of Pope *Alexander VI.* obtained from him, while a very young Man, the Legation of *Ancona*, which for him was a great Preferment. He fell in Love there with a Lady of the noble Family of *Raffini*, which brought him under great Difficulties, since if he married, his Hopes were at an End, and on the other hand, he could not be happy without the Lady. In order to extricate himself, he took a Method not very uncommon in those Times; that is, he married, and kept that Marriage a Secret. By this Lady, he had two Sons, *Peter-Lewis*, and *Alexander*, and a Daughter whose Name was *Constance*. Upon his Return to
Rome,

Rome, as the secret History of that Capital reports, he gained the Favour of the Pope beforementioned in so high a Degree, by appearing ignorant of a certain Amour, that in 1493, he was honoured with the Purple at the Age of twenty-four. Whatever were the Foibles of his Youth, all Authors allow, that in his more advanced Years he discovered Qualities truly worthy of his Dignity, insomuch, that on the Death of *Clement VII.* when he was advanced to the Age of forty, he was elected his Successor, and took the Name of *Paul III.*

He governed fifteen Years with great Reputation, and in that Space having taken great Care of the Affairs of the Church, he thought it no Diminution of his Character to take some of his Family. His Ancestors had lent very considerable Sums to the Apostolick Chamber, and were in Possession of *Nepi* and *Frascati*. The latter being at the very Gates of *Rome*, and affording a Sanctuary to Bankrupts and other flagitious Persons, it was very inconvenient to the Holy See, the Pope therefore proposed to give up these Places, and to extinguish all Debts due to his Family, in case the Cardinals would consent to grant the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* to a certain Person he should name, who should reside in one of these Cities, and hold it as a Fief of the Church; which being assented to in a Consistory, his Son *Peter-Louis* had the Investiture of those Duchies on the 12th of *August* 1545, to hold to him and his Heirs Male for ever, and was installed on the 19th of the same Month, in the Cathedral Church of *Placentia*, by Cardinal *Marino Grimani* the Apostolick Legate. It may not be amiss to observe, that before this young Prince attained these Duchies, his Father had bestowed upon him those of *Castro* and *Cammerini*, which lie within the Ecclesiastical State, as we have already shewn, in speaking of the temporal Dominions annexed to the Popedom; but these, as they were acquired, so they were lost by Usury, one of his Successors borrowing a large Sum of Money from the Apostolick Chamber, and by computing Interest upon Interest the Debt was at last raised so high, that the Church re-entered for Want of Payment, and annexed these Countries once more to the Papal Domains.

This Misfortune befell the House of *Farnese*, under the Reign of *Ramucio II.* the direct Descendent of *Peter-Louis* beforementioned. He was a wise, and in other Respects, a fortunate Prince, governing his Subjects with great Moderation and Mildness. He was thrice married, first to *Margaret* of *Savoy*, by whom he had no Children; Secondly, to *Isabella* of *Este*,

He, by whom he had a Son *Edward*, and two Daughters; first, to *Mary of Este*, his second Wife's Sister, by whom he had *Francisco* and *Antonio*, *Edward*, hereditary Prince of *Parma*, married *Dorothea Sophia* of *Newburgh*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*; in 1698, by whom he had an only Daughter, *Elizabeth*, born October 25, 1692, and on the 5th of September following died, in the Life-time of his Father. *Francisco*, Prince of *Parma*, married his Brother's Widow, who became thereby Duchess of *Parma*, upon the Demise of her Father-in-law, which happened in 1694, and the new Duke brought up his Brother's Daughter as his own.

Francis I. Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, was a Prince of his Father's Temper, and by a wise and prudent Administration of his Affairs, kept his Dominions in a great measure from suffering as the rest of *Italy* did; during the long War on Account of the *Spanish* Succession; but after the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the Death of the Queen of *Spain*, he listened with great Satisfaction to the Proposal of a Marriage between *Philip V.* and his Niece and adopted Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was looked upon as the Heiress of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, her Great Grand-mother being *Magaret de Medicis*, Daughter to Duke *Cosmo II.* and this notwithstanding Prince *Antonio Farnese* was living, because it was believed that he had an invincible Aversion to Marriage, to which, if there be Truth in some *Italian* Conjectures, this Manner of disposing his Niece might contribute. However that Matter might be, the Succession was looked upon as a Thing out of Dispute at least on that Side; for it was known that the People intended to question it, and that it was not very agreeable to the Emperor.

But upon the Demise of *Francis* Duke of *Parma* in 1727, and the Accession of Prince *Antonio*, Things changed their Appearance. The new Duke was no sooner possessed of that Dignity, than he declared his Dislike of Marriage arose from the Narrowness of his Circumstances, while he was a younger Brother, but that now he was a sovereign Prince, and the last Heir Male of his Family, he judged it incumbent upon him to prevent the Extinction of the House of *Farnese*. He married accordingly *Henrietta de Este*, Daughter to the Duke of *Modena*, but had notwithstanding the Misfortune to die without Issue, January 20, 1731, though upon his Demise it was given out, that the Duchess his Relict was with Child; but this being quickly found to be without any Foundation, the Royal Infant *Don Carlos*, eldest Son to his Catholick Majesty by

by the Princess *Elizabeth*, Heiress of the House of *Farnese*, entered into the quiet Possession. The old Duchess Dowager *Sophia Dorothea*, Relict of Duke *Francis*, and of his elder Brother Prince *Edward*, Mother to the Queen Dowager of *Spain*, and Grandmother to the Royal Infants *Carlos* and *Philip*, and of the Cardinal *Bourbon*, died about the Close of the last War, in a very advanced Age. As for the younger Dowager, Widow of *Antonio Farnese*, the last Duke of *Parma*, she married in 1740, Prince *Leopold* of *Hesse Darmstadt*, with whom she resides at *Placentia*.

As to the Extent, Situation and Value of the Countries which form the Settlement of the Infant Don *Philip*, we are to consider the following Particulars. The Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* form together a very considerable Sovereignty; in Length, from West to East, they are about sixty *English* Miles, and their Breadth from South to North is about forty. On the West they are bounded by the Dominions of the Empress Queen and the King of *Sardinia*; on the South, by the Territories of the Republick of *Genoa*; on the East by the Duchies of *Modena* and *Reggio*; and on the North they are divided by the River *Po* from the Duchies of *Mantua* and *Milan*. As to the Climate it is without Exception, being equally healthy and pleasant; and with this the Soil likewise corresponds, which is wonderfully fruitful; the Vallies abound with all Kinds of Fruit, with rich Pastures and excellent Vineyards; and in the Mountains they have both Copper and Silver Mines; the Inhabitants have prodigious Herds of black Cattle, and also numerous Flocks of Sheep; the first enable them to make the best Cheese in *Italy*, and, in the Opinion of many, in *Europe*; and the latter furnish them with vast Quantities of very fine Wool. The Cities of *Parma* and *Placentia* are the only Places of any Consequence in the Royal Infant's Dominions; the former is an old irregular Place, and not very large, meanly fortified, but commanded by a Castle of some Strength; the latter is larger, better situated, more beautiful, and fuller of People, within a very small Distance of the *Po*, which is a great Convenience.

While these Countries were held from the See of *Rome*, the Dukes of *Parma* paid an annual Acknowledgment of ten thousand Ducats; at present they are considered as Fiefs of the Empire, and their Possessor applies for and receives his Investiture from his Imperial Majesty in the same Manner with other Princes. The Revenues have been formerly computed at six hundred thousand Crowns, but it may be doubted, whether in their

their present Situation the People can raise above two Thirds of that Sum ; yet a few Years of Peace, under a gentle Administration, would quickly restore them to their former Condition. It is supposed that these Duchies may maintain a regular Force of about six thousand Men, without any great Detriment either to Prince or People.

As to the additional Duchy of *Guastalla*, we have already shewn how it came into the Hands of the Emperor by the Death of the last Duke of the House of *Gonzagua*. It is in Truth nothing more than a District of the Duchy of *Mantua*, which was given as a Provision for a younger Branch of the ducal House, and is consequently a Thing of no great Importance. It is, as we observed before, separated from the rest of the Royal Infant's Dominions by a Part of the Duke of *Modena's* Country, but notwithstanding this, the Communication by the *Po* is always open. *Guastalla* is a very neat and flourishing Place, and the Country about it both fruitful and pleasant ; the Revenue is computed at fifty or sixty thousand Crowns. These are all the Territories that the Royal Infant possesses in *Italy* ; and though in themselves they may be justly reckoned very considerable, yet when we reflect on the Royal Birth, the high Pretensions, and illustrious Marriage of his Royal Highness, one cannot help admiring at the strange Profusion of Men and Money with which this inconsiderable Settlement was purchased.

This appears still stranger, when we remember that all these Territories are inland Places ; nay, that there is not so much as a single navigable River in the Dominions of this Prince, the *Po* excepted, and that only washes them. From hence one may be easily tempted to suspect, that when this Establishment was accepted for the Royal Infant, it must have been under some Expectation of freeing it from those Restrictions with which the Cessions contained in the Definitive Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* were made ; enlarging it either by Purchase or otherwise, and thereby opening a more direct Correspondence with *Spain*, than it is possible to carry on at present through the Territories of the State of *Genoa* ; though for the facilitating this, it is said, that a great Road is making through the Mountains from the Duchy of *Parma* directly to *Sestri de Ponente*, which may be a good temporary Expedient, till something better can be contrived, or till some lucky Opportunity makes way for its being carried into Execution. It is indeed true, that joining as it does to the Territories of *Modena* on one Side, and to those of the Republic before-

beforementioned on the other, the Royal Infant might easily receive, in case of need, whatever Assistance these Neighbours of his would be inclined to give; but then all their Force taken together, would be insufficient to cover so open a Country against the Troops of the House of *Austria*, if upon any Occasion a Rupture should happen hereafter.

We have thus given a general Sketch of the Situation that this Prince is in, and many of our Readers may possibly look upon that as sufficient. But Time will quickly convince them of the contrary, and that nothing deserves to be more maturely weighed, than what may be expected from the Fermentation that ever since the Peace has been, from its Effects, apparent enough in *Italy*; and to say the Truth, most of the Troubles that have disturbed *Europe* since the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, have been hatched in that Quarter. Should we incline to penetrate the Reason of this, it would not be found difficult to find, and which is still more to our Purpose, it would appear to subsist and act as strongly now as ever; neither ought this to surprize us, if we reflect on the great Events that have happened in our own Time, where the next News from this Part of the World, upon the making and executing a Peace, has usually been new Claims, new Negotiations, and in a short Space of Time, new Preparations for the Commencement of a fresh War. It may therefore be very expedient to make a Trial, whether it may not be possible to discover something of these Matters before they are conveyed to us in foreign Gazettes.

First with respect to the Restrictions by which the Royal Infant Don *Philip* is, or may be thought cramped in his Possessions. We know that at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the *Spanish* Plenipotentiary expressed very clearly the Dislike of the Court of *Madrid* to those Reservations, that establish a Reversionary Right in the two Crowns, to the Cession made of this Settlement for Don *Philip*; and though this Difficulty was then got over, yet we are no Strangers to the Interposition in consequence of which it was got over; nor is at all inconsistent with the Lights of Reason or Experience to believe, that it was got over by the Suggestion, that tho' an absolute Possession could not be gained at that Time, yet it might be procured by a subsequent Negotiation. Of this we have had many broad Hints since, and therefore we may take it for granted, that unless some unforeseen Change should happen in the System of certain Courts, this Point

will certainly be pursued till it is accomplished some way or other.

But this is not all, there has been a Protestation in Form upon a late Occasion, as well as upon others, in favour of the See of *Rome*, from whence, as the original Right of the House of *Farnese* was derived, it is not easy to see how its Claim to these Duchies has been vacated. On the other hand, such is the Spirit of a certain Court, that we have no great Cause to suppose she will suffer these Pretensions to subsist, for fear that some time or other an Opportunity should offer for enforcing them. It is true indeed, that there is no Prospect of any such thing at present, but the Politicks of the Court of *Rome* are deservedly famous, and the very Care that the Popes have taken to keep up this Claim upon every Occasion, sufficiently indicates that they would not suffer an Opportunity to slip, in case any such Opportunity should offer. The Desire therefore of emancipating this dear-bought Settlement even from this dormant Pretension, is a Point that will hardly escape the Eye of a Court, that has been ever famous for Jealousy, in a Degree not at all inferior to its Ambition.

We are yet farther to consider, that it was purely to avoid this Claim of the See of *Rome*, that *Parma* was acknowledged to be a Fief of the *Roman* Empire. Duke *Francis*, Uncle to the Queen Dowager of *Spain*, when the Emperor levied Contributions from his Dominions, upon Pretence of their being Fiefs, exclaimed against it as an Act of Violence and Injustice, the Pope also protested against it upon the same Motives. Since that Time his Successors have seen things in quite a different Light, or rather have been under a Necessity of admitting what their Predecessor so warmly disputed. As things now stand, there can be no Dispute that Homage is due to the Emperor, and that his Investiture is necessary to the Possessor of these as of other Fiefs. But possibly there may come a Time when this may be accounted either a Grievance, or at least an Inconvenience, unless in the ensuing Congress at *Cremona*, or where-ever else it shall be held, some Method can be found to settle it to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties; and tho' this may be a thing far enough from being impossible, yet one may venture, without fearing to sin against Truth, to hazard a Suspicion that it will not be without its Difficulties.

In the next place, the Augmentations of this Settlement which may be endeavoured, deserve our particular Notice. We have

have very good Reason to apprehend at least, that after such violent and repeated Struggles, so long and bloody a War, and since the Conclusion of the Peace, such a Train of secret and silent Negotiations, some Enlargement of the Royal Infant's Territories is a Point still at Heart with those who procured his Settlement, and who in going so far to obtain that, however unequal to the Cost with which it was obtained, gave an Earnest to the World that they meant to go further, and not to desist from their Enterprize, till attended with a Success proportionable to their Characters who have embarked in it. Let us then consider, whether from the Lights afforded us by these historical Memoirs, and the Hints that have been given us as to the Tendency of those secret Negotiations before-mentioned, we may not be able to form some Guess as to the Nature of these Arguments, and the Methods which may be possibly practised in order to compass them? It is very unlikely that we should be able to go to the Bottom of this Matter, or to point out exactly, and in their proper Order, the very Steps that will be taken in this Business: But tho' we should not do this, yet we need not despair of giving the Reader some Satisfaction, since in pointing out most of the Roads that are possible, we can hardly miss those that the active Politicians will think practicable, and what may not be atchieved in our Times; it is very likely may occupy the Attention of Posterity; at least we have past Experience on the Side of this Conjecture.

The Royal Infant's Settlement was hardly fixed, before it was observed that some Alterations, Cessions, and Exchanges would be necessary, in order to accommodate things between that young Prince and his Neighbours. We have touched upon this Subject before, and shewn that a Part of the Duke of *Modena's* Dominions would be exceedingly commodious, and that it might not be impracticable to assign his Serene Highness an Equivalent with which he might be well contented. Something of the like Sort might be expedient also with respect to the Empress Queen, there being a small Portion of the Duchy of *Guastalla* that cannot well be separated from her hereditary Countreis, and it is certainly of much too little Consequence to be worth disputing about; these, taking them altogether, though they may be convenient and even necessary Things, are of no mighty Importance, and there is nothing very unlikely in supposing, that for the Sake of mutual Ease and Security, such Matters may be settled in a Congress to the Satisfaction of all Parties.

But there has been an Augmentation mentioned of quite another Nature, and that is the Island of *Corfica*, which was for some time looked upon as the Fiction of Gazette-Writers: The *French* were lately in Possession of that Island; the Malecontents seem to be determined in their Resolution, never to submit again to what they stile their old Yoke. On the other hand, indeed, there has been a Regulation settled between the Republick and the *Corficans*, under the Mediation of his Most Christian Majesty, with great Care and Deliberation; yet if this should prove unacceptable to either Party, or if Objections should be made to it on both Sides, the admitting of a Treaty of Purchase, in order to the Republick's parting with its Sovereignty, may be thought a proper Expedient, or at least it could never have been introduced in a less exceptionable Way. In that Case, however, some further Steps must be taken before it can be connected with the Royal Infant's present Settlement; but if this grand Purchase is once made, that will not be absolutely impracticable. There is a small Tract of Country between the Duchy of *Parma* and the Sea, that would in such a Case be a very valuable Acquisition; and this, no doubt, would be obtained by Contract or Exchange; and thus the Royal Infant would acquire a large, and, in part, an independent Settlement, and it may be a more splendid Title; yet as we have seen strange Changes, it may not perhaps be a chimerical Conjecture, that after all these Junctions and Purchases, the whole might be thought a proper Equivalent for another Territory in *Italy*, of which his Brother Don *Carlos* once wore the Title of hereditary Prince.

Before we quit this Subject, it may not be amiss just to hint, that the former Dukes of *Parma* thought themselves very ill treated by the Pope in the Affair of *Castro*; and once by the Interposition of the Crown of *France*, that Affair was brought so far, that upon Payment of the original Debt and Interest, the Pope engaged himself to restore those Territories, tho' upon a Tender of the Money he disengaged himself again, alledging that it was not in his Power. I have before observed, that this Business was compromised by Treaty with the House of *Austria*, when the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were in the Possession of the late Emperor *Charles* the Sixth; but now they are in other Hands, that Claim may be revived, and perhaps enforced, when other Points of greater Consequence are settled. Thus we have taken a View of the several possible Systems of Augmentation, and of the Methods by which they must be acquired, Time will speedily shew us which will be first brought on the Carpet; and by Degrees there is very little Doubt that we shall hear

hear of all the rest, for one Augmentation will facilitate another, and Pretensions that might have been ridiculous for a little Duke to make, will appear of great Consequence, when considered as the Demands of a very considerable King.

These political Disquisitions on the present State of the Dominions and Pretensions of the House of *Bourbon* in *Italy*, will assist us much in forming an Idea of that new Scene of Negotiation that is at present on foot, and which at this Juncture is so great a Mystery, that very few seem to know what to make of it, but by Degrees it will open, and expand itself, so as to become very perceptible, and then we shall be no longer in the Dark as to our Concern in it. The Ballance of *Italy* will always retain its Connection with the Ballance of Power in *Europe*; so that it is a vain Thing to imagine, that it can be either altered by a War, or settled by a Peace, without Prejudice to the Maritime Powers, and consequently without their being obliged to trouble themselves about it. It is true indeed, that it is, and must be the Interest of the King of *Sardinia*, more especially to keep a steady Attention to that Ballance; and if the Treaty of *Worms* had been effectually executed, that alone would have been a sufficient Security; he must have taken care of our Interests, because it is certain he will never desert his own. But the Case is much altered now, and remains still in a State of Alteration, which when or where it will stop, is not in the Breast of Man to determine.

Let us next proceed to the Republicks in *Italy*, upon the State of which we shall be much more concise; and, that what we have to say may be with the more Ease retained; we will take them in the Order of Time, in which they were erected,

S E C T. VII.

The Present State and Political Interests of the Republick of VENICE.

THE Glory of the *Venetian* State is at present indeed much inferior to what it was, when without Assistance she was a Match for the whole *Ottoman* Power by Land and Sea, and lost nothing of her Courage, and but very little of her Territories, by the famous League of *Cambray*, when rather out of Envy, than from any better Cause, the greatest Powers in *Europe* were allied against her.

But tho' it be true, that the Republick is not what she has been, that her Dominions are reduced within narrower Bounds, so that except what she possesses on the *Terra Firma* of *Italy*, in *Dalmatia*, and a few inconsiderable Islands, she has nothing left of those extensive Territories that contributed to enrich her Subjects by their Trade, and gave her so considerable a Rank amongst the Powers of *Europe*; yet she is still Mistress of enough, not only to deserve Notice, but also to be regarded as one of the most considerable Potentates in *Italy*, and most illustrious Republicks in *Europe*.

It is highly to the Honour of this State, that for upwards of twelve Centuries she has preserved her Freedom, and for a great Part of that Time has lived under the same Government, without suffering any of those dreadful Revolutions by which many of her powerful Neighbours have been involved in Blood and Confusion. This has justly given a high Reputation to the Wisdom of her Senators, who by their great Policy and wonderful Secrecy, have been able through so long a Track of Time, to guard with equal Diligence and Success against foreign Confederacies and domestic Conspiracies, many of which they have defeated, when laid with the deepest Cunning, and supported with no inconsiderable Strength.

Her very Losses are so far from reflecting Discredit on the Republick, that on the contrary, they do her the greatest Honour in the Sentiments of those who are capable of forming a right Judgment of History, and know how to distinguish properly in respect to Causes and Events. The long War in Defence of *Candia* against the *Turks*, exhausted the Treasures, and weakened the Power of this State to a Degree, that she has not been able to recover; but that War was continued for many Years against the whole Strength of the *Ottoman* Empire by Sea and Land, and was almost as fatal to the *Turks* as to her; for they too have been declining in Power and Reputation ever since: So that she might be truly stiled in that respect the Bulwark of *Europe*, to the Safety of which she contributed much more than she suffered by the Losses, that by the Fortune of War she sustained during that famous Contention.

The common Opinion that she continues still to decline, and that the very Being of the Republick is in Danger from a slow Consumption, has been perhaps taken up without due Attention, and for want of having just Notions of the wise and solid Maxims by which her Government is conducted. For tho' it be true, that she is in no Condition to maintain such a War

as that of *Candia*, yet it is no less true, that as Things are now circumstanced, she has very little Reason to fear it.

In the two last Wars with the *Turks*, she sufficiently demonstrated, that tho' her Forces were much weaken'd, she was far from having lost her former Spirit, or from wanting such a Power as was necessary for her Defence ; and the noble Statue erected to the Honour of the late Field Marshal *Schulemberg* in the great Square of *Corfu*, which he so gloriously defended, will remain a perpetual Monument of the Bravery of her Troops, as well as of her Zeal and Gratitude to that intrepid Officer, which it may be hoped will not a little contribute to procure a Succession of Generals as worthy and as fortunate.

Besides all this, it ought to be remember'd, that she is now better secured against the *Turks* by her perpetual Alliance with the House of *Austria* than in former Ages ; and if we also reflect, that in case the latter at any time break with the *Turks*, in virtue of that Alliance, they are sure of being supported by the *Russians*, it will be sufficiently evident, that the *Venetians* have much less to fear than they had in former Days. Since the Peace of *Passarowitz*, therefore, which was concluded on the 10th of *July* 1718, they have remained very quiet ; and as they have very wisely avoided taking any Share in those Disputes that have perplexed *Europe*, they at the same time have thought it proper to keep up a numerous Body of Forces, in order to render their Neutrality respected.

That the Reader may perceive, what we have advanced in relation to this Republick is founded in Truth, it may not be amiss to give a short Account of the Countries she possesses. In the first place, the noble City of *Venice*, and the Islands about it, which are so populous, have so many Manufactures, and still carry on so great a Trade, more especially whenever the other Powers of *Italy* are at War, and the Subjects of the Republick enjoy the Benefit of her Neutrality, that the Revenue drawn from them by the State, amounts annually to three Millions of Ducats.

On the *Terra Firma* or Continent of *Italy*, she possesses the *Trevisan*, the *Paduan*, the *Vicentin*, the *Veroneze*, the *Bregamasc*, the Territory of *Brescia*, the City of *Crema* and its District, and the *Polesin* ; they have also a great Part of *Friuli*, of *Istria*, of *Dalmatia* and *Albania* ; and they still preserve the Islands of *Corfu*, *Zante*, *Cerigo*, *Finnes*, *Curzola* and *Cefalonia* : All these Countries are rich and fruitful, and the Inhabitants drive a very great Trade in the *Levant*, as well as in other Parts of *Europe*.

The entire Revenue of the Republick is computed at about eight Millions of Ducats, and the annual Expence does not commonly exceed half that ; so that in Time of Peace they are constantly laying up large Sums, Before the fatal War of *Candia* they had in their Treasury fifteen Millions of Ducats in ready Money, exclusive of the famous Gold Chain, to which they annually added some Links, which forty Porters could hardly carry, and which on certain Festivals was extended cross the Square of *St. Mark*, for the Entertainment of the People. As they have now enjoyed Peace thirty Years, it may be presumed that their Coffers are again pretty full, so that upon any emergent Necessity, they would be able to make much greater Efforts than is commonly imagined.

As to the Government of *Venice*, it is so well known, that we need not describe it. We shall only observe, that it is a pure Aristocracy, and though the Duke has the Title of Prince, yet the Majesty of the Republick resides in the Senate. The great Maxim of this wise Body, is to manage the Government with the utmost Frugality, to encourage Trade as much as possible, and to preserve Peace as long as they are able.

They have always a constant Eye upon the *Turks*, and have excellent Intelligence even in the Seraglio itself ; so that they can hardly be surprized ; and in Time of Peace they carry on a prodigious Commerce in all Parts of that Empire. They are jealous of the *Pope*, with whom they have many ancient Grounds of Dispute, which is the Reason that they exclude all Ecclesiasticks from their Counsels. They are obliged to live in strict Friendship with the Emperor, tho' it is certain, that they are not at all desirous of seeing the Power of the House of *Austria* extend itself in *Italy*. They were heretofore jealous of the Crown of *Spain* for the same Reason ; and very probably this Spirit would revive, if *Don Philip* should gain by Purchase any more considerable Establishment in that Country ; for the keeping even the Ballance of which, they are as much or more concerned than any other Potentate.

In former Times the Republick was strongly inclined to favour *France* ; the Ambassador of this Crown received very high Honours at *Venice*, and generally speaking, the *Venetian* Cardinals joined those of the *French* Faction in the Conclave ; yet there is no Reason to presume, as some do from hence, that the Republick is governed by these Notions still, for the Circumstances of Things being changed, according to the settled Rules of their Policy, the Conduct of the Republick must change also ; and the very same Principles that induced her to
side

side with the *French* in the Conclave, will engage her now to act against them, and in Favour of the House of *Austria*, because the Family of *Bourbon* is become too potent.

It may indeed be surmised that this State, affecting Peace so much as she does, might be awed by the Power of *France*; but of this there is no sort of Appearance. For when *Lewis XIV.* about 1711, declared at *Rome*, Cardinal *Ottoboni*, a Subject of the Republick's, Protector of the Crown of *France*, and his Eminence had accepted that Dignity, contrary to the Maxims of the *Venetian* State, which never permits any that have been in their Service, to enter into that of other Princes; they proceeded without Delay, and without Ceremony, to deprive him and all his Relations of the Privileges of Nobility, and to banish them their Dominions. We may therefore take it for granted, that the Grandeur of this House will be very far from being acceptable to the *Venetians*.

They have always maintained, and very probably will continue to maintain, a close Friendship and strict Alliance with the *Swiss*, there being a mutual Connection between their Interests; and each of them having frequent Occasions, from the Vicinity of their Territories, to ask and receive Favours from the other.

They are likewise bound to live in good Intelligence with the Monarch of the *Two Sicilies*, and with the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, on Account of the Difficulties to which their Commerce would be unavoidably liable, in case of a Rupture, or even a Difference with either. There was heretofore a great Coolness between the Republick and the Dukes of *Savoy*, on account that the latter assumed the Title of King of *Cyprus*; to which also the Doge of *Venice* pretends: And it is difficult to believe how much this slight Punctilio kept these two Powers at a Distance. But since the Duke of *Savoy* has become King of *Sardinia*, and the Situation of Things in *Italy* is so much changed, that the Balance is almost constantly in his Hands, the *Venetians* have altered their Measures; and it is certain, that at present there is a very good Correspondence between that Monarch and the Republick.

The long and warm Disputes that have happened heretofore between this Republick and that of *Genoa*, has occasioned such an Inveteracy as is scarce to be conceived; grounded also upon a Punctilio, the latter desiring to be regarded as an Equal, and the former treating her upon all Occasions as an Inferior. This Spleen was carried farther, during the fatal War with *Candia*, than one would have expected from the *Venetian* Prudence; for when the *Genoese* offered very considerable Assistance at a Time when *Venice* wanted it most, upon Condition that an Equality should subsist for the future, they rejected the Proposition with Disdain,
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and chose rather to run the Hazard of total Destruction, than to receive Assistance upon such Terms.

Yet even this Quarrel seems now to be laid asleep, if not extinguished; for during the last Distress of the *Genoese*; it is very certain that the *Venetians* interposed not only with much Civility, but with great Earnestness at the Court of *Vienna*; and if we may depend upon the Reports that have been current in *Italy*, the *Genoese* received pecuniary Supplies of a Nature that sufficiently declared the Depth of the Purse from whence they were drawn, though it was not held convenient to embark openly in their Quarrel.

Thus by a brief Enumeration of Facts, we have shewn, that notwithstanding what has passed heretofore, the Republick of *Venice* is still in a Condition to support herself, and in no Danger either from the Power of her Enemies, or of her Neighbours; that if she loves Peace it is from wise and prudent Motives, and not from Timidity; that as she forms no Pretensions upon her Neighbours, so she is inclined to live with them in the greatest Harmony imaginable; and in a Word, that as she has no Views of Conquest; for herself, she is bound by Interest as well as led by Inclination to give all the Opposition possible to such as from ambitious Motives disturb the Peace of *Italy*.

The Consideration of this to those who maturely weigh Things of so important a Nature will appear of no small Consequence. For as no Government in the Universe understands its own Interests better, or pursues them more closely than the *Venetian* Senate, so it is a mighty thing to be secure, that no Temptation will ever engage this State to violate Justice, or aim at increasing her Wealth or her Dominions at the Expence of any of her Neighbours. Besides there is a moral Certainty that if the BALLANCE in this part of Christendom should be apparently in Danger, this Commonwealth would take the Part of the Oppressed, and venture all for preserving the Freedom of *Italy*. Add to this, that the *Venetian* Ambassadors in the several Courts of *Europe* never want the Means of insinuating their Sentiments to the Ministers, and giving such true Lights in respect to the Concerns of *Italy*, as may prevent false Steps being taken, and powerfully persuade the taking those that are true, neither of which would otherwise be brought to pass.

S E C T. VIII.

*The Present State and Political Interests of the
Republick of GENOA.*

THIS Republick made anciently a very good Figure, not only considered as a free State of *Italy*, but in respect to *Europe* in general. Her Dominions were large, her Commerce extensive, and her Naval Power extremely formidable. But according to the Nature of all Commonwealths, Fluctuations and Revolutions in Government have been very common here; and to them it has been chiefly owing, that *Genoa* has fallen from what she was, and been driven at several times to submit herself, not only to the Emperors and Kings of *France*, but to the Marquisses of *Montserrat*, the Dukes of *Milan*, and other little Princes.

In short, the Characters given by ancient Writers of this Nation under the Name of *Ligurians*, have been always, and at all times, but too applicable to the *Genoese*; who from a factious Disposition, and almost perpetual Disaffection to the Form of Government under which they lived, have kept themselves in continual Disquiet, and lost unaccountably the Advantages derived to them from their Trade, and from their Situation, which might otherwise have enabled them to attain what seems after all to have been the utmost Extent of their Wishes, a Power as great, and an Establishment as solid, as that of their Sister Republick, *Venice*.

As to their present Condition, by which I mean the Form of Government they are now under, they owe it entirely to the Virtue of *Andrew Doria*, who in 1527 rescued them out of the Hands of the *French*, and refusing the Sovereignty offered him, fixed their Condition as a free State, regulating their ancient Nobility, so as to consist in twenty-eight Families, and their new Nobles in twenty-four. It is not necessary for us to enter into the Particulars of their History from that Time, because they are well known; and therefore we shall content ourselves with saying, that if it had not been for the Factions between their old and new Nobility, which in 1573 rose so high as to occasion a Civil War, and their Disputes with the Duke of *Savoy*, which engaged them in several Wars, they might have from that Period to this enjoyed Peace and Plenty.

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In 1684 they were severely chastised by *Lewis XIV.* on account of some Offence he had taken to their Conduct, or rather from a Vanity of shewing his Naval Force by bombarding *Genoa*, and obliging the Doge, and four of the principal Senators, to repair to *Versailles*, and make a Submission as little honourable to him as to the Republick. In the War occasioned by the *Spanish* Succession they were but indifferently treated by the Allies, and by the *French*; but at the Close of it, they made themselves some amends by purchasing from the late Emperor *Charles VI.* the Marquisate of *Final*, to the Possession of which they had long and ardently aspired.

We have heard so much of this Matter already, and it is possible may hear so much more of it hereafter, that it is requisite we should say something of it here; and as we have no kind of Prepossession in favour of either Party, we shall state the Fact in few Words, and as fairly as it is possible. The *Genoese* had very old Pretensions upon this Country, in Right of a Mortgage by the Princes to whom it belonged; but under colour of a Felony committed by one of those Princes, it was seized by the House of *Austria*, and belonged to the *Spanish* Branch of that Family. It was by this means that it came with the rest of the *Italian* Dominions of that House into the Hands of the late Emperor, and on his Behalf the Duke of *Savoy* put a Garrison into it. But upon the Sale of this Marquisate by his Imperial Majesty in 1713, the *Piedmontese* Garrison in *Final* evacuated it, and three hundred *Corseicans* took Possession of it for the *Genoese*, who kept it till the last War.

But it is also necessary to observe, that the Dukes of *Savoy* had likewise Pretensions upon this Marquisate, though they were not in a Condition to assert, or make them good; and therefore on the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Worms*, as we have shewn in another Place, his *Sardinian* Majesty stipulated, that upon giving the *Genoese* Satisfaction for the Money laid out in the Purchase of this Country, it should belong to him. This the Republick considered as so great an Injury, that they entered into a Treaty with the *French* and *Spaniards* for their own Security, and for the Preservation of their Dominions; the Consequences of which are very well known.

But with respect to this Marquisate, and the Disposition of this Country by the Treaty of *Worms*, there are three Points that deserve well to be considered. The first is, That whatever Rights the Dukes of *Savoy* had to this Country, they could not be prejudiced by the Emperor's Sale of it to the *Genoese*;

Genoese; and therefore there was no Injustice in the King of *Sardinia*'s taking Advantage of that critical Conjunction to avail himself of the Pretensions of his Family.

The *second* is, That the *Genoese* were to have a Satisfaction for this Marquisate; and tho' it might be true, that both their Interests and their Inclinations led them to prefer the Possession of *Final* to any Equivalent that could be given them for it, yet this ought not to be a Rule to other Powers, whose Interests and Inclinations were on the Side of his *Sardinian* Majesty. This will appear still plainer, if we consider that it is not out of any real Affection for the Republick of *Genoa*, that the House of *Bourbon* contended for maintaining her in the Possession of this Country, but for the Sake of keeping her in Dependence, and keeping at the same Time *Final* from the King of *Sardinia*. The Allies therefore, who had the same Reason to wish this Country in the Hands of that Prince, had the same Right to employ their Power for the Accomplishment of their Wishes in this Respect.

The *third* Point is, That the Desire of making this Alteration was not, as has been supposed, either wanton or arbitrary; on the contrary, it appears to have been founded upon Principles of good Policy; for on the one hand, as it would have immediately opened a Communication between the Dominions of his *Sardinian* Majesty and the Maritime Powers, which is apparently of the highest Consequence for the Preservation of the Tranquillity and Ballance of Power in *Italy*; so on the other hand, it was provided that it should be equally beneficial to Commerce, by an express Stipulation that *Final* should be made a free Port, in the same Manner, and for the same Purposes, as *Leghorn*.

But none of these Considerations weighing with the *Genoese*, they ventured the Subversion of their State for the Sake of preserving this Territory, which nevertheless was taken from them by the Chance of War, together with *Savona*, which is another fine Port, that they have long ago filled up and rendered useless, for the Sake of confining the Commerce of that Part of *Italy* to their own Harbour; which, how consistent it is with the Law of Nations, and the general Interest of other trading Countries, I shall not take upon me to determine. One Thing however is very clear, that a State which considers nobody's Interest but her own, has no great Reason to expect that other States would consider her Interest more than their own.

Bravery of this Nation, than the bare Observation, that they have not only preserved their Freedom in Spite, but have been also always formidable to the most potent of their Neighbours : Yet their Country is very far from being large ; in Length somewhat less than three hundred, and in Breadth very little more than a hundred Miles.

Before we proceed farther, it will be requisite to give some Account of the Distribution of these People. The Inhabitants of *Switzerland* then may be divided into three Parts : *First*, the *Swiss* properly so called, or the thirteen Cantons ; which stand in the following Order. 1. *Zurich*. 2. *Bern*. 3. *Lucern*. 4. *Wic.* 5. *Switz*. 6. *Underwald*. 7. *Zug*. 8. *Glaris*. 9. *Bazil* or *Basle*. 10. *Friburg*. 11. *Soluthurn*. 12. *Schaffhausen*. And 13. *Appenzel*. Of which the Protestant Cantons are *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Bazil*, and *Schaffhausen*, with above two Thirds of the Canton of *Glaris*, and more than half of *Appenzel* ; the People in the rest are all *Roman* Catholics.

Secondly, The Subjects of the *Switzers* which are either such Towns and Bailliages as belong to them all, or to several in common, or that depend upon several Cantons. Of the former they reckon nine ; viz. the County of *Baden*, the *Free Villages*, the Counties of *Turgovy*, *Sargantz*, and *Rhintal*, and the four *Italian* Bailliages of *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisco*, and *Valmodia* ; to which we must add the three Cities without Territory, viz. *Boemgarten*, *Mellingen*, and *Rapperswil*. The four Bailliages of *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisco*, and *Valmodia*, were dismembered from the Duchy of *Milan*, and belong to all the Cantons except *Appenzel*, which at that Time was not admitted into the Alliance. Three other Bailliages in *Italy*, viz. *Bellinzona*, *Valbrima*, and *Riviera*, were conquered by the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Switz*, and *Underwald*, from the Dukes of *Milan*. The little Territory of *Alfux*, and the County of *Werdenbergh*, both seated on the *Rhine*, belong, the former to the Canton of *Zurich*, and the latter to that of *Glaris*. The Bailliage of *Gasteren* belongs to the Cantons of *Switz* and *Glaris* ; and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg* possess the four Bailliages of *Morat*, *Gremton*, *Echelens*, *Swartzenburg*, which they conquered from the Dukes of *Savoy*.

Thirdly, The Allies of the *Switzers* are the *Grisons*, who are divided into three Leagues, that of the *Grisons*, of the *House of God*, and of the *Ten Jurisdictions*. They are partly Protestants, and partly Papists, and have also a considerable conquered Country that belongs to them. The Town and County of *Neufchatel*, of which we have shewn elsewhere the

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King of *Prussia* is Sovereign; the Abbot and City of *St. Gall*, the little Republick of *Wallais*, which the *Germans* call *Wallis-Land*; the City and Republick of *Geneva*; the Town of *Bienne* or *Biel*, which is allied to the Canton of *Bern*; and the Town of *Mulhausen* not far from *Basil*, to which it is allied.

It is not to be expected that we should enter into a long Detail either Historical or Political, concerning these People, for that would require a considerable Volume, whereas what we have to say about them must be confined within a very narrow Compass. There is hardly one of the Cantons, States, or Cities beforementioned, that agrees with another in point of Government; and indeed every kind of Government that ever was invented, is to be found amongst them; yet they are all maintained under their respective Forms, and in their respective Rights, from that common Love of Freedom and Justice, which prevails generally among the whole Nation.

The greatest Part of their Country is the most rugged in its Appearance, and naturally the most barren in its Soil of any in *Europe*; and yet by Dint of Labour and Cultivation, they render it tolerably fruitful. All their Cities are well built, populous, and most of their Inhabitants live pretty much at their Ease, which is owing partly to their Industry, and partly to their Frugality. The Gentry of *Switzerland*, notwithstanding what is commonly reported of them, are, generally speaking, tolerably educated, and from their seeing foreign Countries, commonly well bred. Their Traders have great Privileges, and some of them are in wealthy Circumstances; and as for their Peasants, they are very hardy and laborious. As their Women are justly reputed very honest as well as very good House-wives, so they are generally speaking very prolifick, and their Country being but narrow, this lays them under an absolute Necessity of sending out Numbers every Year to seek their Bread in foreign Countries.

As they are naturally of a martial Disposition, and accustomed to Arms from their Youth, they usually seek some foreign Service or other; those of the Popish Cantons go into the *French* and *Spanish* Pay; those of the Protestants, and not a few of the Popish likewise, into that of the *States General*; but wherever they are, they have the Honour to be accounted as good Troops as any in the World. After some Years Service more or less, according to their Contracts, the private Men return home, though their Corps remain still in foreign

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Service, and are from time to time filled up with fresh Recruits.

It is owing to these People that have served abroad, both Officers and Soldiers, that the *Swiss* are never at a loss for as large and well disciplined an Army as any Government in *Europe* can raise, which are at the same time the Guardians of their own Liberty, and the Protectors of their Neighbours Freedom. Neither is their Power grounded only on Opinion, for they have defended themselves at different Times against most of the great Powers in *Europe*, and though they have been sometimes outwitted, yet they were never beaten, or reduced to demand Peace by any Power whatever; so that they may be justly considered, taking in their Situation and their Militia, as the most unconquerable People in *Europe*.

It is very difficult, perhaps hardly possible, to make a just Computation of the Force of the *Swiss*. Some say, that the Canton of *Bern* alone can bring into the Field one hundred thousand Men; but those who say this allow, that they could not maintain them for any Time. Things are much changed with this Nation from what they were formerly; for they have now several good Fortresses, though heretofore they had none. Many of the Gentry of *Switzerland* are very able Statesmen, as well as experienced Officers, and such in former Times were very scarce. Several of the Cantons are now very rich, and besides vast Sums that they have locked up at home, have also great Wealth in foreign Banks, and particularly in our Funds. Every great City is well furnished with Artillery, and at *Bern* and *Zurich* they have Field and Battering Trains of Brass Cannon, than which there are few better in *Europe*.

Yet with all this Force they are not in the least formidable to those that live near them, since they are without doubt the very best Neighbours in the World; so void of Ambition, that they have no Idea of Conquest, such Lovers of Justice, that the very Report of Oppression will bring them to the Relief of the Distressed. By this means the City of *Geneva* has been often, and will probably be always protected against two very formidable Powers, one the most enterprising, and the other the most ambitious in *Europe*.

Those who have treated of the Interest of the *Swiss*, seem to think that they may be some Time or other in Danger from *France*; but of this there seems to be at present very little Appearance. For in the first place, it is not easy to conceive why
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the *French* should quarrel with them, since as themselves allow, and indeed all the World knows, the *Swiss* Troops in their Pay make the Flower of their Infantry. It is in the next place very difficult to apprehend why the *Swiss* should quarrel with the *French*, from whom it is certain they receive considerable Advantages. It is true, that the *Swiss* are open on the Side of the *Franche Compté*; and it has been thought a great Oversight in this Nation to let the *French* become Masters of it; but in all Probability they depended upon their natural Strength; and within less than half a Century, when *France* talked very big, and threatened in relation to the Sovereignty of *Neufchatel* and *Valingen*, the *Swiss* were so far from showing any Concern about it, that they were ready to have taken up Arms, if *Lewis XIV.* had not immediately changed his Language.

As for the House of *Austria*, they will never attack or offend the *Swiss* for fear of throwing them into the Arms of *France*, and there is no other Potentate in Condition to disturb them. The only Point of their Interest which they seem not perfectly to understand, is the Power they have of protecting *Italy*; for if the Princes of this Country could be brought to enter into a Treaty of perpetual Neutrality, and could prevail upon the *Swiss* Cantons, in Consideration of an annual Subsidy, to join in it, and keep up a constant Body of Troops, to give Weight to that Neutrality, the Ballance there might be effectually settled; but private Interests, and the ambitious Views of small Princes as well as great, render this a Thing not so much to be hoped for as wished.

Thus we have made the compleat Tour of *Italy*, and have taken a View of all the Kingdoms, Principalities, and Republicks, of which it consists, *Lucca* and *St. Marino* excepted, which are not of Consequence enough to claim a Place in a Work of this Kind. We have seen the comparative Strength, and the natural Interests of all these Powers, from whence it manifestly appears, that every one of the Potentates have in reality but one great Object which ought to absorb all their Views, and that is the Maintenance of the Peace of *Italy*, which they have Force sufficient to accomplish, and which if they could agree upon a general Treaty of Neutrality and Guaranty, might very probably be maintained without any Force at all, that is without keeping up Land Forces for that Purpose, distinct from those, which every Power will judge it requisite to keep on foot, for the Safety of its own Dominions. This would enable them to turn the Cares of their respective Go-

vernments to their proper Subject, the Welfare of their People, by employing them in the Improvement of the Countries they inhabit, and reviving that Commerce, which was once, and might be again the Glory of *Italy*. This the Reader ought not to regard as the visionary Scheme of a private political Writer, unacquainted with the Manners, Notions, and Designs of the *Italian* Powers, since it is really a Thing in which their own Authors agree, and which in its Nature is as capable of Demonstration as any thing of this Kind can be, and therefore ought to be taken as a certain and established Truth, to which, however repugnant the Practices of Men have been, or may be, it yet remains, and will ever remain unaltered in itself, and consequently worthy the Attention of those, who from a rational and well-grounded Principle of true Policy, wish well to Mankind, and desire rather to see them easy and happy, than poor and oppressed, and their Countries rich and flourishing, than barren and uncultivated, contrary to the Laws of God and Man.

We have likewise seen what indeed could be seen no other way, from a succinct Deduction of their respective Interests, from History, what the real Sources are of that Conduct which has hitherto counteracted, and will probably continue to hinder their Concurrence in establishing this plain and salutary System. We have seen in *Italy* what may also be seen in the *North*, in *Germany*, and indeed every where else, that the Ambition of Princes, the Desire of aggrandizing certain august Families, the pernicious Inclination of pursuing private and particular Views, inconsistent with Universal Prosperity, and consequently inconsistent with themselves, have seduced those who have the Power of commanding others, to enter into Confederacies upon plausible Appearances, and generally speaking with a fallacious Promise of supporting that Equality, Independency, and Tranquility they were really calculated to destroy; and we have seen to how little Purpose long and bloody Wars have been carried on, immense Treasures squandered, the real Welfare of the People neglected, till through downright Weakness and Weariness, all Parties have been content to let their Quarrels rest, till they recovered Strength, and compassed the Means of reviving them again; we have seen that as fatal, and as fruitless, as these Contentions have been, the Seeds of them still remain, and we have too much Reason to fear will shoot once more even in our Times. We have seen this, but to what Purpose? To despair perhaps of ever seeing it otherwise, but not to despair of seeing that

that Ruin of the Ballance of Power, that total Confusion, and entire Subjection of this fine Country to the Lusts of an ambitious Family, prevented; if not from a generous Zeal for Liberty, yet by a dextrous Management of repugnant Interests, and combining the Views for private Advantages so as to answer, in some measure, the Ends of a virtuous and publick Spirit.

To see, and to understand this thoroughly, still is, and always has been a Point of very high Consequence even to those who have no other Concern in Matters of this Kind, than to know when they go wrong, and when they go right, what political Measures are undertaken upon just, prudent and practicable Principles, when entered upon without due Consideration, to answer some immediate, and yet unnecessary End, or upon Grounds false or studiously misrepresented; this I call not only an entertaining, useful, and noble Part of Knowledge, in comparison of those little mean and trifling Studies that frequently take up a great deal of Time, without adorning or elevating the Mind, but also a weighty and important Science, because it puts it in our Power to be a Check upon those who have the Direction of our Finances and naval Power, to discover their Mistakes, or their wilfully sacrificing national Concerns to ministerial Interests, and on the other hand gives us the Capacity of exploding the plausible Harangues of false Patriots, who by a theatrical Delivery, and pathetick Diction, distract the Minds of the Vulgar, and excite their Passions against those whose Conduct, for want of proper Lights, it is impossible for them to understand. We may therefore be convinced, that how vain a thing soever it may be to hope, that political Perfection from Men in publick Office, which is never to be expected among them, considered in their private Capacities, yet it is really worth while to know wherein that Perfection consists, and the Methods by which it may be approached, tho' not absolutely attained.

But to resume our Subject. Those who have truly at Heart the maintaining the Ballance in *Italy*, must be sure to have it constantly in their Eye, and to watch carefully all the Steps that may be pursued to subvert it. It is true, that Steps of this Kind may be taken without any direct Breach of Treaties, and in that case, it may not be possible to prevent them, perhaps not prudent to intermeddle with them; but it may be very reasonable to remonstrate to such of the *Italian* Powers as are neutral in such Transactions, the Consequences that may attend them, to which those Powers would willingly

Vulgar ; but decent and proper Expressions of Things that concern the Peace, the Safety and Prosperity of MANKIND, which it behoves those who aim at distinguishing themselves from the *Herd*, clearly to comprehend, thoroughly to digest, zealously to maintain, as far as their *Sphere of Action* extends. Happy the Man ! who in an Age like this could set so glorious a Subject in a Light so true, as that it should be generally seen, and as generally comprehended. We might then hope to see that divine Spirit revived, which once enabled us, in the very *Dawn* of our *Maritime Power*, to break the Chains of *Europe*, to burn the *Beard*, as Sir Francis Drake pleasantly called it, of that *Catholick King* who formed the wisest Plan of *universal Empire* ; to baffle, with the Assistance of Heaven (ever to be expected in confounding BABELS) his *invincible Armada*, and to protect the *Poor Distressed STATES* of *HOLLAND*, till they became *High and Mighty*. And how this came to pass, will be shewn in the ensuing Chapter.

C H A P. XIV.

A succinct Account of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Republick of the United Provinces; the Sources of the amazing Success of its Subjects in Commerce, and the quick Growth of their Naval Power ; the Nature of their domestick Government truly stated, and their real Interests with regard to the rest of the Powers of Europe impartially considered.

UPON the Declension of that Empire which *Charlemagne* erected in the West, the Countries of *Lower Germany*, which had made a Part of it, fell under different Modes of Government, in respect to the Title of the supreme Magistrate, and some Points of Form in regard to the Administration of Affairs, but with respect to the fundamental Principles of Rule, the same. That is to say, the Governors under various Names took upon them the supreme Dignity, by the Consent of the People, to which they were equally indebted, both for their Power and for their Titles, there being nothing clearer in

in History, than that the Inhabitants of these Countries had ever high Notions of Liberty, and would no farther submit to Rule, than they thought requisite for their own Good. It was with this View, that they were content to have one supreme Magistrate, who was to preside in their Councils in Times of Peace, and to be at the Head of their Forces in the Field when they were obliged to make War; but the Regulation of civil Affairs, by repealing old, and making new Laws, and the Power of giving, raising, and appropriating the publick Revenues, was in the General Assembly of the States, composed of the Nobility, Clergy, and Cities.

These Provinces, according to the common Computation, were seventeen in Number, viz. four Dukedoms, *Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gueldres*; seven Earldoms, *Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur, and Zutphen*; five Lordships, *Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen*; and *Antwerp*, which has the Title of Marquisate of the Roman Empire. These Provinces were anciently ruled, each by its Prince or Lord, but afterwards several of them were either by Inheritance, Marriage, or Contract, united together, till most of them fell to the Share of the House of *Burgundy*, from whence they came to the House of *Austria*, by the Marriage of *Maximilian I.* who had espoused *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles* surnamed the *Hardy*; and were afterwards all united under *Charles V.* who governed them in Peace and Prosperity. He was a Native of *Ghent*, and had both a paternal and fraternal Affection for the People of the *Low-Countries*, and therefore met with a reciprocal Return of Duty and Loyalty from them.

His Son and Successor to the Crown of *Spain*, and the Possession of the *Low-Countries*, *Philip II.* was by no means of his Disposition, but beheld in the Light of Sedition whatever crossed his absolute Will and Pleasure; though in forming his Resolutions he had shewn ever so little Regard to the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects. He conceived the highest Prejudice against the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* before he quitted them, for he was there at the Time of his Father's Resignation, on Account of the Application made to him by the States, that he would withdraw the foreign Troops, confide the Defence of the Fortresses to the national Forces, and bestow all Places of Trust and Profit upon the Natives. He is acknowledged to have been a consummate Politician; but such as allow him this Character, must of necessity except his Conduct in the *Low-Countries*, which was certainly the very reverse. He dis-

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obliged the People to such a Degree, as to spread amongst them a universal Spirit of Disaffection, and at the same time gave them a Head, by maltreating the Prince of *Orange* in such a manner, as no Man of his Rank could endure. Those who love refined Strokes in Government, have suggested that King *Philip* did all this by Design, in hopes of becoming absolute Master of the Provinces, and enjoying besides the confiscated Estates of the Prince, which were very large, and of great Value. If it was possible to believe this true, it might with Justice be said, that the King was as much disappointed as he deserved to be. The Severity of those he intrusted with the Government, drove the People to take up Arms; and the Prince of *Orange*, who could not see his Country ruined, and his Countrymen destroyed without Regret, repented at last their ill Usage and his own with so much Spirit, as laid the Foundation of the People's Liberties, and of the Grandeur of his Successors.

William of Nassau, the first of that Name, Prince of *Orange*, to whom Cardinal *Grenville* gave the Surname of the *Silent*, may be justly stiled the Founder of this Republick. He was endowed with great Qualities by Nature, which were improved by constant Study, and an excellent Education, in which he had the Emperor *Charles V.* for his Tutor, who took him for his Page when he was twelve Years old, whom he served for nine Years, and by whom he was trusted with the greatest Secrets of State, at an Age when others could have scarce comprehended them. He preferred him at the Age of two and twenty to all his old Generals, and gave him the Command of an Army when his Affairs were in the most critical Situation. If it was surprizing that so wise and great a Monarch should have such a Confidence in a Person so young, it is still more surprizing that he should justify that Confidence by his Behaviour, more especially when he had to do with the ablest and most experienced Officers of that Age. He was born to a great Succession in *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, the County of *Burgundy*, and in *France*, and coming early to so large a Fortune, he lived with that Magnificence with which it enabled him to live, and added Lustre to the Court from which he received the Honours due to his Birth, and nothing more. He had a Magnanimity that neither Prosperity could elate, or Adversity depress; his Wisdom enabled him to act in all Situations; he was never wanting in his Duty to his Prince, till his Prince rendered that Duty a Folly, by withdrawing his Protection, and laying Snares for his Life; his Courage,

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his Constancy, his Sincerity, attracted the Friendship of the Nobles; his Probity secured him the Respect, his Affability gained him the Affection of the People. All Ranks and Degrees of Men looked up to him in their Distress, as the only Person who could protect them; he repaid their Confidence by a generous Contempt of Danger, and sacrificed his hereditary Fortune for their Preservation. With all these Virtues he could not escape Envy; but he did more, he triumphed over it; he bore with the calling in the Archduke *Matthias*, and then with a Prince of the Blood of *France*, as willing to yield to any thing that might save his Country from Destruction; and when these Hopes were found vain, he was content to take up things, desperate as they were, and by his Prudence laid the Foundation of the publick Freedom, by engaging the Provinces of *Guelldres*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friesland*, and *Utrecht*, to associate for their mutual Safety in 1579.

The great Difficulty in rendering a People free, who have felt the Weight of Tyranny only for a short Time, does not consist so much in persuading them to hazard their Lives and Fortunes, by taking up Arms against their Oppressors, as in prevailing on them to submit to such Regulations as are absolutely necessary for conducting their Affairs to a happy Issue. The Prince of *Orange* experienced this from the very Beginning of the Civil Wars in the *Low-Countries*, to the Time of his Demise. He felt it however most towards the Close of his Life, when the Duke of *Alencon*, by his rash and perfidious Attempt upon *Antwerp*, excited the People to abhor the *French* as much as they had ever done the *Spaniards*. In the Assembly of the *States General* at *Dort*, it was with extreme Difficulty that he prevented them from discovering their Resentment without reserve, by representing that it was not only impossible for them to think of resisting both the *French* and *Spaniards*, but likewise, that the only probable Means of defending themselves against the latter, was by securing the Friendship and Protection of the former. Some mention was made in this Assembly of giving the Title of Count of *Holland*, with all the Privileges annexed to it, to the Prince of *Orange*; but the States were too fond of their Sovereignty to listen to any such thing; and those who were Enemies to his Serene Highness and his Family, have taken care to represent this to Posterity, as a direct Proof of his boundless Ambition, which considering the limited Authority of those Princes, and the extreme Danger the People were in of being reduced by Force of Arms under the absolute Power of the King of *Spain*, is a very unjust Imputation,

putation, perhaps we should not carry things too far, if we styled it a groundless Calumny. All that he could obtain of that Assembly, was to send an Ambassy to the Duke of *Alencon*, with Instructions to negotiate an Accommodation that they might not be totally deprived of the Assistance of *France*, and while at his Request they thus happily temporized, Providence delivered them from their Fears on this Side, by the Death of that Duke, which happened on the 10th of *June* 1584.

The News of the Duke of *Alencon*'s sudden if not violent Death was brought to the Prince of *Orange*, by a Person who assumed the Name of *Francis Guyon*, and pretended to be the Son of one *Peter Guyon* of *Bezancon*, who had been put to Death on the Score of his being a Protestant, to which Religion this young Man appeared to be a zealous Bigot. His Highness had employed him in several Affairs of Importance, in which he had discharged his Trust with great Diligence and Integrity. His true Name was *Balthazar Gerbard*, a native of *Burgundy*, and about the Age of twenty-seven, a Man of a determined Spirit, deep Dissimulation, and a furious Papist. He took the Advantage when the Prince was just risen from his Dinner, in his Palace at *Delft*, and was calling for a Standish in order to sign a Passport for this Man to take another Journey, to discharge a Pistol laden with three Bullets directly against his Highness's Breast, of which Wound he immediately died without speaking a Word. The daring Assassin had taken his Measures for his Escape with great Sagacity, and was very near effecting it. Being seized, he avowed the Fact, and affirmed, that if it was to do again, he would perform the same Thing; and in this he not only persisted throughout all his Examinations, but even in the Midst of those Torments, in which he ended his miserable Life, without ever owning a Syllable of the Conspiracy of which he was barely the Executioner. Most of the *Dutch* Writers charge this Murder upon the *Spaniards*, and indeed not without Reason, since by an Edict dated *March* 25th, 1580, *Philip* II. had proscribed the Prince of *Orange*, branded him with all the Crimes imaginable, expressed in the grossest Language, and promising Pardons, Honours and Rewards to any who would dispatch him. But others, considering the Juncture in which he died, believe, that *Balthazar* received his Instructions in a Language more familiar to that Country than *Spanish*. However that Matter may be, it is certain that the Death of this great Man, who was always the Darling of the People, and whose Maxim it was that Happiness ought to be extended to all Ranks and Degrees, that the

Consciences of Men should be free, and that whatever was raised on the Publick should be spent in the publick Service; I say, it is very certain, that his Death was equally agreeable to the Partizans of *Spain*, and to the high Republicans; that is, to such as disdained to have any other than a King for a Master, and to such as despised the Thought of having any Master at all. The poor People who had lost their Protector, their Patron and their Friend, the Soldiers who had lost an Officer, who without Severity maintained most strict Discipline, and the Friends to rational Liberty, who in losing him were apprehensive they had lost all, deplored him with unfeigned Tears. Such was the End of *William* the first Prince of *Orange*, July 10, 1584, in the fifty-second Year of his Age.

The *States General*, as soon as the Prince of *Orange* was dead, declared themselves Sovereigns of the *United Provinces*, and after thus opportunely securing the supreme Authority, in Condescension to the general Grief of their Subjects celebrated the Funeral of the deceased Prince with great Solemnity, and decreed the highest Honours to his Memory. His Highness had been four times married, and had Children by each of his Wives. By his first, *Anne* Daughter to Count *Egmont*, he had *Philip* Count *de Buren*, and a Daughter *Mary*, who married Count *Hohenloe*. By his second, *Anne* Daughter of *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, he had Count *Maurice*, and a Daughter *Emilia*, who married *Emanuel*, Son to Don *Antonio*, whom the *Spaniards* deprived of the Kingdom of *Portugal*. By his third, *Charlotte de Bourbon*, of the House of *Montpensier*, he had six Daughters. And by his last Wife, *Louisa de Coligny*, Daughter to the Admiral of *France*, he had a Son *Henry Frederick*, whom he left in his Cradle. *Philip* Prince of *Orange* at the Decease of his Father was a Prisoner in *Spain*; Count *Maurice* about the Age of eighteen, was taken from his Studies, and declared Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the Nephew of the Prince of *Orange*, *William de Nassau*, was declared Stadtholder of *Friesland*, from whom the present Stadtholder of the Union is lineally descended. The *States General* found the Authority they had assumed, in a short time very severely shaken, by the Progress which the Duke of *Parma* made, in taking many Places of Importance, and at length besieging *Antwerp*, which he reduced after a long Blockade. These Misfortunes, which were very near overturning their new Republick, taught them how great their Loss was in that Prince, whose civil Skill and military Prudence was the real Source both of their Power and Safety. In this Distress they were as ready to part with their

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Sovereignty, as they had been to assume it, and were now willing to submit to any Master except their old one. With this View they applied themselves once more to *France*, but the most Christian King found his Affairs too much embarrassed at home, to think of defending Subjects at a Distance; they next offered themselves to Queen *Elizabeth*, from whom they had already derived very great Assistance, but she too, for Reasons of State, rejected that Proposition; yet to prevent their total Ruin, condescended to their Request of having one of the principal Noblemen in *England* sent over to supply the Place of the Prince of *Orange*, and to administer the supreme Power, both civil and military.

This Nobleman was *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, the chief Favourite, the great Confident, and the principal Minister of Queen *Elizabeth*, whom the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Writers say, was sent over out of the Queen's Affection for him, and her Desire to raise and distinguish his Character; but *Camden*, who was likely to know these Things better, insinuates that he was sent over to *Holland* by a Stroke of his own Policy; that is, those Members of the Privy Council who were most forward in advancing him to this Charge, wished him the least Good. It is certain, that the *States General* did not understand the Thing at all in this Light, but believing that he had an absolute Power over the Queen, endeavoured to make their Court to him, by granting him almost an absolute Power over their Subjects, which displeased his Mistress, and very soon grew troublesome to themselves. The Earl of *Leicester* was a compleat Courtier, and a great Statesman, where he knew his Ground, but either never knew, or had long before forgot the Art of War. So that upon the whole, he made but a very indifferent Figure here, tho' he shewed great Abilities in raising, extending, and maintaining as great Power as any Favourite ever had in *England*. His Campaign in 1586 was far from doing him any Honour, the Duke of *Parma* carried every thing before him, baffled all the Attempts of *Leicester*, and relieved *Zutphen*, after a sharp Action, in which Sir *Philip Sidney* was mortally wounded, in a manner that raised his Reputation in the same Degree that it depressed that of the *English* Stadtholder. The Earl of *Leicester* finding his Conduct disliked, as it might well be, by the *States*, fell to flattering the Ministers, and cajoling the People, in which his counterfeit Piety wrought so strongly with the former, and his dissembled Patriotism had such Effects on the latter, as threw every thing into Confusion; and when Matters were in this State, he returned

turned to *England*, leaving the *Dutch* Affairs in a much worse Condition than he found them.

As soon as the Earl was gone, the *States General*, at the Persuasion of their Pensionary *Barnevelt*, declared Prince *Maurice* their Captain-General, and made his Brother-in-law Count *Hohenloe* his Lieutenant, which gave great Offence to the Court of *England*, but was undoubtedly a very right Step with regard to their own Affairs. But *Leicester*, who had still as great Credit as ever with the Queen, his Mistress, and was very fond of the Title of Excellency, and the Power he enjoyed in *Holland*, resolved to return thither the next Year, which the *States*, who depended upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Assistance, could not prevent, and were therefore forced to admit him, and restore him in a great measure to his Authority, which he managed worse than before, and thereby confirmed the Suspicions which the *States* had entertained, on account of some of his Creatures betraying the Places with which he had entrusted them to the *Spaniards*. He made two or three unsuccessful Attempts to relieve *Sluys*, and the same ill Fate followed him in all his Undertakings; so that he quite lost his military Character, if indeed he was ever esteemed a good Officer. By this Time the *States* had discovered their Mistake, and that their Complaints against him would not want powerful Patrons, which encouraged them to deal roundly with him, and plainly with his Mistress, who thereupon recalled him, and appointed the Lord *Willoughby*, an honest Man, and a good Officer, to command her Forces in the *Low Countries*. All Historians agree, that a little before his Departure, *Leicester* encouraged a Conspiracy at *Leyden*, which cost some People their Lives. He is accused by some foreign Writers of attempting to make a Peace between *Spain* and *England* at the Expence of the *Dutch*, but the Proofs of this have not been as yet produced. There is yet another Charge in *Camden*, which I should not mention, but for its not appearing in any of the Translations of his Annals, or even in any Edition of the original *Latin*, except that of *Hearne*, printed from a Copy corrected with the Author's own Hand. This Charge is, that he had framed a Design of seizing Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the Pensionary *Barnevelt*, and sending them Prisoners over into *England*. Whatever the Faults of this *English* Stadtholder might be, the *English* Troops, and the *English* Money, did the *States* most useful and acceptable Service, as themselves very fully acknowledge, and in some measure repaid, when by a Stratagem in 1588 they contributed not a little to the Destruction of the *Spanish* invincible Armada, in which they were true to our Interests and their own.

The Necessity they were under of having a Person of distinguished Character at the Head of their Armies, and the Instances that Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, for so he called himself while his Elder Brother lived, though he is generally stiled by Historians Prince *Maurice*, induced the *States General* to confide their Armies to him in the same manner as to his Father. He was indeed the true Successor to his Virtues and Abilities; which is not at all strange, since from his first Appearance in the World, he made it his sole Study to copy that noble Character, agreeable to his Device, which was a Tree cut to the Stumps, with a Shoot growing out on one Side, with this Motto, *Tandem fit furculus arbor*. It has been already observed, that he entered into the publick Service at seventeen, and at the Age of twenty-one he had the supreme Command. He shewed himself at that Time not at all inferior to the Duke of *Parma*, who had been so long esteemed the best Officer in *Europe*; and which is very singular, though no Man gave greater or more frequent Testimonies of personal Courage, yet he distinguished himself very early by Stratagems of War, which are commonly the Effects of deep Judgment and long Experience. He was at the same time a very enterprizing and a very cautious General; enterprizing, as he often undertook things desperate, and in Appearance impracticable; cautious, as he never failed to execute them with so much Circumspection, as to shew that he did not depend either upon Fortune or Force, but upon military Skill. He studied old Authors carefully, and more especially the Writings of *Cæsar*, upon which it is said, that several of his Expeditions might be considered as Commentaries. His Success was answerable to his Courage and his Abilities; in the Space of twenty Years he took forty Cities and Towns of Consequence, and beat the *Spaniards* thrice in the Field with great Disproportion of Numbers, and under some other Disadvantages. As his Father laid the Foundation, so this Prince raised the Fabrick of the *Dutch* Republick, delivered them from the Fear of their Enemies, and gained them the Title, as well as gave them the Power, of a free and independent State.

In his Time, however, those Divisions arose which subsisted ever after, and which many think are not yet extinguished in that Commonwealth. As there is no forming any Idea of the Domestick Interests of the *United Provinces*, without having just Notions of the Principles to which both Parties have pretended, during these long Disputes; it will be necessary to treat this Matter freely and fully, at least so far as is consistent with the Bounds that are prescribed to this Work; and without any Prejudice

judice against one, or Prepossession in favour of the other Party, both having in certain Circumstances shewn themselves equally to blame.

The Civil War in the *Low-Countries* having now lasted full forty Years, and brought inexpressible Miseries as well on the Subjects of the *States General*, as on those who remained under the Obedience of the House of *Austria*, the wiser and better Part of the People on both Sides were inclined to an Accommodation. This was by no means agreeable to Prince *Maurice*, who apprehended a Diminution of his Power was the principal Object aimed at, by those who were for pacific Measures among the *Dutch*. At first the *French King Henry* the Fourth was against this Pacification, but the Pensionary *Barneveldt* having represented to him by the Ministers of the Republick at *Paris*, that they were no longer able to carry on the War, without running every Year in Debt, that by Degrees the very Interest of these Debts must become a heavy Burthen, from which it was impossible to deliver themselves, as many had lent their whole Fortunes to the Publick, and had no other Subsistence than by receiving their Interest regularly; the *French King* being convinced, promoted that Measure all he could, so that a Truce was concluded in 1609 for twelve Years, by which the Republick was left free, and in full Possession of those Dominions which had been acquired during the War. After this, the Disputes between Prince *Maurice* with those who adhered to him, and the Pensionary *Barneveldt* and his Party, rose very high, his Highness being extremely jealous of his Authority, and such as opposed him no less anxious for the Preservation of their Liberty, which they considered as equally lost, whether they submitted to the Sovereignty of one of their own Countrymen, or a Stranger.

It happened very unluckily for the publick Tranquility, that at this Time there arose religious Disputes about the Doctrines of Grace and Predestination, which divided the whole Nation into two Parties, under the Title of *Arminians* and *Gomarists*. The Pensionary *Barneveldt* was in the Sentiments of the former, but out of regard to the Peace of his Country, was inclined to have stilled these Disputes by a publick Edict, which Prince *Maurice* and his Party who took the contrary Side prevented; and laying hold of this Opportunity, inflamed the Minds of the Populace to the highest Degree, by representing the *Arminians* as secretly inclined to the *Spaniards*; and under these and other Pretences, making use of the Attachment of the Army to his Person, the Prince ventured to make some bold Alterations in the

Civil Government, by changing the Magistrates of Cities at his Pleasure, so as to gain an absolute Ascendency in the Assembly of the *States General*.

The Death of *Philip Prince of Orange* in 1618 without Issue, having added to the Titles the Credit and the Fortune of the Stadtholder, he resolved to push Things to Extremities against his Adversaries, and therefore caused Pensionary *Barnevelt* to be arrested; as also, Mr. *Huguerbeets* Pensionary of *Leiden*, *Hugo Grotius* Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, and the *Sieur de Leedenberg* Secretary to the *States of Utrecht*, all Persons equally distinguished by their Capacities, and by their Probity. Of these, *Barnevelt* only was made a Sacrifice, being accused of the most enormous Crimes, before Judges who acted by Commission from the *States General*, who in reality had no legal Jurisdiction over him, if he had been ever so guilty, the *States of Holland* being his sole Judges; but they having taken him under their special Protection, were not like to serve the Purposes of his Enemies, who procured him to be condemned by the Judges beforementioned, and executed him the next Day. Tho' he was upwards of seventy, he died with the same Calmness and Courage he shewed in all the Actions of his Life, and his Death produced the direct contrary Effect to that which was expected from it.

Prince *Maurice of Orange* found his Authority more generally disliked than ever, and by none so much as those who had assisted violently in the Persecution of the Pensionary. He saw that he was no longer popular, and upon the breaking out again of the War in 1621, he perceived that he was forsaken by his good Fortune. An Attempt which he made for surprizing *Antwerp* failed, though he thought the Design so well laid as to say, that God only could disappoint it; he saw his own Town of *Breda* taken by *Ambrose Spinola*, the Relief of which he attempted without Success; and by reflecting on his Reverse of Fortune, he first lost that even Temper for which he had been always famous, and then his Health; so that broken with Care and Sickness, he breathed his last in the Spring of the Year 1625, in the fifty-third Year of his Age. His Enemies allow this Prince to have had great Virtues; and, except his Ambition and Aversion to Marriage, few or no Vices. He left behind him a natural Son Mr. *de Beverwert*, who was Governor of *Bolduc*, a Gentleman of great Parts and Courage, who lived and died with unspotted Reputation; one of whose Daughters married the Earl of *Ossey*, by whom she was Mother to the late Duke of *Ormond*, and the present Earl of *Arran*; and the other *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

Prince

Prince *Henry Frederick*, the youngest Son of *William* the first Prince of *Orange*, succeeded by the Death of his Brother *Maurice* to all the Estates, Titles, and Dignities of his Father, being at that Time about forty Years of Age, having served the *States* in their Armies in a manner from his Childhood, and yet having risen no higher than a Colonel of Horse, till he succeeded to the supreme Command. He had in the Time of his Brother's Administration given frequent Testimonies of his Courage and Conduct, and yet it does not appear that those who were in the Government had any Idea of his being near so great a Man as he really was. It is suggested by *De Witt*, and the Observation is worthy of so great a Man, that the Difficulties the two Brothers *Maurice* and *Henry* had to struggle with in their Youth, and that Circumspection with which they were obliged to behave, had very good Effects, and was a principal Cause of their acquiring those great Accomplishments, by which they raised their own Credit so high, and rendered such useful Services to their Country. In 1626 the Prince of *Orange* took *Oldenfel*, and the same Year Vice Admiral *Hein* made himself Master of the *Spanish* Fleet in the Bay of *All Saints* in *Brazil*. In 1627, the Prince took *Grol*, in the Sight of a *Spanish* Army, who durst not attack him in his Intrenchments; and towards the End of the same Year, the Vice Admiral beforementioned took the whole *Spanish* Plate Fleet, with five Millions Sterling on board. In 1629, the Stadtholder reduced *Bolduc*, a Place of great Strength as well as Importance, which Prince *Maurice* had attempted in vain; and this notwithstanding the *Spaniards* made an Irruption into the Country about *Utrecht*, which engaged the best Officers in his Army, as well as the *States* themselves, to desire him to raise the Siege; but he was of Opinion that a ravaged Country was not lost, whereas a good Fortrefs gained was a great Acquisition; besides, by surprizing *Wezel*, where the *Spaniards* had all their Magazines, he compelled them to retire in haste, and to the Character of an excellent Officer, added that of a General happy in his Enterprizes; a thing of the highest Consequence, inasmuch that the *Roman* Dictator *Sylla* chose rather the Surname of *Fortunate* than *Great*.

Henry, Prince of *Orange*, married *Amelia* Daughter of the Count *de Solms*, by whom he had a Son, Prince *William*, and four Daughters. In 1631, the *States General*, to shew their Respect for, and Confidence in the Prince Stadtholder, granted the Survivancy of all his Employments to the Prince his Son, and presented him with the Patent in a Gold Box, tho' he was not then quite five Years old, which was an extraordinary

Stretch of Complaisance, and far beyond any thing they had done for his Father and Brother, which was the Effects of his real or seeming Moderation; and as some Writers say, this proceeded from the Counsels of his Mother-in-law the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, who had been always a true Friend to *Barnevelt*, and had thereby a great Influence over his Party. In 1632, he took *Ruremond*, *Venlo*, and *Strale*, besieged *Maastricht*, and having beat *Pappenheim*, made himself Master of that important Place. The next Year he took *Rhinberg*. There was indeed scarce a Year during the Continuance of his Life, which was not distinguished by some remarkable Event, and amongst these we may reckon his Usage of the powerful Cardinal *de Richlieu*, who debauched the *Sieur de Walkenberg* from his Duty, and engaged him for a Sum of Money to deliver up the Citadel and Principality of *Orange*, of which he was Governor; the Prince having Intelligence of this, sent one Colonel *Knut* to *Orange*, who killed *Walkenberg* in a private House where he went to Dinner, and then produced the Prince's Orders, and took the Command of the Castle, by which that Contrivance was defeated. After this he gave the Cardinal repeated Marks of his Resentment, which in spite of all his Pride he was forced to dissemble and digest, and having engaged in an offensive Alliance with the *States*, gave Instructions to two Marshals of *France*, upon their Junction with the *Dutch Army*, to obey the Orders of the Prince of *Orange*. In 1637, the *French Ambassador* in a set Speech gave him the Title of *Highbness* instead of *Excellency*, and his Example was followed by the Ambassadors of all the other Courts of *Europe*. The same Year he recovered by a vigorous Siege his own Town of *Breda*, in which Siege the *French Ambassador*, who to shew his Respect for the Prince Stadtholder, serving at the Head of his own Regiment, was unfortunately killed. In 1639, the *Spanish Fleet* was defeated and destroyed on the Coast of *England* by Admiral *Tromp*.

In 1641, Prince *William* married the Princess *Mary*, Daughter to *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*, with great Pomp and Splendor, and in Honour of this Marriage he had the Province of *Friesland* added to his Government, or rather to the Survivorship. In 1644, Prince *Frederick Henry* made himself Master of *Sas-van-Ghent*, and the Year following he took *Hulst*, which in those Days was looked upon as a Place of great Strength and Importance. In a word, his whole Administration was equally glorious from the Beginning to the End, and might have been still more so, if those who envied his Power

and Greatness, had not taken all imaginable Care to prevent his extending his Conquests in Proportion to his Inclinations and Abilities, and particularly hindered him from reducing *Antwerp*; which was of all Things what he most desired. He died *March 14, 1647*, and was buried with great Magnificence, as one who had deserved well of his Country, who had added Glory and Influence to that Liberty which it received from his Father, and that Security which resulted from the Labours of his Brother. *De Witt* informs us, that there were some who reproached him with his Profuseness and Luxury, after he came to the Possession of the Principality of *Orange*, and the vast hereditary Estates of his Family, as also with his Lewdness, in which he did not use much Dissimulation; and above all, his Ambition, which induced him to keep up a great Army, that he might extend his Glory by his Conquests, and maintain his Power by the Continuance of the War. It is true, that having the Title and Revenues of a Prince, he kept up his Dignity, but this being at his own Expence, was a Benefit rather than a Prejudice to the Publick. He left behind him a natural Son, the *Sieur Zuylestein*, whose Descendents are at this Time Peers of *Great Britain*, and secured to his only lawful Son the Honours that had been enjoyed by his illustrious Predecessors.

In the Year following the Death of Prince *Frederick Henry*, the *States General* concluded at *Munster* a Peace with the Crown of *Spain*, without any regard to the Endeavours of the *French King* and the Prince of *Orange*, to dissuade them; which is believed to have been owing to the Suspicions they began to entertain of both, apprehending very much the Consequences of having *France* for a Neighbour, and the Spirit of the young Stadtholder, who had been accustomed to Authority, and to Magnificence from his very Cradle, and who besides had married the Daughter of a King. It was not long before these Jealousies rose on both Sides very high; for the zealous Republicans, that is, the Remains of *Barneveldt's* Party, were for taking Advantage of the Peace, and disbanding, or at least reducing the Army, which the Prince of *Orange* opposed. It is supposed that he did this merely to preserve his own Power, by most of the *Dutch* Historians, but it is certain that he gave other Reasons for it, which brought over a Majority of the *States* to his Opinion. He said it was ungrateful, because they were safe at present, to dismiss those who had purchased that Safety with their Blood; that this was still more imprudent, considering the War continued between *France* and *Spain*, who might take Advantage of them in that defenceless Con-

tion. He farther observed, that hitherto they had been pitied, but that now they had Reason to fear the Envy of most of the States of *Europe*, and that as their Tranquility was procured, so it would be best preserved by keeping up their old Troops, which if they did not recruit, would with less hazard to them diminish fast enough of themselves.

But tho' his Eloquence prevailed upon the *States*, it was not at all relished in the Provinces, or by the great Cities; upon which his Friends proposed, that he should visit them himself, against which the City of *Amsterdam* petitioned, as having at that Time no Inclination to the Honour of his Highness's Company, which the Prince took for such a Mark of Contempt, that he caused Mr. *De Witt* Burgomaster of *Dort*, and five other Members of the *States General*, to be sent to the Castle of *Louvestein*, and gave Orders to a Body of Troops to advance towards *Amsterdam*; but the Post-boy from *Hamburg* passing thro' his Army, gave Notice of it to the Citizens, who in order to exclude it, made no Difficulty of laying all the adjacent Country under Water. These Differences were afterwards compromised, and Burgomaster *De Witt* and his Fellow Prisoners set at Liberty; yet from their Imprisonment, the Party to which they adhered, from the Place of their Confinement, took or received the Name of *Louvestein*. In all Probability these Differences would have been revived, if the Prince of *Orange* had not soon after fallen ill of the Small-pox, which proved fatal to him; and some Months after his Decease, *November* the fourth, 1650, his Widow the Princess was delivered of a Son, called after his Father *William*, who became in Process of Time, Stadtholder, and King of *Great Britain*.

We will here make a short Pause, in order to consider the Government, Commerce, and Strength of this Republick, and then resume our History, the rather because it is generally believed the *United Provinces* came to the Height of their Prosperity not long after the Death of Prince *William II.* and in reviewing these Points, we will be as clear, as concise, and as impartial as is in our Power, which is so much the more necessary, because few of the many Writers who have already mentioned this Subject, have treated it in this Manner, but have either given way to their Prejudices, or have thrown together Facts and Dates, without giving themselves much Pain, as to their Importance or Connection; whereas in order to render a Work of this Kind useful, it is absolutely requisite that due Attention be paid to both, and Matters not only stated

stated as they really are, but in such an Order as may shew the Relation that one Thing has to another.

At the Entrance of this Chapter, we described the original Form of Government that prevailed in these Countries, which Form continued likewise when they became a Part of the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty; for as the Prince of *Orange* justly observed in his Apology, whatever Title that Monarch might assume, either in *Spain* or in the *Indies*, he was no more than Earl of *Holland*, or of *Flanders*. At the Time *Philip II.* left those Provinces, he constituted the Prince of *Orange* Governor of four of them, the *Flemish* Word is Stadtholder, which is precisely the same thing with Lieutenant, and the *States* had that Power, with which they were vested by the Constitution. When therefore they threw off the Yoke of *Spain*, the Question was, whether they should retain their old Form of Government; which if they had done, they must have chosen another Earl, and to this those were inclined who were most attached to the Prince of *Orange*. Indeed the Generality of the People were best pleased with the old Form, and this induced them to think of the Archduke *Matthias*, the Duke of *Alencon*, and afterwards of the *French* King and Queen *Elizabeth*; but at last those who had Seats in the Assembly of the *States*, began to think of securing the Sovereignty to themselves, which was actually changing the old Constitution into that of a Republick. It is true, that for their own Conveniency they were disposed to give the Title of Stadtholder to a single Person, as they actually did to the Earl of *Leicester*; but tho' the Title continued, the Office was changed; for the Lieutenant of a Prince is an Office easily conceived, but the Lieutenant of an Assembly, such as the *States General*, is not so readily comprehended, because it implies the Representative of those who were but Representatives themselves; and this was the very Reasoning that *De Witt* used for abolishing that Office also after the Death of *William II.*

The Treaty of Union concluded in 1579, at *Utrecht*, was a Confederacy of so many different Republicks, as there were Provinces that entered into it, and the *States General* were properly and distinctly the *States* of all these Provinces taken together; but because such a Meeting was inconvenient, and for other Reasons likewise, a kind of Committee composed of Deputies from each of the *States* was appointed to sit at the *Hague*, and these have been since stiled the *States General*, tho' in Reality they are rather the Representatives of the *States General*, in whom the Majesty of the Republick resides. They

have pursuant to the Form of their new Constitution, such Powers as are requisite for the Management of publick Affairs, and have also the Government of those Towns and Districts that belong to the Republick, and yet are not within any of the confederated Provinces, and many other Prerogatives; and for the better Management of such a Variety of important Concerns, they commit Part of the Administration to a Council of State. But whereas in the Assembly of the *States General* there are no more Votes than there are Provinces, whatever the Number of Members may be who compose that Assembly; in the Council of State, it is otherwise, and tho' some Provinces send there two Deputies, and others but one, yet every Member has a distinct Vote. But after all, with respect to the great Points of Sovereignty, they still remain in the States of each Province, who make War and Peace, coin Money, and raise Taxes within their own Territories, as they think fit. As each Province has its own *States*, so each has also a Council of State, and the same Kind of Government prevails likewise in the Cities, so that they are all in some measure independent Republicks. From this View of the Government in the *United Provinces*, one would naturally conclude it a Democracy, and so it really is with respect to its Form, but by Degrees Things have suffered great Changes. The Senate or Council in all the Cities, are, and were always for Life, but upon the Demise of any Member a new one was chosen by the Burghers, which being found very inconvenient, the Right of filling up such Vacancies was either yielded to, or assumed by those Assemblies; and this small Alteration has in Process of Time produced an Oligarchy, which shews how much Care should be taken in changing or tampering with the first Springs of Government.

We have at the Beginning of this Work given a succinct historical Deduction of the Progress of Commerce through the different Parts of *Europe*. To which let us add, the vast Trade of *Holland* arose chiefly from the Destruction of *Antwerp*, which, when the Civil Wars in the *Low-Countries* broke out, was, and had been long the Center of Traffick in *Europe*. The Troubles in *France*, the Wars in *Germany*, and the religious Persecutions set on foot in other Parts of *Europe*, contributed to fill the *United Provinces* with People, merely because here they might enjoy their Consciences, and the Fruits of their Industry, in Peace. Those who resorted thither were such as had wherewithal to live upon, or were acquainted with some Manufacture or Mystery, by which a Living might be obtained. Both were welcome, and both Sorts of People were very soon at their Ease; new Munufac-
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ture were every Day set on foot, and Trades too big even for a wealthy Purse, were managed with Facility, and to great Advantage, by joint Stocks ; the Fisheries were annually improved, new Branches of Commerce were continually opened, and in the Compass of twenty Years, their Villages swelled into fair Towns, and those that were good Towns before, rose into rich Cities. At first the Inhabitants of those Provinces carried on a large Trade to *Portugal*, from whence they received great Quantities of *Indian Goods* ; but when *Philip II.* became Master of *Portugal*, he put an End to that Trade, which instead of proving a Misfortune, was in reality of high Advantage to the *Dutch*, by forcing them to attempt opening a Trade to the *East-Indies*, which in the Compass of a few Years they did with Success beyond their Hopes ; and this Commerce being managed by a Company with great Prudence, Frugality, and Industry, produced within the Period of which we have given the History, prodigious Advantages. This encouraged them to set up a *West-India Company*, and that too became no less flourishing in a very short Space of Time. The Subjects of the *States* likewise, by the Recommendation, and under the Protection of the *French King Henry IV.* obtained Leave to trade in all the Ports within the Dominions of the Grand Seigneur ; so that their Commerce in the *Levant* became also within this Period very considerable. Taking therefore their Fisheries, Manufactures, and foreign Trade together, we may easily account for the Growth of their Naval Power, the Increase of their Wealth, and the Possibility of their sustaining that infinite Variety of Taxes, Customs, and Excises, which were necessary to support so long and so expensive a War, as that by which their Liberties were established and secured.

We ought likewise to observe, that the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* through this whole Period were remarkably favourable to the Growth of this new Republick. The overgrown Power of *Spain* was equally dreadful and dangerous to most of the Potentates in *Europe*, which induced them openly or secretly to give all the Assistance possible to the Inhabitants of these Provinces upon their Revolt ; and the intestine Disturbances in several Countries, but more especially in *Germany* and *France*, prevented their meeting with any Rivals ; and though it be true that *England* began at that Time to extend her Commerce, and increase her Naval Power, yet this was so far from being any Detriment, that it was in reality of very great Service to the *Dutch*, with whom they acted conjunctly in warlike Expeditions, and from whom, by the Temptation of high Wages, they

they drew Numbers of experienced Pilots, and able Seamen, who were extremely useful to them in their early Voyages both to the *East* and *West-Indies*. The Quarrel between *England* and the *Hanse Towns* turned also very much to their Advantage; and in short, before any Spirit of Envy or Emulation arose, the Republick was not only beyond the Reach of Danger, but infinitely superior in every respect to any that could through Envy aim at lessening her Grandeur, the Progress of her Prosperity being not barely quicker than either Expectation or Experience could suggest, but beyond any thing which either ancient or modern History records, and which by Posterity will be very hardly believed.

But that we may not seem to deal wholly in generals, tho' this might be excused from the narrow Bounds to which we are confined, we will enter into a few Particulars, from whence the Reader will very easily discover the Truth of what we have already advanced, as to the sudden and immense Growth of the Commerce of this Republick. The original Fund or Capital of their *East-India* Company, was in their Language sixty Tons of Gold, by which Phrase of a Ton of Gold, is understood One hundred thousand Florins, or about Ten thousand Pounds Sterling, so that this Capital was very little above Six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money. In the Space of Six Years, deducting all their Costs and Charges, which were very great, and their Dividends, which were extremely high, the Fund or Capital of that Company increased notwithstanding to Six hundred Tons of Gold, that is, to upwards of Six Millions Sterling. It is indeed true, that the *East-India* Trade has not kept any thing like this Proportion since, but in Point of Wealth, Extent of Dominions, and real Power, the *Dutch East-India* Company is at this Day, not only beyond any Comparison with all other Commercial Establishments, but might be esteemed a very potent State of itself, if it was independent of their High Mightinesses. The Governor General, who resides at *Batavia*, and is Supreme in civil and military Affairs, has the State, the Court, and the Appointments of a Sovereign Prince; makes War and Peace at his Pleasure, can assemble an Army of Twenty or Thirty thousand Men, and if Occasion should require, could put to Sea a Fleet of fifty Sail of the Line of Battle, without building a Ship. A Power superior to any thing Trade ever produced elsewhere!

The *West-India* Company was at the Beginning as great and as fortunate, but they ruined themselves by making too large Dividends, and by neglecting Trade, that they might attend to their Conquests, which however was very excusable, while they were

were Masters of *Brazil*, of which they might have continued Masters, if they had pursued the Example of the *East-India Company*, and had confided in Count *Maurice of Nassau*, to whom they stood in a great measure indebted for those important Conquests. But tho' they are now very inconsiderable in respect to what they were, or in regard of the *East-India Company*, yet they are still possessed of several important Places in *Africa*, of some Islands that yield a great Profit in the *West-Indies*, and of the valuable Settlement of *Surinam*, with many new Establishments upon the Continent of *South America*.

If therefore we reflect upon the Grandeur of these two Companies, and take into our Consideration also the vast Extent of the *Dutch Commerce* besides in the early Days of this Commonwealth, when the Trade of *Italy* was sunk, the maritime Power of *Spain* and *Portugal* in a great measure ruined, the Vigour of the *Hanse Towns* in *Germany* vastly declined, the Commerce of *Great Britain* in its Infancy, and hardly any Trade at all in the *North*, we may very easily conceive how the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, at the Beginning of the last Century, came to have more Shipping than all the rest of *Europe* together. We may likewise, by reviewing in our own Minds the Changes that have since happened in the Affairs of *Europe*, the great Application of this and other Nations, to the promoting Industry and encouraging Commerce, comprehend without any Difficulty how this Proportion has been altered to the Degree which has been set forth in the Beginning of this Work; notwithstanding which, the Republick of the *United Provinces* still is, and has still the Capacity of maintaining the Rank of, a very great Maritime Power.

But besides the Reasons before assigned for the speedy Progress of this Republick in Power, Wealth, and Trade, there are a few Points that ought not to be omitted, because they have been less observed than those beforementioned, by most of the Authors who have treated this Subject. The Barrenness of the Soil and want of Subsistence in *Holland*, and *West-Friesland*, was a principal Cause of Industry and Wealth; for People not being able to live there with the Practice of ordinary Labour, were compelled to join that of their Head with their Hands, and to make Frugality the Steward of what was acquired by both; which soon strengthened into such Habits of Thinking, Working, and Saving, as rendered those Countries famous, and drew thither all who had a little Money to live upon, and were willing to improve it to the best of their Power. In the next place, a great Part of the People that were drawn into these Provinces by the Reputation of the Liberty enjoyed there, and the Mildness of the Government,

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came thither from the *Walloon Provinces* which remained subject to the King of *Spain*, which gave them a double Advantage, by diminishing the Wealth and Power of their Enemy, in the very same Proportion that it strengthened themselves. Add to all this, that their Government in those Days had really great Advantages, for their military Power by Land and Sea being wholly under the Direction of their Stadtholders and Captain Generals, they derived from thence all the Benefits, without feeling any of the Inconveniencies sometimes borne in a Monarchy; and the *States General* having all Civil Affairs entirely under their Direction and Management, they were very wisely conducted: for the Safety and Power of the Governors depending every where upon the Success of their Measures; Probity and Prudence were so much their Interest, that it was next to impossible they should neglect them. And thus private Views concurring with publick Spirit, things for the first forty Years were in all Respects carried to as high a Degree of Perfection, as the Power of human Wisdom could provide, or indeed that human Abilities could reach.

But upon the Demise of *Willam*, the second Prince of *Orange*, the *States General* assumed the executive as well as legislative Power of the Government into their Hands, and conceiving the most violent Apprehensions of falling again under the Dominion of a single Person, made it the capital Object of their Policy to provide against it, which had very bad Effects. In 1651, they held another General Assembly, in which the Union of *Utrecht* was ratified. After this, the *Louvestein* Party projected the perpetual Edict for abolishing the Stadtholdership, that is, for destroying the Constitution which had been the Parent and Nurse of their Liberties; they dismissed their best Officers, they disbanded their old Troops, and gave the Command of those that were necessarily kept up, to their own Friends and Relations. In short, their ruling Maxim was that which upon some Occasions they made their Motto, *Peace and a good Government*; things very compatible for a Time, but which can never subsist long together.

For Peace, in process of Time, introduces Effeminacy and Corruption, which of course debase and enfeeble a Government to such a Degree, as to render it incapable of resisting external Invasion, or intestine Commotions; the former of which it invites, and seldom fails to kindle the latter. But though these Mischiefs might have been obvious enough to able and disinterested Politicians, yet Concern for private Advantage, hid them from the Eyes of the prevailing Faction in these Provinces, who with all their Zeal and Industry laboured to possess them-

themselves of the Government, which they very speedily effected; to the most absolute and incontrollable Degree.

When I say they possessed themselves of it, I would be understood to mean, they filled by Degrees all Posts of Honour, Trust, and Profit, with those of their own Party, excluding such as were well affected to the Family of *Orange*; notwithstanding that Numbers of them had served their Country with equal Fidelity and Reputation. This produced here what it has ever produced in all Countries, where any thing of the like kind has happened, Envy, Discontent, Jealousies, Heats and Animosities, equally destructive of private Peace and publick Welfare. Those in Power treated such as they had excluded, as if they had been Enemies to their Country, and those that were oppressed regarded all in Possession of Employments, not as their legal Governors, but as so many Tyrants, who violated those Laws they pretended to administer, and treated as Slaves, those whom they stiled their Subjects.

At this Juncture, as we before remarked, the Republick was at its greatest Height in Respect to Power, to Wealth and Reputation; and this tempted the great Men then at the Head of Affairs, to signalize their Administration by entering into a War with *England*, which was suddenly become a Republick also. What they hoped would have added Strength and Fame to that Authority, of which they were just become absolute Masters, had the quite contrary Effect, for it exhausted their Naval Power, and by its unfortunate Issue lessened their Credit extremely. This they ascribed to the Disaffection of some Officers they were obliged to employ, and to the Contagion of their Principles among the Seamen, which acquired some degree of Probability, by their managing with much better Success a second War with that Nation, after the Restoration of its Monarchy, and when the *Louvestein* Faction employed none but their own Creatures. Their good Fortune, however, as it made them insolent, so it rendered them hated; for tho' *John De Witt* who was at the Head of Affairs lived very modestly, and acted with great Moderation, yet his Brother *Cornelius*, tho' he too a brave and able Man, had such a Tincture of Vanity, and conducted every thing with such an Eclat, as raised the Envy of the better Sort, as much as it excited the Jealousy and Aversion of the Populace.

This Situation of their Affairs, and the extraordinary Power of *Lewis XIV.* made it necessary for the Governors of the Republick to court him, which tho' they sometimes did, yet such was the haughty Spirit of their Administration, that by a wanton Display of what they took to be the Effects of their great Wisdom and good Fortune, they provoked this great Monarch to enter

enter into a Confederacy, which aimed at no less than the Destruction of the Republick. This produced the Invasion of 1672; and as that appeared to the People the mere Effects of the ostentatious Pride of their Rulers, it brought about a sudden, and in some Respects a bloody Revolution, the two *De Witts* being murdered by the Mob, the *Louvestein* System entirely dissolved, and *William* the third Prince of *Orange*, by the Abolition of the perpetual Edict, restored to the high Offices which his Ancestors had discharged with so much Glory.

The great Courage and Prudence with which he conducted that War, and extricated his Country from Difficulties very little inferior to those against which his Great Grandfather struggled, procured him the stable Possession of those Honours which the Inclinations of his Countrymen had bestowed, and fixed his Authority upon a firm as well as legal Basis. When that great Prince raised himself to the Throne of the *British* Dominions, he still retained the Dignity of Stadtholder, which in case he had been blessed with Children, was before that Time declared hereditary; but wanting this Support, and being obliged to be often absent, his Power was actually, tho' secretly diminished, while in outward Appearance it was at its greatest height. The Remains of the *Louvestein* Faction, partly by Compliance, and partly by dint of the great Interest of their Families, crept again into Employments, so that at the Demise of King *William*, they became once more in some measure Masters, and being taught Prudence and Moderation by Adversity, strengthened themselves imperceptibly, and at length settled their oligarchic Sway upon a much broader Foundation than it had ever stood before.

It is not known to many People, but the matter of Fact is nevertheless true, that the protracting the last general War, and the continual Opposition given by the Field Deputies of the *States* to the Duke of *Marlborough*, more especially at his first Entrance upon his Command of the Army of the Allies, was owing entirely to this State of Things. The *Louvestein* Faction were afraid, that if either a Battle should be lost, or their Troops removed at any Distance from their Frontiers, the Inhabitants of the great Cities would discover that Dislike, which they knew they bore to their Proceedings. The happy Progress of that War made them easier by Degrees, more especially after the unfortunate Death of his Serene Highness the Prince of *Orange* and *Nassau*, Father to the late excellent Stadtholder, who was drowned in his Passage at *Morcdyke*, July the 14th, 1711, as he was coming to the *Hague*, to settle all Points in difference between the King of *Prussia* and himself, in relation to the Succession of
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the late King *William* the third ; the Prince being Heir by Will, and the King by Descent.

By this deplorable Accident in so critical a Season, when the Claim of the House of *Orange* descended a second Time to a posthumous Child, the Steps taken to support them were rendered abortive, and at the same time it ruined in a manner all the Hopes of those who were either attached by Inclination, or connected by their Circumstances to that illustrious House. The dominant Party taking the Advantage therefore of this favourable Opportunity, exerted their utmost Skill and Power in disposing of all Places, in such manner as might render them for ever secure, and prevent so much as the glimmering of a Recovery to their Opponents, in which if they did not act as worthy Citizens, they certainly behaved wisely upon Party Principles ; and for some time their Scheme was attended with all the Success they could wish, as in other Countries is generally the Case, till Party Success turns upon itself.

In this State things continued for many Years ; and this Continuance encouraged such as were Masters of Power, to believe it a thing inherent to them, that they had an exclusive Right to enjoy it, and that whoever sought to rise without their Consent, tho' he sought it in ever so honourable a manner, was to be regarded as a public Enemy. A Man might be learned, industrious and rich, might live in what manner he would, build Palaces, set up Equipages, keep Assemblies, or even Operas in his own House unmolested ; but if such a Man lived frugally, was kind to his poor Neighbours, and took pains to be acquainted with the better Sort at the same time, he was held in Suspicion, and if he attempted to get into the Magistracy, he was accounted a dangerous Man. These Apprehensions, grounded upon the known Discontents of the common People, had such an Effect upon the Grandees, that instead of regarding the Welfare and Honour of the Republick, they studied only to preserve it in Peace ; and this because they saw plainly, that whenever War was declared or entered into against any Enemy, but against *France* more especially, it would sooner or later make a Breach in their System, through which the Stadtholder would certainly enter and bring in his Friends with him, which they dreaded as much as they did the last Day.

I may safely appeal to the History of *Europe* in general, and to that of this Republick in particular, for the Proof of what I say. Treaty after Treaty was made for the sake of preserving, or rather patching up of Peace ; the military Establishment was suffered to run into great Disorder, their maritime Power dwindled

dwindled extremely, and in short every thing sunk, except Taxes, Debts, and the private Fortunes of these great Rulers and their Friends. By this means it came to pass, that in a short time it was no Secret the Strength of the State was greatly declined, she was in no Condition to undertake any thing extraordinary to deliver her out of this Plight, but rather obliged to attach herself some way or other to her Neighbours, so as to be sure of Support, and to be kept out of Danger of taking up Arms. Yet even in these Circumstances there wanted not Men bold enough to profess themselves Patriots, to compare the present Condition of the Republick with the past, and to testify their Wishes, that the Face of Affairs might change, so as to resemble what they were in former Times.

In 1722, the *States of Gueldres* chose the late Prince of *Orange* their Stadtholder, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given to that Measure by the Province of *Holland*; and this alarmed the prevailing Party excessively. They saw that this would give Life and Spirit to the Patriots, and that as his Serene Highness grew up, and displayed upon all Occasions the hereditary Virtues of his Family, the Number of his Adherents would increase, and those who disliked their Management would not be without a Head, as had been the Case for many Years; and this heightened their Aversion to every thing that had the least Appearance of Vigour, or of Spirit, at the same time it drove them into that Complaisance for a certain powerful Neighbour, which was so detrimental to the true Interests of *Europe*.

When in spite of all their Care, and after a long Series of temporizing and negotiating, they found themselves obliged to take a part in this last War, their Conduct was so fluctuating and irregular, that it gave no small Dissatisfaction to both Parties. On the one hand, the Allies knew not how to depend upon them; and, on the other hand, notwithstanding all the Service they rendered to the *French* by their Fickleness and Irresolution; they also were at a loss how to deal with them. In the first place, they tried by the Intrigues of *Fenelon*, and his Successor, to engage them in a Neutrality, to which they shewed at once an Inclination and a Reluctance. The former was the Effects of the true Spirit of their Government, which was to take care of themselves, and let what would become of the rest of the World; the latter proceeded from their Fear, for it was now evident enough that the People abhorred so dishonourable a Measure, and were inclined to hazard any thing, rather than sink into so shameful a State

State of Dependence on that Power, which of all others they had most Reason to fear.

To bring the Matter therefore to some Issue, the *French* Court took the Resolution of making use of Force, and this induced them to transfer the War into the *Low-Countries*, and to attack the Barrier, which certainly was no Part of their original Design, and which neither could, or did contribute much to the facilitating their Views. In this Invasion they had all the Success they could desire in the Field, but none at all in the great Point of the Neutrality, which by this time was become more difficult, and more dangerous for these great Statesmen to undertake; since their System was now thoroughly manifest, and from the strange manner in which the War had been conducted, their Forces were so much weakened, that they were as little able to impose by Violence upon their Subjects, as to oppose their Enemies. In the mean time, the Length of the War grew insupportable to the *French*, and they found themselves under an absolute Necessity of coming to Extremities, and trying what might be done by falling upon the Territories of the *States*, which hitherto had been respected. There is but too much Cause to believe, that this was not altogether unforeseen in *Holland*; and the *French* Generals, from the natural Insolence and Impetuosity of that Nation, made so little a Secret of the Expectations of their Court, when they fell upon *Dutch Flanders*, that the Populace, who had long before opened their Eyes, were tempted by Despair to open their Mouths too, and to declare in plain Terms against that Government, which either by Connivance or Contrivance had sacrificed them.

The only Expedient they could have recourse to, was setting up his Serene Highness the Prince of *Orange* and *Nassau* for Stadtholder; and therefore there is no kind of Wonder, that they had recourse to it. But, however, the Spirits of the Nation were sunk to such a Degree, that whatever Figure the Mobs might make, that brought this important Event about, in our Gazettes, I can affirm that they were in themselves very inconsiderable, and that two or three good Troops of Horse might have dispersed them with great Ease. The Reader must have a care of conceiving from hence, that those who wished well to this Revolution were only the Dregs of the People, for there is nothing less true; but those who wished well to it, contented themselves with those Wishes, and were afraid to give any publick Signs of their Satisfaction till it became dangerous not to do it; and then seeing the Strength

of their own Party, they were amazed it had not been brought about long before. Yet they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by Appearances, and to believe, that the Facility with which this great Change had been instantaneously produced, was a good Omen of its proving as effectual as they could desire it; and therefore either from a Return of Indolence, or an unreasonable Timidity of acting against those to whom they had so long submitted, they left the Accomplishment of this great Work to the Populace who had begun it. Accordingly the Prince was declared Stadtholder of the Union, *June 1st, 1747.*

It is very certain, that if these poor People had known as well how to go about their Affairs, as they knew what they would have been at, they would have performed the whole Business of a Revolution to a Miracle; and as it was, they procured those Resolutions which have been the Basis of all that has been done since, and which will in the End become the fundamental Principles of the *Belgic* Liberty, either by a Restoration of the old Constitution, or the constructing it a-new. But how upright soever their Intentions might be, the boisterous Manner in which they pursued them, was manifestly inconsistent with any kind of Government, and therefore instead of countenancing them, the Prince Stadtholder found himself under a Necessity of restraining them.

This very necessary Step had two very unlucky Consequences; the first, that it encouraged the fallen Party to form new Schemes, and the next, that it not only damped the Spirits of the Populace, but induced those who secretly approved their Proceedings, to suspect that things would take another new turn, and that the old Faction would avail themselves of the Stadtholder's Authority. These Notions floating in People's Heads, produced for some time a Confusion that no Words can describe, and of which it is impossible that any should form an Idea, except those who saw and observed its Effects. By degrees all Ranks of People returned to their original Sentiments, the Patrons of the old System found themselves rather frightened than hurt, they were still in the quiet Possession not only of their private Fortunes, but of their Posts in the Government, and this tempted them to make their utmost Efforts to procure such a Countenance to their former Proceedings, as might make it appear both at home and abroad, that what they did was with the Consent of the Nation.

While they had this great Point in view, they forgot the Promises which they had made the People in the Beginning of the Year, and to the Performance of which they expected it would

would be impossible to call them, on the Score of a very dangerous Distemper, with which his Serene Highness was then afflicted, the Issue of which being very doubtful, kept the Hopes of some, and the Fears of others in suspense; by which, as the domestick Oeconomy of the Republick suffered exceedingly, so it is to be feared the common Cause met with irreparable Damage, by the neglect of a War, as important in its Consequences, as in its Nature it was just and necessary.

Human Policy may be compared to the Image of *Janus*, except that the Eyes in the Head looking backward, are infinitely better than those that respect present or future Events. It is very certain that good Patriots at this Juncture, were under violent Apprehensions, and I dare say there was not a single Man in *Holland*, who foresaw the strange Effect of this dull and indolent Supineness, at a Season that required the utmost Activity, as well as the greatest Circumspection. It had, however, good Effects; for the People's Patience being quite wore out, and no Sign of the Performance of what had been promised them, they resumed the Work of Reformation, and resolved to demolish the Farms. When once this Humour broke out, it spread like Wildfire. Publicans were ever hated in all Countries, and by all Nations; that is, those who spoil their Neighbours under Colour of executing the Laws, but in reality to enrich themselves. This was plainly and undeniably the Case of the Farmers, from the greatest to the least; and whatever Authority they might derive from the Laws, there is no doubt that their Insolence, their Luxury, and their Profusion, was their own; and for these they were most justly punished.

One would have imagined that the shortest and most natural Way of putting a stop to these Disorders, had been to have complied with the Promises made to the People in the Month of *January*; and this was the very Method to which the Magistrates in some Cities were inclined to have recourse; but the Lovers of the old System, who could not bear the thoughts of losing the Farms and the Farmers, which afforded at once a large Revenue, and a numerous Militia, interposed, cancelled the publick Acts of those Magistrates, and endeavoured to maintain, as essential to the Government, what was become an insupportable Burthen upon the People; towards which they made a very free Use of his Serene Highness's Name, endeavouring to entrench their own Measures behind his Titles.

This, tho' well contrived, proved but a very feeble Expedient. Weak and infirm as his Highness was, he shewed the true Spirit, and generous Resolution of his illustrious Family; he came in Per-

son and offered that Proposition, which gave new Life to the Republick, by shewing the Plan upon which he meant to proceed, and that he was in earnest resolved to put the Government upon its old and right Foundation, the Love, the Fidelity, and Confidence of all its Subjects.

His Highness's subsequent Behaviour, in regard to the Tumults at *Amsterdam*, the Pains taken to satisfy the People of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, his Care in reference to the Disturbances at *Leyden*, his being content to undergo the Fatigue of holding the supreme Direction of Affairs belonging to the *East-India* Company, and discharging it in such a manner, as to excite a Desire in the Proprietors of the *West-India* Company to vest the like Measure of Authority in his Hands, plainly proved that he inherited the Virtues and great Qualities of his illustrious House, and seemed to be raised up by Providence to deliver the Republick from the Jaws of Corruption (a Monster less hideous indeed, but more subtle, and to the full as inexorable as Tyranny herself) by his Wisdom and Virtue.

The whole of this Prince's Administration might, without Partiality, and with great Propriety, be stiled a continual Display of his Affection for his Country, and for his Countrymen, and a clear Demonstration that his high Dignities were no otherwise pleasing to him, than as they afforded him an Opportunity of removing Evils and doing good to the People. It gave him inexpressible Concern, that with indefatigable Attention, and the best Inclination in the World, he could do but little. Like a Husbandman employed in the Cultivation of a degenerate Soil, he ploughed and sowed without receiving any Return, or at least a very small one, in the Harvest. Under these Difficulties his Spirit rather rose than fell; and he was always offering some new Expedient for the Benefit of the State, or for the Service of the People, notwithstanding they were almost always rejected. He pushed with the most Vigour the Performance of those Promises that had been made to the Publick; and in all human Probability he would at length have prevailed so far as to have seen them executed in their utmost Extent, of which the present Generation have now but weak Expectations.

At the Time when, for certain Reasons, he thought proper to make a Tour to *Aix la Chapelle*, he caused the great Scheme for the REVIVAL of TRADE to be laid before the *States* in his Absence, that they might deliberate freely upon it, and take what Share of Merit to themselves they pleased. If this had been the only shining, as it was almost the last ACT

of his *Administration*, it ought to have rendered his Memory immortal, as it was indubitably one of the worthiest and noblest Actions his high Dignity enabled him to perform. He could not be supposed to understand Commerce, as a Merchant; he never affected any kind of Knowledge that did not become him. He understood it however as a Prince, he knew that it was the sole Foundation of Maritime Power, he saw that the State rose as it rose, and that it declined as it decayed. He judged therefore, and he judged wisely, that the most speedy, certain, and effectual Method to restore the Affairs of the Republick, was to revive Commerce; and having formed this great and salutary Project, he did next what Princes are least inclined to do, he sought, he obtained, and he followed the *best Advice*.

It had been glorious for him, and happy for his Country, if he had lived to pursue and perfect this great Design, which procured him the solemn Thanks of the City of *Amsterdam*, and the universal Attachment of the whole mercantile Interest in *Holland*. But Providence otherwise decreed; and tho' at his Return from *Aix la Chapelle*, his Highness appeared in a better State of Health than for many Years before, yet he soon after fell ill of a Fever, which in a very short Time bereaved the *United Provinces* of their *Best-beloved* Stadtholder; for that was the Epithet bestowed on him by the Voice of the People; and deprived *Europe* of a Prince, whose Virtues added Lustre to his Dignity, in the Prime of his Life; for he was but in the fortieth Year of his Age; and when he was most in a Condition to execute the great and good Designs he had ever meditated for the Benefit of the Republick.

Immediately upon his Death the *States General* chearfully, punctually, and honourably executed the constitutional Settlement, in acknowledging the Count *de Buren* his Son for their Hereditary Stadtholder, and her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange*, his Widow, in Quality of Governess General during the Minority. What will follow is in the Womb of Time, and may it bring forth propitious Events to the Peace of this Country, the Prosperity of the Protestant Interest, and the Independency and Tranquility of Christendom!

All the sensible and disinterested Part of the *Dutch Nation*, are by this time convinced, that the Notion of a perfect Democracy, and a Form of Government founded on an Equality of Wealth and Power, is mere Delusion, invented and preached up by such, as mean to possess themselves of as much of both as

they can possibly grasp, and then cover themselves and their Associates with the specious Title of the Rulers of a free People, when they are in Fact no more than Leaders of a certain Faction. The Nation must be satisfied from Experience, that such a Regimen as this, participates of both Extremes, of Tyranny and Anarchy; inclining to the former in a Season of full Peace, and declining towards the latter in a Time of Trouble. The *Dutch* Nation must by this time apprehend, that the only natural Poize in their Constitution is the Power of a Stadtholder; in whom an Excess of Authority can never be apprehended, while that innate Love of Liberty, for which they have been ever famous, continues to glow in their Bosoms, and whose Authority will by Degrees extinguish those Attempts, that crafty and seditious Men may inspire their Tools to make, in order to create fresh Confusions. Harmony and Perfection are the Works of Time, as well as Wisdom, and the Continuance of Peace will without doubt bring them to that Maturity, which will effectually restore the domestick State of their Affairs.

As to the foreign Interests of this Republick, they consist in living upon good Terms with her Neighbours, in the strict Performance of Treaties, and in the Maintenance of the Ballance of Power. A good Correspondence with her Neighbours is an essential Point of Policy with respect to this State, because the chief Dependence of her Subjects is on Commerce, which is incompatible with an unsettled State of Things. This Maxim however must not be adhered to, without due Deference for the other two, since Peace, like Gold, may be bought too dear, and nothing can be so prejudicial to Commerce, as to make it a Pretence for betraying the Dignity, and sinking the Credit of the State, by which it must in time be weakened, and in the End lost. Alliances and Treaties of a defensive Nature are to be made with great Deliberation, but are sacred when once concluded, and must be at all Events fulfilled, that the Republick may have a clear Title to the Assistance of her Allies whenever her Circumstances may require it. But that Peace may produce those Fruits that are expected from it; that the Endeavours of the Republick may prove successful in the Cause of her Friends; and that her Allies may never be deterred from complying with their Engagements in her Favour; it is absolutely necessary that the Ballance should be preserved. For this Maxim, as it gave Being to the Republick, which was supported in its Infancy, in order to lessen the exorbitant Power of *Spain*; so if ever the Ballance should be lost, it is sure to feel the bad Effects
of

of it first, and in the most imminent Degree. As these are Truths, which may be demonstrated from Reason, so they have been more than once justified by Experience, since the Affairs of *Europe* were never at a Crisis in this respect, but those of the *United Provinces* were in the utmost Danger, as the Reader has already seen from a Deduction of Facts.

In the *North*, it is apparently the Interest of *Holland* to support the Independency of the several Powers in that Part of *Europe*. Her wisest Statesmen have always maintained this, and when her Affairs have been best managed, she has acted accordingly. Her Fleets have more than once secured the Kingdom of *Denmark* from being totally overwhelmed; and she has frequently felt in Return, the good Effects of her wise and laudable Concern for the *Danes*. At the Close of the last Century, she joined with *Great Britain* in sending a Fleet under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, to the Assistance of the *Swedes*, upon which Occasion she acted against the *Danes*; and this too was a wise and prudent Measure, which answered very effectually the End it was calculated to answer, and prevented that Design from taking Effect; which was contrived to weaken, if not to subvert the Ballance in the *North*, which can never suffer, but the Commerce of *Holland* must suffer likewise.

It is impossible to reflect on the Situation of the Territories of the Republick, without perceiving how great an Interest she has in preserving the Ballance between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, and of what Importance it is to her Safety, as well as Prosperity, that the former should not be oppressed. She is likewise obliged to have a constant Attention to the Princes of *Germany*, who on the other side have very powerful Reasons to live upon good Terms with her, and when her Affairs require it, to yield her any Assistance that she wants. But above all, she is bound to maintain a perfect Friendship with his *Prussian* Majesty, as well on account of the vast Accession of Power which that Monarch has obtained, as his being her near Neighbour, in Consequence of having Part of *Guelderland* yielded to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; the Duchy of *Cleves*, by his Treaty of Partition with the Elector Palatine; the Districts that fell to him as joint Heir of King *William III*; and the Principality of *East Friesland*, which is acquired by the Extinction of the Line of its ancient Princes. With all these Powers, the Republick is under Engagements by solemn Treaties, and it is by an exact Performance of these, that she must maintain her Rank, her Reputation, and the Benefits

which result to her Subjects, from the Constitution of her Government ; which in virtue of those Treaties, all these Powers are bound to maintain.

In reference to the Ballance in *Italy*, she has also considerable Interest ; resulting from the large Share of Commerce which her Subjects enjoy in the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*, and which will always depend on the preserving the Independence of the Princes and States in that Part of *Europe* ; so that she is bound to promote that, as far as in her lies ; and in Times past, has shewn a due regard to this Obligation. She has besides, some particular Engagements with the *Swiss Cantons*, and their Allies ; and has for a long Course of Years, had a considerable Corps of their Infantry in her Service, who with great Courage and Fidelity have fought in support of her Liberties, whenever they were in Danger.

Lastly, there is nothing clearer, than that it is her true Interest to live in perfect Harmony with *Great Britain* ; in as much as both Countries have continually reaped the greatest Advantages, when this Union has subsisted ; and have both felt and still feel the bad Effects of being set at Variance, and employing their Maritime Forces against each other, through the Intrigues of their common Enemies. It is indeed true, that each of these Powers have an equal Interest in Commerce ; but while they live upon good Terms, and consult their respective Interests only, they can without any Difficulty regulate the Views of their Subjects, so as to prevent their clashing with each other, and for the common Benefit of both, which in the present Situation of Things is far easier than in former Times ; and perhaps too of greater Consequence than ever, considering the new Schemes that are every Day formed, and are still forming in different Parts of *Europe*, with a Tendency equally prejudicial to the Trade of both.

C H A P. XV.

Of the true Interest of Great Britain, with respect to the other Powers of Europe.

THE gradual Changes that have happened in the Circumstances of this Nation, may be very rationally supposed to have had a strong Influence upon its Interests, and yet this does not seem to have been sufficiently considered ; for if it had, we should scarce find so many People as there really are, who adhere to the old Notions laid down by some of our Patriots in the Beginning of the last Century, that the true Interest of this Nation consists in keeping their Affairs as distinct from those of the Continent, as their Country is removed from it by Nature, who by surrounding it with the Sea, seems to have made it a World by itself. It must be confessed, that many plausible Things have been advanced in Support of this Doctrine, as well as great Authorities alledged, more especially that of the learned Antiquary Sir *Robert Cotton*, who wrote a Treatise to this Purpose in the Reign of King *James I.* with a View of convincing *Henry Prince of Wales*, that he ought not to pay any respect to the Arguments which had been insinuated to him, against the pacifick Measures that were then in Fashion, but ought to regard whatever was said of foreign Wars, and foreign Acquisitions, as calculated to gratify the Spirit of ambitious Men, at the Expence of their Country, which had been often exhausted, but never received any real Benefit from such Kind of Expeditions, as he undertook to shew from History and Records.

But whatever Truth there might be in this Doctrine, as it is laid down by him, and how well soever it might be supported by the Instances which he has produced, it has nothing to do with the present State of our Affairs ; and the only Use that can be made of it, is so far to examine it, as that we may be convinced of the Truth of this Observation. The Expeditions made by our ancient Princes for the Maintenance of the Countries they possessed in *France*, or in Support of their Claim to that Crown, might very probably impoverish this Nation, and how much soever their Successes might enlarge the Power, or exalt the Glory of those Monarchs, they might be far enough from being

ing useful to their Subjects. It is however very possible that they might be in some measure necessary, as our Constitution then stood; and we shall have the more Reason to credit this, if we consider that such of our Princes were always most popular at home, as made themselves renowned by their victorious Arms abroad, and that such as pursued a contrary Conduct, were very seldom free from domestick Insurrections, or foreign Invasions.

The only Objections that can be raised to this Position, must be taken from the Conduct of *Henry VII.* who was indeed a very wise Prince, and yet is reported to have meddled less with foreign Affairs than most of his Predecessors. Yet upon a more strict Examination it will be found, that his Happiness resulted chiefly, not from the confining his Cares entirely to his own Dominions, but from his prudent Management of that Share he thought proper to take in the Transactions of the Continent. It has been thought, that as a true Politician he should have prevented the *French King* from annexing the Duchy of *Bretagne* to his Crown, but it does not appear that this was at all in his Power. He made use, however, of the Jealousy which the Nation conceived upon this great Accession to the *French Power*, and actually engaged in a War against *France*, for the Prosecution of which he had vast Supplies granted him by Parliament. Yet he did not after all this carry on that War in the Manner that was expected, but contented himself with making, from the Terror of his Arms, a Peace upon very advantageous Terms, that lasted during his Life, by which he secured to himself an annual Tribute from two *French Monarchs* successively, and which left them at full Liberty to pursue their Designs in *Italy*, that exhausted their Treasures, and weakened their Forces as much as a War with *England* would have done, and proved consequently more to his Advantage. He took care likewise during that Peace this Measure procured, to enter into a strict Alliance with the House of *Austria*, which was a very right Connection at that Time, cemented that Alliance by a Marriage, and married his own Daughter to the King of *Scots*, which, as he foresaw, united in Process of Time the whole Island into one Kingdom. The true Inference therefore from his Conduct is this, that the intermeddling more or less with the Affairs of the Continent is right or wrong, according to the Judgment the Prince who intermeddles forms of the Situation and Circumstances of Things.

The Figure that *Great Britain* makes at present in *Europe*, arises from her being in a Situation very different from that she held in Times past ; but we owe our present Greatness to Maxims very different from that of neglecting every thing that passes without the Bounds of our own Island. The wise Queen *Elizabeth*, who laid the Foundation of that Wealth and Power which we now possess, acted upon quite different Principles, and was so far from paying no Attention to foreign Affairs, that it plainly appears they were never so well understood or managed as in her Time. She it was that prevented *Philip II.* from accomplishing his Scheme of universal Empire, not barely by providing for the Security of her Dominions at home, but by employing both Money and Men to occupy him with perpetual Diversions abroad. She prevented *France* from becoming a Province to *Spain*, which must have been fatal to the Liberties of *Europe* ; and she afforded that Assistance to the *States* of the *United Provinces*, that enabled them to become an independent Republick, which has in succeeding Times contributed so much to preserve the Independence of the *European* Powers against the ambitious Views of the House of *Bourbon*.

It is true, that she likewise promoted the Navigation and Commerce of her Subjects, opened a Passage for them into both the *Indies*, and excited that Spirit which afterwards induced us to make Settlements in the most distant Parts of the Globe ; and by a wise and happy Conjunction of our Labours both there and in *Britain*, at once extended our Wealth and Power, without the least Diminution of our People, contrary to the Effects of Plantations made from other Countries, which have suffered at home, by aggrandizing themselves abroad ; whereas our domestic Power is constantly augmented, in Proportion to the Advantages derived from our Settlements abroad ; and to this Circulation of our Commerce it is in reality owing, that our Strength is so much greater, our Lands so much more valuable, and our intrinsic Wealth so much increased, as it is since that Time ; and this, in spite of long Wars, and other intervening Accidents, not at all favourable to our Interests.

This may look like a Paradox to some, and there may be others who perhaps will regard it as a thing taken upon Trust. But in reality the Facts are absolutely certain, and it is to the wonderful Growth of our Plantations that we owe the Strength and Populousness of this Island, which could never otherwise have attained its present Condition. A very little Attention will make this plain. The Commodities and Manufactures of any
Country

Country have a certain Limit, beyond which it is impossible they should extend without an Alteration of Circumstances, that is to say, when they are carried so high, as that no new Markets are to be found, domestick Industry can proceed no farther. Now it is owing to our Colonies, that hitherto we have not been very sensible of this Truth; for the People settled there, from a Variety of Causes, into which I have not room to enter at present, take off much greater Quantities of our Commodities and Manufactures, than if they had remained at home. So that one of our Countrymen established in *America*, finds full Employment for several Hands here; and as full Employment will always draw People, it plainly follows from thence, that our Settlements abroad must increase the Number of People at home. As this Method of arguing shews the Reason of the Thing, so the Truth of it may be likewise demonstrated from Experience. It is certain, that the Number of People in the City of *London* is about five times as great as at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; and tho' it cannot be supposed, that the Number of People in this Island hath increased in the same Proportion, yet it is certain that they have very much increased, as is apparent from the Growth of other great Cities, the swelling of small Villages into large Towns, and the raising on our Coasts of many new Sea Ports. It may indeed be objected, that if People remove out of the Country into great Towns, this augments the Number of their Inhabitants, but not that of the Nation, but then the Fact must be proved, which is a thing impossible; for such as dwell in great Towns consume a larger Quantity of Provisions, and all other Necessaries, than such as live scattered up and down the Country, they must consequently be supplied with these, and therefore the Growth of Towns must increase the Number of People in the Country about them. Thus the farther we trace this Matter, the clearer and the more certain it appears, and therefore what is deduced from it cannot be rationally called in question.

We may from hence likewise discern how the other Parts of the *British* Dominions have also increased in the Number of their Inhabitants, as well as *England*, and have reaped a proportionable Benefit from so happy a Change in their Circumstances; which as it demonstrates how much they owe to that excellent Constitution under which they live, so it is likewise an evident Proof that it is the Interest, and ought to be the Care of such as are intrusted with the Administration of the Government, to see that every Part of the *British* Empire enjoys to the full the Advantages derived from the Laws, and that glorious Freedom which is the Result of their being maintained

tained in full Vigour. The Subjects as well as the Soil are ever to be taken into our Notion of the *British* Empire; and as Obedience is expected from such as are ever so remote, as well as those who are near the Center of Government, so they are entitled to the same Protection and Encouragement; which while they receive, there is no doubt that our Affairs will continue in a flourishing Condition, and the Fears which many have entertained, that some of our distant Colonies may some time or other throw off their Obedience to their Mother Country, will be but Dreams and Vapours; for in the Body Politick, as in the Natural Body, while the vital Parts are strong and sound, the Circulation will be every where brisk and lively, and the Effects of it perfectly felt, to its very Extremities. In Theory this looks very fair and probable, but it is our peculiar Felicity, that through the Piety, Virtue, and Wisdom of our Ancestors, we know that this may be, and is reduced to Practice. We need only look into the State of our Affairs at present, compare them with what they were in times past, and reflect on the manner in which these Alterations have happened, to be convinced this is all Reality, and not Vision.

It is the maintaining the *British* Empire in this Situation, and thereby providing for the Happiness of this Nation, that as I said ought to be the sole Point of View to our Statesmen and Patriots, as of old among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Our Constitution like theirs is of a mixt Nature, but one may without Partiality or Vanity affirm, that it is more happily compounded, so that Majesty and Liberty trespass not at all upon each other, the Prerogative of the Prince being without Restraint, where it may be exerted for his Subjects Good, and the Paramount Prerogative, being this, that the Crown can do no hurt at all. It is most evident therefore, that at this Day our Princes can have no Temptation to enterprize Wars of Conquest as in former Times; so that a true Spirit of Patriotism can never be shewn, in opposing Projects that will never be set on foot; and in this lies our great Happiness, that having no Views or Pretensions upon our Neighbours, there is no solid, indeed not so much as a plausible Ground for us to hate them, or they us. This is the true fundamental Principle of our Policy; that in respect to the Affairs of the Continent, we are not to be governed by any of those temporary or accidental Conveniences, which very often, and that justly too, pass for reasons of State in other Kingdoms; but by this single Rule, of their acting in Conformity to our natural Interests, so far as is consistent with their own.

There

There is a Distinction often made, chiefly by Foreigners, between the Interest and the Commerce of *Great Britain*; but in reality this is a Distinction without a Difference; for the Interest and the Commerce of the *British* Empire are so inseparably united, that they may be very well considered as one and the same. For Commerce is that Tie, by which the several, and even the most distant Parts of this Empire, are connected and kept together, so as to be rendered Parts of the same Whole, and to receive not only Countenance and Protection, but Warmth and Nourishment from the vital Parts of our Government, of which, if I may be indulged so figurative an Expression, our Monarchy is the Head, and our Liberty the Soul. Whatever therefore assists, promotes, and extends our Commerce, is consistent with our Interest; and whatever weakens, impairs, or circumscribes it, is repugnant thereto. We may easily, considering Things in this light, (and if we consider them in any other, we shall deceive ourselves) derive from thence a true Notion of the Interest of *Great Britain*, with respect to the other Powers of *Europe*; and be able to judge when that Interest is really pursued, and when it is either neglected or abandoned.

The first Point dictated by our Interest, is the maintaining others in their Rights, or to make use of a more known Term, to support the Independency of the Powers of *Europe*; because the engrossing, subjecting, or subduing several Countries under one Potentate, naturally and even necessarily contributes to lessen the Number of Inhabitants, to extinguish Industry amongst them, and consequently to enfeeble and impoverish them, which must be detrimental to us, if we correspond or trade with them.

Another Point is, the stipulating with foreign Nations proper Terms of Security, Indulgence, and Respect for our Subjects, and for the Effects which from time to time they shall carry into those Countries, in return for which we must covenant on our parts, to do and perform what shall be thought reasonable. When these Kind of Alliances are made with due Deliberation, they become sacred Ties with respect to us, and we are bound to fulfil them punctually; so that whatever different Form Appearances may wear, the true Interest of *Great Britain* is always to comply exactly with her Treaties.

A third Rule is, to resent Wrongs done us, vigorously and without delay, more especially where it is in our Power to do it by employing our maritime Force, since in this Case it answers a double End; first, it redresses the Mischief, whatever it is, for the present; and next, it raises our Reputation for the future,

future. We ought likewise to be ready to assist any Nation that is unjustly attacked, or in any Danger of being oppressed, that it may be seen we are true Lovers of Freedom, and are as unwilling to behold the Necks of others put under a Yoke, as to submit our own.

These Rules constantly attended to, are sufficient to keep us upon good Terms with all the World, and to make it the Interest of every Potentate and State in *Europe*, to court as well as to respect our Friendship; which ought to be freely bestowed, and not either purchased or prostituted. It may sometimes happen, that a strict Compliance with these Rules will interfere with some Branch or other of our Commerce; neither in such a Case must that be regarded, for it is not this or that particular Branch of Commerce, which coincides with the general Interest of this Nation, but the whole Circle of our Commerce; and therefore there is nothing absurd or contradictory in affirming, that the Whole must take place of a Part, any more than it is ridiculous to affirm, that whatever respects the Interest of a Nation, becomes worthy the Concern of a Monarch, let its Nature be what it will. And therefore they are in an Error, who think the Royal Character any way lessened, by being obliged to attend to Trade, a Thing already acknowledged in many Parts of *Europe*, and which by Degrees will be found true in all; to which let me add another Truth, that Trade is a mean and inconsiderable thing, in those Countries only where this Error still prevails.

It appears in some measure from our History, and much more from our Records, that we have always interested ourselves very much in the Affairs of the *North*. Our old Treaties with *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, speak this plainly, and our Alliances with *Russia* are elder than those of most other Powers. We have, as Occasion required, acted either as Mediators or Allies, in favour of all these Powers. The *Swedes* in particular have been frequently indebted to us for Assistance, and in the last Century, they detached themselves in a great measure from the Interests of *France*, for the sake of our Friendship, which was a Measure very beneficial to all *Europe*. At present we are closely connected with *Russia*, and with very good Reason; neither can our Alliance ever be slighted by the Northern Potentates, while the *Baltick* remains open to our Fleets, that is, while we remain a Maritime Power. This Consideration, joined to those important Points beforementioned, will always hinder us from entering into improper or inconsistent Treaties, cannot fail of keeping up our Reputation in this part of the World, and consequently preserving that Respect to those Privileges,

vileges, and that Attention to our Demands, which the Situation either of our Affairs or theirs may require. For as we can never have any Interest superior to, or inconsistent with the Care of the Ballance in the *North*, so that must also remain the great Object of all the Potentates there, and is not likely therefore to suffer any great Alteration within the Compass of that Period, to which human Foresight or human Policy can extend.

As to the Affairs of the *German* Empire in general, and of the several Princes in particular, we have always maintained a fair Correspondence with them, and manifested when it was necessary, a just Concern for their Liberties; the same Conduct will be ever incumbent upon us, so long as we preserve a Respect for the Protestant Religion, and for that great Principle of Independence, which has been no where cultivated so much as in *Germany*, and where it still continues to make a considerable Figure. It has been thought also the Interest of this Nation, to shew an extraordinary Zeal in favour of the House of *Austria*, notwithstanding the Rectitude of that Measure hath been at different times controverted, if I mistake not, by both Parties. It is indeed true, that in reference to our Commerce we have no less Connection with the House of *Austria*, than with many, I may say with most of the great Powers in *Europe*; as also, that we have supported her in times past, at a very large Expence to ourselves, without any visible View of reaping any immediate Advantage from the Effects of those Subsidies, which were so liberally granted. To this it has been added, that by this wonderful Attachment, we have greatly promoted the Power and Influence of that House over the *Germanick* Body, which how useful soever it might be to the Sovereigns of that illustrious Family, might turn in some measure to our Prejudice, as it could not fail of giving Offence to many of the Princes in *Germany*, who for that very Reason had recourse to another Power, at a time when if we had dealt more equally, they would have relied solely upon us.

But notwithstanding all this, if we consider that the House of *Austria* is on one Side the great Bulwark of Christendom against the *Turks*, and on the other, the natural Ballance against *France*, and also a near Neighbour to us in Part of her Dominions, it is no Wonder at all, but rather an Honour to us, that we have adhered so closely to our Engagements. In supporting that august Family in three several Wars, we justified our Fidelity to our Treaties, which in itself is a
Point

Point ever of the highest Consequence, as it is a Kind of national Honour, which once lost can hardly ever be regained. As to the Judgments of Parties, they are not always to be relied upon, but if they were, it would be no difficult thing to shew, that all Parties have in their turns approved this Measure, which when prudently pursued, is certainly right; and tho' immediate Advantages may not spring from it, yet if there be no other way than this of supporting the general Ballance of Power, and maintaining that Independence which is the primary Point in our foreign System, we acted well and wisely in sustaining it; neither could any Offence be justly taken at this by any of the *German States*, since if they had considered it in a true Light, it was as much their Interest as ours; and many Instances might be produced to prove, that they have injured and weakened themselves by a contrary Conduct. If indeed our Partiality to the House of *Austria* had ever carried us into the Breach of Treaties with other Powers, or put us upon supporting the ambitious Schemes of that House, or any other House, to the Prejudice of their Neighbours, the Charge would be just, and the Administration culpable that had led us into those Measures.

An inveterate Hatred, or a perpetual Opposition to *France*, is a Maxim that never was laid down by any wise *English* Minister, and ought never to be received or countenanced. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time we assisted the present reigning Family, and Medals were struck with the Arms of *England, France, and Holland*, as Powers whose Interests were thoroughly united, and so at that Time they were; and our Regard for the *French* as well founded then, as that which we testify for the House of *Austria* is now. But precisely at that Juncture, when our Conduct ought to have changed, we mistook our Measure, and *Cromwell*, by embracing the Interests of that Crown, facilitated the Execution of Schemes that have been since so detrimental to *Europe* in general, and this Nation in particular. The Mistake was quickly discerned, but not so soon rectified; on the contrary, two of our Princes persisted in that Mistake, as well against the Interest, as against the Voice of the Nation. When we recovered from our Error, we found it very difficult to retrieve what had been lost by this ill Conduct; we managed a long and very expensive War with little apparent Success, but this War however weakened, and wore out the Strength of *France* so much, as to make way for the glorious Victories that were obtained in that which quickly succeeded it, which is sufficient to console us for Losses and

Expences in a just Cause. It is that Cause that we support, and not an innate, hereditary, and groundless Aversion to the *French* Nation ; for whenever their Statesmen shall abandon that Plan which is dangerous and destructive in its Nature to themselves as well as others, they will infallibly disarm us, and extinguish that Animosity which their boundless Ambition, and not our Obstinacy or Perverseness, has excited. There have been, within the Memory of the present Generation, certain Seasons, in which the *French* Ministers either really or seemingly laid by those Schemes, and affected to act upon other Principles, that very soon produced an Alteration in the Conduct of other Powers towards them, which fully justifies this Observation ; and therefore their Politicians have no just Grounds for imputing to the Fierceness of our Manners, that Alacrity we have shewn in entering into all Alliances against them, but ought rather to ascribe it to that Rectitude of Judgment which is natural to a free People, and which will always appear amongst us as long as we continue free.

The Ballance in *Italy* is thought to concern us more remotely, notwithstanding which, we have hitherto shewn a just and laudable Regard to that likewise ; and indeed Distance in this Respect is of little Consequence, more especially to a Maritime Power. Our Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, and in the *Levant*, is of very high Importance, and we cannot but be sensible, that whatever Alterations have been felt in the *Italian* Ballance, have likewise affected those Branches of our Commerce in a very sensible Degree ; so that whatever Steps we have taken, either during the Continuance of Peace by Negotiations, or in Time of War, by supporting the only Prince in *Italy* who declared for the common Cause, and was true to his own Interests, which were likewise ours, were right and just Measures, and have no doubt left those Impressions which will never be effaced by any Arts or Intrigues, whatever may be given out to serve their own Purposes, at certain critical Junctures, by such as wish they may.

The recent Injuries our Merchants have sustained, and the great Insults offered to the Nation by the Corsairs of *Barbary*, will not allow us to doubt, that it is our true Interest to keep the *Italian* States firmly united to us, that when Occasion requires they may afford us all the Conveniencies in their Power towards chastising these Infidels, as our using vigorous Measures in such Cases, and sending a powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, will contribute not a little to make us respected by the *Italian* Potentates, as well as to obtain Justice from those
pyratical

pyratical Governments, tho' for the present Things have been adjusted by milder Measures.

Our Affairs with the Crown of *Spain* have been long in a perplexed Situation, notwithstanding that it is generally thought the *Spanish* Ministers have such true Notions of their own Interest, as to be persuaded that nothing concerns them more, than to live upon good Terms with *Great Britain*. Without any Question it is our Interest likewise to live in a perfect Correspondence with that Court, and therefore no Pains ought to be spared that are requisite to remove all Jealousies and Discontents on both Sides. It was hoped, that this would have been effectually done by the Definitive Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*; but it seems that the Necessity of restoring the Tranquility of *Europe*, made it requisite to conclude that Treaty without adjusting the Differences between the *British* and *Spanish* Courts, which were left to a particular Negotiation, which in part has taken place, and in part is still depending. It is from this remaining Negotiation that we are yet to expect an absolute Conclusion of this important Business, which as it has proceeded slowly, we have good Ground to apprehend, whenever it is brought to a Determination, will settle the Terms of Correspondence to the mutual Satisfaction of both Nations. Delays are very disagreeable in all Points of national Concern, but more especially so in Points of great Consequence, such as this undoubtedly is both to us and to them. Yet after all, if by bearing with these Delays, Things can be entirely adjusted, so as to leave no Grounds for future Disputes; instead of patching up expedient Agreements to serve a present Turn, which never afford Content to either Party, and are seldom long observed, we shall have good Cause to excuse those Delays, and to be well pleased with the final Issue of them. In the mean time we have the Comfort of knowing, that at length the System of Expedients is exploded; for if there had been the least Intention of returning to that Sort of Practice, we might have had a Convention long ago. It was certainly better to treat with Clearness and Dignity, to explain and go to the Bottom of Grievances on both Sides, that both old and fresh Wounds might be thoroughly healed, and not skinned over, and that succeeding Ministers may have a full, explicit, and well-concerted Treaty for their Guide, upon which the Subjects of both Crowns may rely, without any Doubts as to the Sense of the respective Articles, or any Fears of their not being punctually executed.

We have lived so long, and in so strict a Friendship with the Crown of *Portugal*, that I mention it here only for the Sake of shewing, that there still subsists an Instance of that kind of Connection which it is most our Interest to have with every foreign Court. Our Subjects trade largely with those of *Portugal*, to their mutual Benefit and Advantage; we have all the Privileges there that we can reasonably desire in favour of our Merchants; the *Portuguese* are considered here, upon all Occasions, as our faithful Friends and Allies. These have been the Rules of Behaviour to both Courts in Times of perfect Tranquillity, and when nothing farther was necessary to evince the Cordiality of Esteem on both Sides. But when a Difference arose between the *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese*, which swelled so high, as that the latter were threatened with an Invasion, we made no Difficulty of sending in due Time, and without any Delay, such a Fleet to *Lisbon*, as served to protect the Subjects of the King of *Portugal* from any Insult.

We seem at present to be universally persuaded, that it is our Interest to live not only on good Terms with the Republick of the *United Provinces*, but also in the closest and most perfect Harmony, in which it is certain that we act conformable both to the Lights of Reason and Experience. TRADE is indeed the common Mistress of the Maritime Powers, but at the same time they have many other Rivals, of whom they have no grounds to be afraid, while a strict Union subsists between them; and a due Sense of this ought to induce them to prefer the joint Interest of both, to the private and particular Views of either. Another strong Reason for their living always upon good Terms, is the Sameness of their foreign Interest, that is to say, those who are Friends or Enemies to one, are likewise Friends and Enemies to the other; which is a Point that ought to be kept always in View, by such as are entrusted with the Administration of either Government. In a word, the Conformity that there is between the Religion, the Constitution, and the natural Inclinations of the Inhabitants of both Countries, is sufficient to demonstrate to any intelligent and disinterested Person, that nothing can contribute so much to their joint Happiness, as supporting each other upon all Occasions, and that nothing can bring about their Destruction so soon, as sowing the Seeds of Dissention and Division between them.

The many Alterations that happen daily in the World, afford, and will always afford sufficient Reasons for our exerting ourselves,

selves, not without Hazard and Expence, in favour of some or other of our Allies ; which however must be done, and done with Spirit and Cheerfulness, if we will remain a free, a great, and a respected People. It is in vain to hope to maintain our Characters by a selfish and surly, or by a lazy and inactive Behaviour ; if we reason ever so little with ourselves, we may be satisfied of this ; if we consult History, History will convince us ; if we have recourse to Experience, Experience will read us the same Lecture. Neither ought we to consider what we do as any Burthen or Inconveniency, since it arises from the Rank and Figure we make in the World, from those Connèctions which have been the Fruit of our Significancy, and by which that is upheld and secured. In short, when we succour our Neighbours, we do it from a Principle of Justice to ourselves ; we flourish, in part, from the Commerce that we have with them ; and having thus a Stake in their Welfare, it is really consulting our own Interest, when we fulfil those Engagements that were entered into, on account of that Stake ; and therefore instead of repining that we are obliged to it, we ought to rejoice that it is in our Power, and shew by our Alacrity how much it is in our Will.

These are the general Principles of *British* Policy, deduced from those Transactions, which after having been often and seriously examined in the wisest and greatest Assemblies, have received repeated, as well as publick Sanctions ; so that if private Men err in adopting them, it will be very difficult to establish another Rule attended with clearer Evidence, and supported by better Authority.



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